

RESTORING TRUST IN JOURNALISM

The Commission Finds:

- ▶ A free and open press, and the strong protection of the First Amendment, preventing the government from restricting the freedoms of speech and press, are basic tenets of this country.

- ▶ The rise of partisan news organizations is producing more bias in news reports, and the increasingly blurred line between news and opinion in traditional mainstream media is contributing to perceptions of bias more generally. Combined with the sheer volume of opinion expressed on digital media and cable news channels, and the rise in polarized politics, this blurring is leading to significantly diminished trust in news and information.¹²⁴

- ▶ Journalism continues to face extreme financial pressures. In many localities, news organizations have vanished or are struggling to survive.

- ▶ Technological innovation has enabled promising new methods of newsgathering, citizen journalism, data visualization, storytelling, reader engagement, and revenue and distribution.

- ▶ Yet the internet and related technologies have disrupted the traditional business model for journalism and have given rise to hyper-partisan online news sites. In addition, the manipulation of major technology companies has contributed to the spread of misinformation and disinformation, an increase in echo chambers, and the ability for both foreign countries and domestic operatives to manipulate news and information during the U.S. election process.

- ▶ When newsrooms do not reflect the demographic and economic diversity of their communities,¹²⁵ the distance between the journalist and the reader grows, and can diminish trust.

- ▶ Principles for quality journalism should apply across all news industry sectors, addressing solutions to functions rather than particular entities.



The Commission Recommends:

Recommendation 1 **TRANSPARENCY**

- ▶ Encourage radical transparency and community engagement from news organizations.

Recommendation 2 **JOURNALISM**

- ▶ Increase support for quality journalism at all levels with a focus on rebuilding local journalism.
 - A. Accelerate a national push to create and foster nonprofit, hybrid and for-profit models of quality local news organizations.
 - B. Encourage more collaboration among journalism entities at all levels.

Recommendation 3 **INNOVATION**

- ▶ Use technology to enhance journalism's roles in fostering democracy.
 - A. News companies need to embrace technology to support their mission and achieve sustainability.
 - B. Use technology and collaboration to help defeat disinformation.
 - C. Use journalism to combat polarization.

Recommendation 4 **DIVERSITY & INCLUSION**

- ▶ Build a news and information ecosystem that reflects the diversity of individual communities and our nation.

At its best, journalism informs the public on matters of civic concern, gives citizens a common set of facts, provides context that lends greater meaning to the news, independently monitors and holds those in power accountable, and strengthens the public discourse. Good journalism helps us to understand others whose lives and challenges are very different from our own.

That is the ideal.

Today's reality is more complicated and more problematic. News media, mostly at the national level, have lost the trust of many Americans, though the degree of trust varies significantly by political affiliation. Republicans generally see "mainstream journalism" as deeply biased, whereas Democrats tend to be more trustful of these media. Independents, as could be expected, are in the middle, though are typically closer to the Republican perspective.¹²⁶

Local media, while still trusted by over 70 percent of the population,¹²⁷ face a growing need for funding to serve their communities. Consequently, the free flow of consistent, reliable news and information in American society is in jeopardy.

**...HAVING A STRONG POLITICAL
PERSPECTIVE DOES NOT ABSOLVE MEDIA
ORGANIZATIONS OF THE RESPONSIBILITY
TO BE **ACCURATE AND TRUTHFUL** IN THEIR
REPORTING OF THE NEWS.**

The Crisis in Journalism

According to Gallup, 41 percent of U.S. adults trust the media (defined broadly as newspapers, TV and radio) in terms of “reporting news fully, accurately and fairly,” compared with 72 percent of U.S. adults in 1976.¹²⁸ Among those who identify as Republican, this number drops to 14 percent.¹²⁹ Following the Watergate scandal of the 1970s, Americans’ trust in journalism reached a high point. Through the ensuing decades, trust in the press fluctuated amid political polarization,¹³⁰ technological advances and the decline in the business fortunes of local news outlets.

Journalism also faces a financial crisis. In less than two decades, the traditional advertising-based business model for journalism—particularly print journalism—collapsed.¹³¹ Print advertising dollars have turned into digital dimes and mobile pennies. Meanwhile, just two companies, Google and Facebook, have captured 58 percent of the U.S. market share for digital advertising.¹³² Since 2008, more than 25,000 journalists have lost their jobs,¹³³ accelerating the decline of regional and statehouse coverage and of costlier investigative and specialty journalism.¹³⁴

Meanwhile, the number of journalists working in broadcast television news has remained stable since 2008. But the relaxation of federal limits on ownership of local broadcast stations has led to consolidation of ownership, which in some cases has diminished the commitment to local coverage in favor of centrally produced content.¹³⁵

Though many news organizations and journalists are continuing to do outstanding work, other journalists, executives and owners of news media have made strategic decisions that have led to further erosions of trust. In the quest for profits, clicks, shares and ratings, the spectrum of ills includes headlines that overpromise and mislead, advertising designed to look like journalism, and journalists and partisan commentators who blur the line between fact and opinion. It also includes newsrooms at the local and national levels that have failed to keep up with the demographic and political diversity of their communities, and those that have lagged in adapting to the latest ways that readers and viewers consume news and information.¹³⁶

Without faster, more effective innovations in business models, coupled with substantial reinvestment, even the higher levels of trust in local journalism are not enough to sustain healthy local news operations.¹³⁷

That said, we recognize that for commercial and political interests, some news outlets have strategically and intentionally embraced a specific political bias to attract a distinct audience.¹³⁸ For some readers/viewers, this is how they prefer to consume news and information. To them the bias is clear, accepted and, indeed, trusted. In any event, having a strong political perspective does not absolve media organizations of the responsibility to be accurate and truthful in their reporting of the news.

The shift to online delivery of news and the rise of social networks has increased news consumption overall and is producing promising new methods for journalism and civic engagement. But not without a cost. Technology has made news instant and global at the same time. It has enabled the rise of echo chambers and made it easier for foreign countries to interfere in the U.S. election process and for domestic operatives to spread disinformation. For all the advantages provided by technology and unfettered free expression, the current news and information ecosystem presents a complex challenge confronting journalism, technology companies, politicians and America's political institutions.

