

DISSERTATION

WHEN WE'RE BACKED INTO A CORNER, WE LEARN HOW TO FLY: TWO WAYS
LOCAL JOURNALISM CAN GROW, THRIVE, & EVOLVE TO FIT THE NEEDS OF A
NEW KIND OF LOCAL INFORMATION ECOSYSTEM

Submitted by

Jesse Scaccia

Department of Journalism & Media Communication

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Doctoral Committee:

Advisor: Michael Humphrey

Kris Kodrich

Martin Carcasson

Dominik Stecula

Gregory Luft

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ABSTRACT

WHEN WE'RE BACKED INTO A CORNER, WE LEARN HOW TO FLY: TWO WAYS LOCAL JOURNALISM CAN GROW, THRIVE, & EVOLVE TO FIT THE NEEDS OF A NEW KIND OF LOCAL INFORMATION ECOSYSTEM

The local news industry and local information ecosystems face dual threats: collapsing business models that have taken with them traditional pipelines of community dialogue, and an often broken, divisive, still-top-down dialogue when conversation within our communities do happen. This dissertation proposes to address partial solutions for each concern in turn. First, by looking at how journalism teaching hospitals, long a steady source of news in the communities they call home, are formed and what makes them thrive. Then, in the interest of not recreating a broken system, by exploring the intersection of journalism and deliberative democracy, and proposing a method for local deliberative journalists to uncover the issues a community itself would most like to address.

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I. Introduction & Statement of Reflexivity

I first encountered the journalism teaching hospital concept while working as the editor and co-publisher of a local online arts and opinion magazine in coastal Virginia. We were a true mom and pop shop that found a way to run with no editorial budget; it was a real community-sourced publication. While I knew our politically engaged readership would appreciate news from the state capital, there was no way I could imagine us resourcing the cost of a reporter in Richmond. Then I found the Capital News Service, Virginia Commonwealth University's teaching hospital in Richmond, Virginia.

Capital News Service is the capstone of VCU's journalism program. Upper level students cover the General Assembly, as guided by their professor/publisher, and their edited work is made available for free to any media who would like to share it. Over the next half decade, my publication published dozens of stories reported on by those student journalists – and our readers were better for it. I still follow some of those student journalists on LinkedIn, and at least anecdotally, they seem to be doing well in their careers.

Further exploring the teaching hospital model is one of the things that inspired me to pursue a PhD in media and mass communication. Once engaged in those studies, I maintained a belief in the ability of the teaching hospital model to meaningfully fill a hole in local information ecosystems – at least in some places.

But I also started to better understand the mismatched fit between the local news currently produced, and the kind of local news that is best for their companion local democracies. This came to light, in part, through learning about Agenda Setting Theory (AST). Deliberative journalists – an evolving concept I'll go more into shortly – are no different than all

in the media in the way they are news agenda setters. AST describes the ability of the media to ascribe value to issues in the eyes of the public (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The literature is thick with learnings from AST, including that audiences believe that what the media covers is inherently important (Luo et al, 2019). Media attention is a vital part of the political system in the way it signals priorities to lawmakers and the public (Atkinson et al, 2014). News coverage begets news coverage from other media, as media looks to its peers to decide what is newsworthy (Atkinson et al, 2014). Even in a more dispersed media environment, media content can converge and become homogenized, further enforcing the media's ability to set the public agenda (Luo et al, 2019). The media play an even greater agenda setting function on the local level, where they play a key role in indirectly shaping public opinions for a wide variety of issues on a day-to-day basis (Kim et al, 2002).

Journalists too often have considered readers spectators, and should be encouraged to interact with the public more to get their feedback (Ferreira, 2013). This includes asking readers for their input on what should count as news in their community. Correia (2010) calls for an openness to “external agenda initiatives” coming from citizens and social movements, particularly in deliberative journalism contexts, which should allow expanded participation in decision making.

In short, it's not enough for journalism teaching hospitals – and whatever fills the gap in local information ecosystems – to recreate the same old wheel. To best serve democracy, teaching hospitals, along with all of local journalism, would have to evolve, too. That's where deliberative ideas of democracy and narrative tools came into play in my own academic studies, and now here in this dissertation.

Through this document and research I aspire to unpack the journalism teaching hospital model to better understand how it works, and to better understand how others can build their own models. I also aspire to unpack how utilizing narrative engagement methods can allow journalists to model deliberative ideals, and potentially better serve their communities. This will occur through a literature review that covers the collapse of the local news industry, the relationship between local news and local democracies (including the negative impact of the loss of local media), a brief overview of the journalism academy, the teaching hospital model and experiential learning, what's wrong with news production as it currently happens, deliberative democracy, and the facilitative role of media within a democracy. From there I move onto our research questions, methods, and study design.

While I have done my best to remain neutral in my research practices throughout this process, I will be transparent that these issues matter to me. I care about the health of local democracies, the vitality of local journalism, and the well-being of our journalism students and programs. I'm rooting for all of them. This dissertation is openly solutions oriented.

II. Literature Review

The urgency for this research comes from the downfall of local newspapers over the past two decades, and the impact this has had on local democracies, namely the local information ecosystems that feed citizens the basic information they need to civically engage and credibly make democratic decisions.

In the next two sections I will give an overview of the topics of the downfall of local news and its impact on local democracies. Then in sections C and D I turn my attention to a potential key player in local information ecosystems, the journalism academy, and look more specifically at the teaching hospital concept. In the sections E and F I look at research that points to the current news system being broken, and then explore deliberative democracy concepts that might be able to play a role in addressing some of the key flaws in the news system. Finally, I take a brief look at theories that help guide this research.

A. Collapse of Local News Industry, & Emerging New Hopes

Why does the collapse of local news matter? Isn't it just another last-century business model the market – and the marketplace of ideas – did away with? It matters because wherever democracy matters, democracy has to matter. This research is keenly interested in the intersection of local news and local democracy. The two can be seen