An organization committed to produce quality journalism, whether nonprofit or for-profit, established or new, online or off, must generate revenue to survive. As advertising revenues continue to disappear, consumers have begun to replace at least part of that lost revenue with direct subscriptions and voluntary contributions.¹³⁹ Declining trust in news media hurts these efforts, raising greater doubts about journalism's capacity to fulfill its civic mission.

Good journalists do not assume that the public will blindly or automatically trust their work. They know they must earn that trust. Yet the solution is not simply to recommit to the guiding principles of journalism (see "The Elements of Journalism"). The challenge, says Tom Rosenstiel of the American Press Institute, is to apply those ideals in ways that grow public confidence in journalism.

The Commission agrees, and finds that this crisis of trust demands bold action and major investments into the practice of journalism at all levels.

THE ELEMENTS OF JOURNALISM:

What Newspeople Should Know and the Public Should Expect

Excerpted from the 2007 Updated Edition by Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel

The primary purpose of journalism is to provide citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing.

Journalism's first obligation is to the truth.

Its first loyalty is to citizens.

Its essence is a discipline of verification. It must serve as an independent monitor of power.

It must provide a forum for public criticism and compromise.

It must strive to make the significant interesting and relevant.

It must keep the news comprehensive and in proportion.

Its practitioners have an obligation to exercise their personal conscience.

Citizens, too, have rights and responsibilities when it comes to the news.

The Presidency and the Media

Before presenting our recommendations to increase trust in the news media, this Commission would be remiss to ignore the explicit antipathy the President of the United States has expressed towards much of the press.

This Commission is bipartisan and includes several members who strongly believe that the President has good reason to be critical of the coverage he has received. They can cite examples where they believe the press is prejudicial in its coverage of him, his actions and policies. That sentiment has come through clearly in the hearings we held across the country in 2018 and in other writings.¹⁴⁰ We understand that criticism and address it elsewhere in this report.

Presidents from the inception of this country have had their difficulties and differences with the press. The first Congress passed an ill-advised and short-lived Sedition Act that criminalized criticism of the government. But for most of the post-World War II era, leaders of both parties have embraced the value of a free press, even as they chafed under its spotlight.

As Ronald Reagan said in 1983, “Since the founding of this nation, freedom of the press has been a fundamental tenet of American life. There is no more essential ingredient than a free, strong and independent press to our continued success in what the Founding Fathers called our ‘noble experiment’ in self-government.”¹⁴¹

Two decades earlier, John F. Kennedy noted, “There is a terrific disadvantage in not having the abrasive quality of the press applied to you daily. Even though we never like it, and even though we wish they didn’t write it, and even though we disapprove, there isn’t any doubt that we could not do the job at all in a free society without a very, very active press.”¹⁴²

As difficult as it can be for any leader to be under press scrutiny, American political leaders have maintained an understanding that a free and robust press is a critical part of an open society. It is, indeed, the essence of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Nevertheless, beginning at least with a tweet on February 17, 2017, the President has accused the press, as a whole, of being “the enemy of the American People.”¹⁴³ He has continued this line of attack ever since,¹⁴⁴ even bringing up the possibility of challenging broadcast licenses held by his critics.¹⁴⁵

To be sure, the decline of trust in the press as well as other democratic institutions has a 40- to 50-year trajectory in this country. Nearly everything in this report can be understood and implemented without reference to the current president. But many feel we are at a particularly tense and precarious moment in this relationship.¹⁴⁶

The sustained disparagement of journalism and the news media as a whole challenges our shared understanding as Americans of the importance of a free press, and more generally the importance of sources of information and expertise independent of those who wield political power. As Chris Wallace of Fox News warns, delegitimizing the press is a way to “raise doubts about whether [the press] can be trusted when [it reports] critically about his administration.”

The Commission, in sum, stands for a free and open press as an essential element of the great democratic experiment this country celebrates. It is as basic a value as self-governance itself, and it must be preserved. We are unanimous that a free press is not, and must not be seen as, the enemy of the people.

Recommendation 1

TRANSPARENCY**Encourage radical transparency and community engagement from news organizations.**

To increase public trust, journalists and news organizations must revolutionize their relationship with the communities they serve. As a starting point, the Commission calls for journalists to apply the principles of “radical transparency” to their practice. This includes a call for news entities to disclose the context for every facet of their operations, ranging from business infrastructure to editorial decision-making to community engagement.¹⁴⁷

Specifically, the Commission urges leaders of organizations that report and distribute news to identify and adopt common standards and best practices that promote transparency. The goal is to foster trust in legitimate news, an endeavor that should be common to all. This approach would include all aspects of transparency, including the measures suggested below to combat disinformation campaigns. It is also consistent with a 2018 Gallup survey that indicates that the public is more likely to trust the news media with greater transparency.¹⁴⁸

SOME BEST PRACTICES FOR TRANSPARENCY IN JOURNALISM

- Clearly label opinion and partisan commentators to distinguish them from news.
- To address perceptions of media bias, emphasize reporting and evidence-based commentary over opinion.
- Update and implement best practices on corrections, fact-checking, anonymous sources, the role of political pundits on broadcast and cable and advertising formats that blur the line between content and commerce.
- Engage with citizens and communities to strengthen the quality and relevance of reporting to increase trust.

The need for transparency. Producing outstanding journalism has long been the most successful way for journalists to earn audiences' loyalty. For news organizations to inform the public effectively, that is not enough today. They need to more effectively confront the public's lack of trust and concerns about bias.

As Jay Rosen, a journalism professor at New York University, observed, "Trust, which used to be assumed by news organizations, now has to be earned through greater transparency."¹⁴⁹ In a recent study by the American Press Institute, 68 percent of Americans said transparency was a very important factor in whether they trusted a news report.¹⁵⁰ Accordingly, organizations that produce or distribute news need to make transparency central to their mission,¹⁵¹ reaffirming their roles as civic and public servants.

Transparency serves four functions for journalism:

- **Provides a means for holding news organizations more accountable for the accuracy and fairness of their content**
- **Encourages high standards in reporting by revealing more about how that reporting is conducted**
- **Gives audiences the opportunity to discover and explore additional information that might otherwise remain hidden in reporters' notebooks, files or cameras**
- **Gives audiences a better understanding of who journalists are and how they operate**

Transparency in media makes the business of storytelling visible to the audience. By showing the essence of their work, news providers can explain more clearly how they function and how reporters know what they are reporting. As Tom Rosenstiel of the American Press Institute suggests, "Journalists must invent new story forms that reveal the skeleton of their reporting, raise the bar of verification, and show consumers why they should trust them."¹⁵²

The point is not to burden daily journalism with make-work, or to disclose confidential sources and methods, but rather to give the audience an understanding of the bases for the reporter's approach in matters where bias could be in question. Increasingly, news organizations are disclosing more about their reporting methods, the personal experiences and backgrounds of reporters, the extent and costs of high-quality investigative journalism, and the criteria for editorial decision-making as a means of building trust (see "Experimenting with Transparency").¹⁵³

EXPERIMENTING WITH TRANSPARENCY

Several initiatives are helping news organizations increase their transparency, including the Trust Project at Santa Clara University, the University of Oregon's Center for Journalism Innovation and Civic Engagement, the Center for Media Engagement at the University of Texas at Austin, the Trusting News Project at the University of Missouri and the News Co/Lab at Arizona State University. A growing list of organizations such as Spaceship Media, Hearken (which supports “public powered journalism”) and the Solutions Journalism Network, are also helping news organizations promote trust through greater community and civic engagement.

Additionally, a number of individual news organizations are taking promising steps toward greater transparency. It is increasingly common to accompany in-depth reports with explanations of “how we got this story.” Leading examples include those from ProPublica (How ProPublica Got the Story), *The New York Times* (Story Behind the Story), Reuters (Backstory), the Center for Public Integrity and the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists. Some specific examples of greater disclosure:

- Citing a lack of trust in media, *The Washington Post* recently launched a digital video series titled “How to Be a Reporter.” The first episode focused on the reporters who broke the story about allegations of past sexual abuse against Alabama politician Roy Moore.¹⁵⁴
- Arizona PBS produced a program, “Full Circle,” explaining how it makes its nightly news show.¹⁵⁵

(continued)



- News organizations are going beyond bylines to reveal more about who reports and leads their coverage. The Marshall Project published a comprehensive report on the demographic makeup of its staff.¹⁵⁶
- Some news organizations are providing access to more of the supporting evidence behind news stories and investigative projects. This includes sharing more about the sources whom reporters rely on for information. ProPublica has built a promising model for annotating source material in its “Explore Sources” feature.
- *The New York Times* embarked on an ambitious effort to make underlying documents the star of a story. “The ISIS Files,” a multimedia story published in April 2018, details reporter Rukmini Callimachi’s journey through “old Islamic State offices, gathering thousands of files abandoned by the militants as their ‘caliphate’ crumbled.” Though the Times has published only a fraction of the more than 15,000 pages of documents from paper and hard drives left behind by the extremist group, Callimachi told David Beard at the Poynter Institute that the paper plans to digitize and share all documents she recovered.¹⁵⁷
- To accompany its two-part documentary “Putin’s Revenge,” PBS’s “Frontline” created an interactive video archive of 56 interviews conducted for the series.¹⁵⁸ Audiences can navigate, search and share content from interviews conducted for the film. These foundational interviews, which in traditional journalism practice would not have appeared at all, received more than 1 million views. In another experiment, “Frontline” enabled viewers to examine the context of quotes from 16 featured interviews in its documentary film “Trump’s Takeover.” While streaming the film online, viewers can click on an icon that takes them directly to the corresponding point in the full interview.

Best practices

While many news organizations have experimented with transparency initiatives, there are no standard best practices recognized across the industry. A convening of U.S. news media leaders and an ongoing working group of experts from across the industry could identify and adopt common standards and best practices that promote transparency. This could build on existing best practices at traditional news organizations and newer efforts underway such as the Trust Project (a global network of news organizations hosted by the Markkula Center for Applied Ethics at Santa Clara University), the Credibility Coalition, PENAmerica, W3C, NewsGuard, DeepNews and other institutions working on this problem.

The Commission supports a leadership-level summit meeting that would bring together all elements of the news ecosystem and would be convened by an industry organization or a collaboration of several organizations. We also support the creation of a working group of experts to complement those at the summit.

Meanwhile, establishing best practices for the industry might start with these actions:

BEST PRACTICE: News organizations should clearly label opinion pieces and identify partisan commentary to distinguish them from news.

In multiple surveys, consumers have expressed confusion over whether stories they read are intended as news or opinion. Readers are suspicious that reporters might inject their own opinions into their news stories. Political punditry from reporters on broadcast and cable television news programming further exacerbates the blurring of the line of news and opinion.

This problem is particularly troublesome online. As Mindy Marques, executive editor and vice president of *The Miami Herald*, told the Commission, “Standards for print developed over a long time; now we need similar standards for online news.”

A 2017 study by the Duke University Reporters’ Lab examined a sample of local and national online news publications to determine how effectively they labeled editorials, news analysis, columns and reviews. The study found:

...inconsistent terminology and a lack of labeling. Some organizations provide a mix of labels that conflate article types such as news and opinion with topic labels such as local, politics and sports. The result for readers is a jumbled labeling approach that fails to consistently distinguish different types of journalism.¹⁵⁹

One of the eight “core indicators” developed by the Trust Project, for example, is “...to distinguish opinion, analysis and advertiser (or sponsored) content from news reports.”¹⁶⁰ News organizations should label opinion content clearly and consistently on all platforms. The Commission recommends that news organizations, on- and offline, create a set of standard labels to communicate clearly to consumers whether content is fact or opinion. We understand that there are variations of these categories, e.g., commentary. We simply urge the news industry to address this problem by helping readers and viewers understand what they are seeing.

Labeling presents opportunities for news organizations to link to source material in order to elevate credible sources of information and build trust with audiences. In addition, this recommendation aligns with the Commission’s call to support the development of tools to trace the origin of news stories and other online information, as described in Chapter 6.

BEST PRACTICE: Journalists should emphasize evidence-based commentary over opinion.

One factor leading to the public’s perception of media bias is the relatively new practice by reporters of appearing on television news programs and expressing their opinions on controversial topics.

To overcome the perception, the Commission recommends that news organizations prioritize reporting, analysis and evidence-based commentary over partisan commenting. Marshaling data sets to provide context for news or analysis is one promising new area that will likely yield more trusted information in the future.

Meanwhile, the Commission urges journalists to stick to the facts of their reporting when appearing on television and when using their social media accounts, rather than engaging in opinion and speculation. We hope journalists will leave opinion to the pundits—those specifically labeled as commentators—and that news and journalism support organizations will move away from turning fundraising dinners into entertainment spectacles.¹⁶¹

...A FREE AND OPEN PRESS...IS AS BASIC
A VALUE AS SELF-GOVERNANCE ITSELF,
AND IT MUST BE PRESERVED.

BEST PRACTICE: News organizations should update and promote best practices on corrections, anonymous sources and advertising formats that blur the line between content and commerce.

Corrections. Journalists make mistakes, but news organizations do not always make it easy to correct mistakes. They need to make it simpler for the public to report an error, especially as partisan political forces continue efforts to undermine the credibility of independent journalism. A few news organizations devote full-time staff members to respond to requests for corrections, but more resources should be devoted to this important task.

Efforts to bring attention to this issue include the “Report an Error Alliance.”¹⁶² That, or similar efforts, deserves greater support amid such high levels of public distrust in the news media. A deeper problem, requiring help from technology organizations, is the need to send a correction along the same online pathways that the original mistake traveled.

News organizations and storytellers will need to develop correction policies and ethical standards to keep up with new approaches to storytelling such as podcasts and voice-activated devices, virtual reality and augmented reality. For example, when responding to questions about news and information, voice interfaces should provide the source of their answers.

Anonymous sources. Anonymous sources are a reality in modern journalism. Reporters have long relied on them, but anonymous sources do not allow the reader/viewer to assess the knowledge, motives or credibility of the person supplying the information.

Many news organizations prefer not to rely on anonymous sources but do use them when that is the only means to report important information. Often, they explain why the source wanted and received anonymity, but what is often missing is an explanation of the informant’s motive. Where appropriate, we urge reporters to disclose information that can help indicate those motives. In any event, all news organizations should have strict guidelines for anonymity that are readily available to the public.

Advertising formats. Advertising content that has the look of a news article also poses a trust problem if not properly identified. Advertising that pretends to be news is unethical—a form of deception. News organizations should clearly label all advertising as such and partner with researchers to be sure the labeling system works. This effort is underscored in Chapter 6, which calls for the disclosure of funding sources for online ads. All media should disclose who sponsored paid content.

BEST PRACTICE: Journalists and reporters should engage with citizens and communities to increase trust.

With the severe cutbacks in local newspaper newsrooms, many papers have reduced their roles in the community and their presence at major events. Fewer reporters are covering local meetings and delivering the on-the-street reporting that puts them in contact with residents. For the most part, local television reporters are not filling the gap and new nonprofit news organizations are struggling to become sustainable. The result is fewer connections to the community, especially as many news organizations focus more on digital storytelling and distribution, work that is often done inside a newsroom rather than in the community.¹⁶³

At one time the Federal Communications Commission required broadcast licensees to ascertain the needs and interests of their communities and to design programming to address those needs.¹⁶⁴ We do not call for a return of those specific regulations. We do suggest, however, that all news entities increase trust in their news products by listening to their audiences for ways they could better serve their communities. And local television stations do have opportunities to fill gaps in local civic information created by newspaper job losses. They could, for example, produce more in-depth coverage and reporting of local issues and activities.

Interactive media offer unprecedented opportunities for journalists to engage with their audiences. A newsroom should be in constant conversation with its community to know what citizens' lives are like, their frustrations and hopes, their story ideas and source material, how they see the issues of the day and their general concerns about news.¹⁶⁵ Just as the audience should know as much as possible about the reporter, so too should the reporter understand as much as possible about the community. This process can also further common understanding about the role and mission of a free press.

The Commission recommends that news leaders develop and communicate new industry standards for engagement.

LISTENING TO THE AUDIENCE: Some Methodologies that Work

Joy Mayer, who leads the Trusting News Project, says rebuilding trust takes more than just delivering factual information. It requires journalists to help citizens understand the role of journalism and respond to their questions and concerns. She writes:

Trust in a news organization develops when people know they can turn to you consistently for reliable information. It happens when people feel they are being heard. It happens when they see their own lives and priorities reflected in your news coverage. It happens when they have confidence in the decisions, values and ethics taking place in your newsrooms.¹⁶⁶

Mayer, who has worked as a journalist, has urged reporters to tell “a consistent, repetitive story about what motivates our work, the range of information and stories we offer, what sets us apart, who we are, how we operate and how people can reach us.” Below are some examples of approaches that show promise.

METHODOLOGY: Solutions Journalism Network

Among the most promising experiments in recent years is the Solutions Journalism Network. Rather than producing successive reports about common problems that never get solved, journalists in the network convene community members and leaders to help inform their reporting and foster conversations specifically to identify potential answers to problems.

A 2017 Solutions Journalism Network project in Philadelphia involved a collaboration of more than a dozen news organizations and won an Associated Press Media Editors Award for “leveraging innovative partnerships across news organizations and creating a project of stunning breadth and clear engagement with the community.”

In Colorado and New Mexico, the Lor Foundation provided funding to seven newsrooms, including *High Country News*, to participate in Solutions Journalism projects. These produced award-winning journalism and helped news leaders identify blind spots they had in the communities they cover.

METHODOLOGY: Engaged Journalism

The University of Oregon's School of Journalism and Communication created a platform, called Gather, to share resources, best practices and case studies to support this re-imagined form of journalism. According to Andrew DeVigal, director of the school's Agora Journalism Center, journalists ask the public to tell them what is missing from stories about their communities and invite their perspectives into the narrative, an approach that he calls "engaged journalism."¹⁶⁷

To help encourage newsrooms to embrace "engaged journalism," several foundations created a \$650,000 Community Listening and Engagement Fund. This gave 34 newsrooms free access to tools such as Hearken, a platform for journalists to bring the public along during the reporting of a story. Separately, in Detroit, the Southeastern Michigan Community Foundation created an engagement fund to inspire journalists and community residents to identify innovative ways to improve local community coverage.

At the Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University, the News Co/Lab works with local newsrooms to better understand what their communities think while helping communities better understand how newsrooms think. The lab combines efforts to increase transparency and engagement in journalism with community service projects to improve news literacy.

METHODOLOGY: Citizen Newsgatherers

In Chicago, the nonprofit City Bureau trains community members in newsgathering techniques and then pays them to gather information at local municipal meetings. This is one way of restoring some of the reporting horsepower lost to layoffs and downsizing. These trained newsgatherers can also bolster the full-time professionals' ability not just to report news but to go deeper and pursue important accountability journalism. This can strengthen the connection between journalists and citizens, yet another avenue to restoring trust.

Finally, the Commission recommends two other measures to complement the transparency initiatives already discussed.

Governments at all levels should be transparent

Part of a news organization's responsibility to its audience is to hold others, including governments, accountable. Where there is little or no coverage, there is a greater chance of corruption or misdeeds.

Governmental entities have a corresponding responsibility to be transparent about their methods and actions. While the Commission understands and accepts the limitations to disclosure in the Freedom of Information Act, we urge every government official to be open and transparent within the bounds of good government, and to make government-held information, including data sets, easily accessible, particularly as data journalism increases in importance. We join with the Society of Professional Journalists in calling for greater disclosure at all levels of government.¹⁶⁸ This includes making public officials available for interviews as well as providing full access to nonconfidential information.

News organizations should create a national campaign to inform the public about the role of journalism

The supply of news and information is only one side of the coin; the other is the demand side. What do Americans understand about the role of journalism in democracy? How does that role affect their communities and their lives? Thus, in addition to urging news organizations to adopt best practices, the Commission recommends that they launch a national campaign to help the public understand the values, practices and role of journalists, as well as the importance of the First Amendment, in a democratic society.



**TECHNOLOGY HAS
MADE NEWS INSTANT
AND GLOBAL AT THE
SAME TIME.**

Recommendation 2

JOURNALISM

Increase support for quality journalism at all levels, with a focus on rebuilding local journalism.

In 2009 the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy warned that the digital-age disruption of local news media “pose[s] a crisis for democracy.”¹⁶⁹ In the decade since that report, the health of the news industry has continued to decline. More than 25,000 fewer journalists are working today in communities across the country than in 2007, even considering employment growth from digital news outlets.¹⁷⁰

It is evident that market solutions alone cannot provide the level of consistent, reliable quality news and information for people to be informed and engaged with their communities. With the local news crisis, communities of all sizes are experiencing harmful cuts in original local reporting. Some communities have become “news deserts,”¹⁷¹ with no sources of original reporting or professional journalism at all.¹⁷²

Funding news. New business models are needed to ensure the survival of quality journalism at both the national and local level. Philanthropy, in particular, must play a more significant role in advancing the future practice of journalism and help support journalism providers, both new and existing, find new sources of revenue. Philanthropy must help ensure the development of news outlets in underserved communities as well as at the national level.

The Commission is aware of several new approaches to funding journalism. Some are for-profit ventures.¹⁷³ Others are exploring crowdsourced funding from readers,¹⁷⁴ increasing contributions to public broadcasting, partnering of local and national news entities to bring national news to local audiences and vice versa, charitable donations from patrons,¹⁷⁵ licensing fees for products created (e.g., data gathered and charted), and even government funding, such as that recently provided by the state of New Jersey.¹⁷⁶ Associations and journalism-support organizations such as the Lenfest Institute for Journalism,¹⁷⁷ the Institute for Nonprofit News¹⁷⁸ and the Local Independent Online News Publishers¹⁷⁹ also provide support for local reporting.

The Commission encourages these kinds of experiments, and turning successful models into templates for expanded success. It also believes that investment in new technologies, and in collaborative efforts across all levels and forms of news media, must be increased.¹⁸⁰ But recognizing an acute need, the Commission urges new approaches specifically for sustaining journalism at the local level.

A. Accelerate a national push to create and foster nonprofit, hybrid and for-profit models of quality local news organizations.

With local news at a crisis point, the Commission encourages all experiments in funding it. In the following suggestions, however, the Commission focuses on nonprofit and public benefit models to preserve local journalism. Promising models include:

Community News Organizations (CNOs). As profit-driven newspapers continue their economic decline, the Commission recommends accelerated investment in nonprofit, mission-driven journalistic entities we call Community News Organizations (CNOs).

The number of CNOs has increased dramatically over the past decade to nearly 200, although many of these are small and remain “financially fragile.”¹⁸¹ In fact, the CNO universe today bears a strong resemblance in size and maturity to the educational broadcasting system at the time President Johnson signed the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 that established the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. That Act paved the way for the creation of many of the more than 1,400 radio and television stations in the U.S. today.

CNOs vary widely in their scope and individual mandates, but essentially all share a single *raison d’être*: to cover topics of civic importance that many legacy news organizations have been forced to de-emphasize or abandon altogether. Perhaps the most obvious example is reporting from the state capital.

State legislatures make enormously consequential decisions, and many have been subject to significant corruption. But according to Pew Research, the number of full-time statehouse reporters declined by 35 percent between 2003 and 2014.¹⁸²

Unfortunately, statehouse reporting is expensive to maintain. It is also true that state politics is not necessarily a topic of high interest for many readers, and that when news organizations experience financial problems, this type of coverage is vulnerable to cutbacks in favor of more popular fare. A similar statement could be made about many other under-covered local subject areas such as court systems, city hall intricacies, public health issues and the needs of persistently disadvantaged populations.

CNOs seek both philanthropic and commercial support to fill these civic information gaps. However, CNOs are fundamentally civic rather than commercial institutions. By elevating their importance, American society will properly confront a stark and new reality: that the maintenance of an informed citizenry must be the responsibility of the citizens themselves.

Although the Commission has focused on CNOs that operate primarily online,¹⁸³ it recognizes that news organizations today and in the future will deliver products through various media formats, including interactive online media, audio and video. Thus, CNOs can come from any of these sources, and indeed some have blossomed from public radio beginnings.

Community Information Corporations (CIC). One specific form of CNO is modeled after Community Development Corporations, local nonprofits aimed at developing a local area economically. A Community Information Corporation (CIC) is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization created to support and revitalize communities, especially those that are information-impooverished. A CIC could also be involved in a wide range of community services that meet local needs, such as education, job training and other social programs.¹⁸⁴ While we assume that a CNO (above) would not take government money or privileges, a CIC could and would accept government support. In doing so, however, it would need to maintain editorial independence from government.

Public Benefit Corporations. A Public Benefit Corporation (PBC), by definition, makes clear that an enterprise's goals are not solely for profit. Forming as a PBC, or including PBC-like clauses in its corporate charter, allows for-profit news organizations to invest in serving their communities without fear of shareholder suits for failing to maximize profits.

The Commission recommends that existing for-profit news organizations give serious consideration either to converting to PBCs or adopting “public benefit” commitments in their corporate charters. A recent example is the Philadelphia Media Network, which operates the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Daily News* and Philly.com. The late H. F. Lenfest turned the company into a public benefit corporation in 2016¹⁸⁵ as part of his decision to donate the company and a \$20 million endowment to a new nonprofit, the Institute for Journalism in New Media, now called the Lenfest Institute for Journalism. The goal is for the Philadelphia Media Network to continue to generate commercial revenue from advertising and subscriptions, while pursuing a sustainable business model for its future.

This recommendation presents opportunities for news organizations to increase transparency and trustworthiness through clearly stated goals for meeting the information needs of the communities they serve. By becoming a PBC or adopting specific PBC elements, a news organization can more clearly commit itself to specific social and civic values. Entities that want to move to full PBC status would need to amend their certificate of incorporation to become one. Or, using the PBC framework, news organizations could develop and add specific “public benefit” commitments to their existing corporate charters without formally changing status.

Venture philanthropy. According to a Harvard study, while the local newspaper industry's spending on newsgathering declined sharply in the period 2010–2015, philanthropy barely pushed back.¹⁸⁶ In these six years, U.S. foundations granted a total of \$295 million to nonprofit news organizations, but only \$80 million to those on a local level.

Considering the great opportunity for philanthropic impact on local news, the Commission calls for the creation of at least one national venture philanthropy entity dedicated to funding and supporting CNOs across the country. Patterned after venture philanthropy enterprises that addressed market failures elsewhere in American society (e.g., New Profit, Draper Richards Kaplan), the entity or entities would be dedicated exclusively to journalism.

This approach would serve as a catalyst for the creation of CNOs and encourage more philanthropic investment in these organizations. The American Journalism Project (see below) is one example of a venture philanthropic fund that intends to involve local and national philanthropies in support of quality local journalism.

B. Encourage more collaboration among journalism entities at all levels.

Sustainability in journalism takes more than funding models. It takes good journalism. One notable innovation is collaborative journalism to create “content that is greater than what any individual journalist, newsroom or organization could produce on its own.”¹⁸⁸

There are several ways that journalists can benefit from partnering with other journalistic entities, ranging from local media organizations pooling their news operations in time of disaster to a local entity’s joining a regional consortium to local-national alignments.

Some collaborations, like the Panama Papers,¹⁸⁹ are even international.

While journalism has a tradition of fierce competitiveness, the current state of local journalism finances and the importance of the mission warrant a fresh look at how entities can work together to inform the public.



AMERICAN JOURNALISM PROJECT

One new project in venture philanthropy, which took form during the Commission's inquiry and is spearheaded by a member of this Commission, is the American Journalism Project (AJP).¹⁸⁷ AJP is intended to serve three mutually reinforcing functions:

- **Fundraising.** AJP will seek \$50 million for its first local news fund. The target donors to the fund are foundations, corporations and families who see the crisis in local news as an important national problem. Over time, as AJP and its portfolio partners build a track record, it will seek to raise additional funds. Additionally, AJP will also assist its portfolio organizations in raising matching gifts from the local community.
- **Investing and company-building.** Initially, the Fund will seek to make 25 to 35 transformational investments in existing and new CNOs that can serve as exemplars for a new generation of news organizations. Each investment will adhere to a disciplined set of investment criteria, be designed to leverage existing community support and aim to build capacity for increasing that support. AJP will have partners with a mix of backgrounds in technology, startups, venture capital, journalism and philanthropy. These partners will serve as hands-on board members, advocates for each portfolio company, and advisors on team-building and strategy issues.
- **Education and evangelism.** AJP will seek to increase philanthropic support for local journalism by a factor of 10 in the next decade. In service of this objective, AJP will conduct an unprecedented and “assertive, sustained campaign to cement, in the philanthropic mind, a direct, causal, and strategic link between fortifying local journalism and reviving American civic life.” It will cultivate understanding of the interdependence between democracy and independent local journalism, reframe local journalism as a public service and evangelize for local journalism as a philanthropic priority.



Public media. In 2018, at a time when disinformation was on the rise and trust in all media in decline, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) and its member stations ranked highest in public trust among nationally known media institutions—for the 15th consecutive year.¹⁹⁰ Public radio also gets high marks.¹⁹¹

In addition to its trustworthiness, public media in the U.S. comprises some of the country's largest-reaching media organizations that serve their audiences through television, radio, mobile devices, the web, in the classroom and more. As the number of full-time newspaper jobs dramatically declined, public media stepped in to fill the gaps, at least partially. Staffing for journalism in public radio is up, supported by growth in individual giving. Investigative reporting is expanding through collaborative efforts with organizations such as the Center for Investigative Reporting and leadership from National Public Radio, American Public Media and PRX.

The strength of the public media system lies in its collective power. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) has led the way, providing crucial support with technology investments to help NPR and member stations keep up with the shift to digital journalism and changes in audience behavior. Funding for regional and local journalism initiatives has helped increase local reporting and promote civic engagement. Since 2009, CPB has invested more than \$32 million to help launch more than 20 local and regional news collaborations,¹⁹² creating 127 newsroom positions to support the collaborations. These innovative partnerships connect 139 public media stations in 42 states and foster a network of high-quality local and regional multimedia journalism with national reach.¹⁹³

These regional collaborations among news entities in the public broadcasting field are valuable. It is now time to bring the learning from the current regional-local initiatives to an alliance for national-local collaborations.

By partnering national and local public broadcasters, this initiative would enhance the public broadcasting model by further expanding local news coverage and by giving national organizations greater ability to cover local aspects of larger stories. When news organizations pool resources, share lessons learned and work together on in-depth and time-intensive projects, the result is greater than the sum of its parts. To achieve this aim, the Commission calls for more local and national philanthropic support of collaborative projects as well as initial or pilot grants from CPB.

Other national-local partnerships. The USA Today Network is a for-profit example of local-national journalism partnerships, created from the combination of a chain of local papers and a national one.¹⁹⁴ The network tripled the size of its investigative team in 2018 with the intention of fostering stronger collaboration on major investigative efforts emanating from local newsrooms. One Pulitzer Prize-winning effort led by the *Arizona Republic*, “The Wall,” combined the efforts of dozens of journalists in Gannett newsrooms across the Southwest, took advantage of specialized resources from still other newsrooms, and drew on additional resources from *USA TODAY*. While that is an example of internal company collaboration, this approach could be adapted by a network of separately owned aligned news organizations.

Another approach is for national nonprofit news entities to support local efforts, as in the case of ProPublica’s local reporting network. It works with local news organizations on investigative stories, including “conflicts of interest, housing, mental health care, criminal justice and workplace safety,” and even pays several local news organizations to devote personnel to these investigations.¹⁹⁵ And Reveal Local Labs partners the Center for Investigative Journalism with local entities.¹⁹⁶

The Commission thus encourages national news entities to work more closely with local news organizations to expand local capacity and amplify local issues that become national stories.

Educational and nonprofit entities. Universities using the teaching-hospital model of journalism education¹⁹⁷ are now responsible for news and information that reaches millions of Americans. Students at several universities (e.g., the University of North Carolina, the University of Florida, Arizona State University, the University of Missouri, the University of California at Berkeley) have won top professional awards while still in school. The Scripps Howard Foundation announced in 2018 the formation of Howard Centers, “multidisciplinary, graduate-level programs focused on training the next generation of reporters through hands-on investigative journalism projects” at the University of Maryland and Arizona State.¹⁹⁸ The John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, sponsor of this Commission, has also contributed to many educational efforts throughout the country too numerous to detail. Student-produced, professionally supervised journalism, then, could help replenish local journalism and keep it flowing as new models arise.

Furthermore, many universities holding broadcast licenses do not produce local news on those outlets. The Commission would encourage these licensees to work with local news labs or develop their own to produce local news for their communities.

Recommendation 3

INNOVATION**Use technology to enhance journalism's roles in fostering democracy.****A. News companies need to embrace technology to support their mission and achieve sustainability.**

Journalism, like the society it serves, has seen transformative technological advances in the past quarter-century. Newsrooms have gone from relying on the figurative clacking typewriter to sophisticated mobile devices that can instantly call up information and deliver reports from anywhere in the world.

These capabilities are not equally distributed. While some leading news organizations have the means to employ data journalists, AI experts, engineers and app developers, many local news entities struggle to stay abreast of the technology curve. Any deficit in technology access and application within a newsroom limits its ability to gather news, to connect with and serve its community and to experiment with sustainable models.

New technologies discussed in earlier chapters will present new opportunities and challenges. For example, augmented reality could provide customers of local news operations with enhanced location-based stories, and virtual reality can place a viewer in the midst of a news scene.¹⁹⁹

Data journalism is an important emerging field that allows journalists to use digital data—now available in vast amounts—to uncover important stories and convey complex trends visually. Data journalism can serve many purposes—for example, to analyze crime trends in a community, to delve deeply into voting patterns in an election or to identify patterns of abuse in government spending.²⁰⁰ Many journalism schools now offer courses to equip journalists with the skills to use these new approaches.

As more sophisticated technologies and techniques like these emerge, the Commission recommends the development of best practices on how to integrate them into the practice of journalism.²⁰¹

An important reason for incorporating these new technologies in journalism is to develop forms of news that will attract younger audiences. Youth involvement with news places a significant emphasis on interaction (as it comes through social feeds) and direct messaging within a network.

Understanding behavioral preferences is essential in developing a next generation of readers, viewers, content creators and, most importantly, engaged citizens. For example, one intriguing approach to attracting younger audiences to news is gaming, a storytelling medium in which participants are rewarded for problem-solving. According to BBC journalism futurist Philip Trippenbach, “This challenge structure is at the heart of games’ value to journalism. By setting challenges that are relevant to the subject matter, a journalist can communicate understanding of almost any complex topic.”²⁰²

B. Use technology and collaboration to help defeat disinformation.

Some news organizations, which have expertise in sorting truth from fiction, have already engaged in the effort to defeat disinformation. For example, a small group of specially trained journalists tracked down offenders who were spreading false information during the 2016 U.S. presidential election. They discovered that these media manipulators included teenagers in Macedonia; a California man who established several fake news websites, including “The Denver Guardian;” and, famously, Russian operatives.²⁰³ During the 2017 French elections, experts at First Draft trained dozens of journalists to hunt down efforts to deceive the public and created a collaboration of journalists from multiple news organizations who worked to verify or repudiate online content.²⁰⁴

Leading technology companies are also making efforts to slow the spread of misinformation and disinformation online. But more can be done. The Commission, therefore, looks to journalists and technologists, ideally working together, to address this blight on trust and democracy. Technology companies need to guard the privacy of users’ personal information. But sharing data with journalists and researchers—without disclosing personally identifying information—is critical for independent reporting and analysis on how social media are being used to manipulate users with disinformation. This requires more collaboration between technology companies and journalists.

The Commission also urges journalists and technologists to take further responsibility in helping educate and inform their communities about disinformation, and supports an AdCouncil initiative to do the same.

Increase collaboration. News and technology companies vary widely in their capabilities to identify and address misinformation and disinformation. Some are attempting to use artificial intelligence, for example, to identify online content that the media organization then confirms to be nonfactual and/or manipulated. News and technology entities must continue to use and improve technologies such as machine learning, natural language processing and distributed annotation to detect misinformation or disinformation. To that end, the Commission recommends that the news leader summit proposed in Recommendation 1 include these topics as areas where journalists and technology companies should work together.

The Commission notes several technological approaches to increase the visibility and credibility of sources on the web, including efforts by First Draft, the Trust Project, the Credibility Coalition and Hypothesis. The Reporters Lab at Duke University is exploring multiple ways to apply machine learning to automate fact-checking and to find new ways to distribute trustworthy news. Many other academics and organizations are also engaged in these efforts.²⁰⁵ The Commission recommends increasing support for research and development to address, as quickly as possible, emerging threats such as deepfake videos.

Special care is necessary, however, to ensure that technology solutions do not cause more problems than they try to address. Algorithms sometimes mislabel or are overbroad, incorrectly identifying an article as false, or resulting in other false positives. Algorithms can also reflect the viewpoints of their human creators leading to allegations of bias or censorship. With these caveats, we see great promise in the use of algorithms to help detect suspected misinformation or bias in news stories, allowing humans to review the cases further and correct.

Responsibility to inform. In addition to increased collaboration, journalists have an important role to play in protecting the public from disinformation online. Journalists and academics are already alerting technology companies to efforts to use their platforms to spread disinformation.²⁰⁶ The Commission encourages news organizations and journalists to take responsibility for educating the public about the spectrum of media manipulation and its dangers. As scholar danah boyd observes, “The press’s unique role in our country is rooted in a historically unique capacity to amplify information. Yet, just because the news media is no longer the only gatekeeper does not mean that the responsibilities of democratic governance can be ignored.”²⁰⁷

C. Use journalism to combat polarization.

Part of living in a democracy is engaging with others of different outlooks and philosophies. The various interests interact and deliberate to resolve issues of governance. Ideally, through this process, the informed citizen becomes familiar with competing viewpoints and ultimately comes to decisions on how to vote.

A second strain of democratic theory is that the First Amendment guarantees freedom of expression as a means of determining truth. In the marketplace of ideas, the thinking goes, truth will prevail.

In both cases, it is important that members of the public have access to competing ideas in order to arrive at their own conclusions. Today, however, many individuals look to trusted analysts, accept their assertions at face value, and proceed to operate through that single prism.

Studies in cognitive bias indicate that as people develop a philosophical outlook on the world, they tend to gravitate to information, viewpoints, advocates and associations that reinforce pre-existing views. They are attracted to seeing the world through a certain lens, or “filter bubble,” as coined by political activist and social entrepreneur Eli Pariser.²⁰⁸ Reinforcing this tendency is the world of social media, where critics allege that exploitation of such biases contributes to addictive information-seeking and -sharing behaviors.²⁰⁹ This is partly a result of the customized or personalized algorithms and recommendation systems to keep users engaged. Algorithmically enabled filter bubbles further push individuals into larger echo chambers, which are often amplified by more media, including broadcast and cable news sources that appeal to specific political perspectives.

The Commission believes it is important for the health of democracy for people to break out of these ideological cocoons. To do so will require individuals to embrace dissent and discomfort in the pursuit of truth. It certainly requires extending professional journalistic practices across the media ecosystem. Reporters need to identify where various interested parties stand and create stories that allow readers or viewers, whatever lens they bring to the story, to better understand the issues being covered. Editors need to ensure the accuracy of these stories and question the assumptions behind what a reporter has gathered and writes.

The Commission is neither the thought police nor a parent. We can, however, recommend that all media—print, broadcast, cable and online—make deliberate efforts to expose their readers, viewers and users to diverse viewpoints. As this recommendation touches upon citizens’ freedom of thought and expression, we do not suggest government mandates of any kind. Rather, the Commission sees this as a time for all media to take on the responsibility to serve the broader society.

Recommendation 4

DIVERSITY & INCLUSION**Build a news and information ecosystem that reflects the diversity of individual communities and our nation.**

To win a community's trust, news organizations should serve the entire community. To do otherwise limits its potential in any number of areas: advancing community understanding, helping people solve problems and giving itself the best possible chance for survival and success. Journalism must reduce the self-imposed distance between reporters and citizens by expanding the ranks of those who can contribute to the work of journalism. This inclusiveness should encompass all elements of the news business—news production, ownership, dissemination and ancillary functions.

Over the course of its deliberations, the Commission listened to people who rarely see their communities represented in the media. The social fault lines of race, gender, age, geography, class and ideology remain evident. Newsrooms that do not reflect their communities limit which stories get told, how they are told, who speaks as an authority and how audiences will relate to the issue.

This needs to change.

Inclusion and trust. It is clear to this Commission that greater inclusion would increase trust in the news product. We therefore call for news organizations to reflect their entire communities in their news stories and news feeds. Specifically, the Commission calls for a nationwide commitment to diversity in all facets of the news ecosystem. This applies to the people hired, the stories covered, the viewpoints considered and the authorities quoted. These pathways into journalism will strengthen communities and sustain the industry. They are vital regardless of the economic stresses the industry faces.

The Commission recognizes and applauds current efforts by professional groups such as the American Society of News Editors and the Radio and Television Digital News Association, along with other nonprofits, businesses and educational centers, to promote diversity. We encourage additional support for these efforts.

Diverse workforce. This recommendation urges news organizations to expand recruitment, hiring and retention practices that increase diversity of staff, and even owners.²¹⁰ Lack of opportunities to advance and to do first-rate professional work have been cited as reasons that journalists of color leave the industry.²¹¹ Newsroom organizations should develop mentoring and training programs that can help enlist, retain and promote women and journalists of color as well as journalists from other under-represented groups—e.g., geography, class and even ideology. Such programs should support the inclusion of candidates from diminished socioeconomic means through alternative pay incentives, flexible work schedules, public transportation subsidies or other means.

The Commission also challenges all news organizations to track and share data on hiring and employment in newsrooms. Many now do, but hundreds do not. Such efforts are part of the movement toward “radical transparency” for news organizations. They help reduce the distance between journalists and citizens and expand the ranks of those who can contribute to the work of journalism.

All these measures apply as well to the new media and technology companies whose workforces are also significantly unreflective of their customer base.



... ORGANIZATIONS THAT PRODUCE OR DISTRIBUTE NEWS NEED TO MAKE TRANSPARENCY CENTRAL TO THEIR MISSION, REAFFIRMING THEIR ROLES AS CIVIC AND PUBLIC SERVANTS.

Reaching youth. Today's media leaders need to understand better how young people are engaging on social media platforms, and how to reach those who are not online. They need to consult youth in the development of news products. Mentoring and reverse-mentoring will be important measures to create the next generation of journalists, as well as new forms of news attractive to younger audiences.

The Commission appreciates that many journalism schools are committed to diversity in recruiting and training students. But more needs to be done. News organizations need to find staff members from disadvantaged communities and underrepresented geographic areas. Journalism schools can help in identifying, recruiting, training and counseling those students. Those who work their way through college and do not have time to volunteer on the student newspaper or radio station could receive stipends for such work. One should not have to come from a wealthy or middle-class family to pursue a career in journalism.

News organizations' engagement with youth should extend beyond job training. Journalism and media activities in schools enhance civic education, a Commission interest and recommendation in Chapter 7 on citizenship. Furthermore, news literacy is one of the 21st century capabilities that the Commission also emphasizes in that later chapter. News organizations and journalists are already pursuing those news and media literacy goals, but in view of the needs in our society, more should be done.

Lastly, learning occurs in classrooms, libraries, museums, in the home, online and anywhere else the student is.²¹² News organizations should partner with learning institutions, such as local public libraries, to engage young and old in demystifying the news process.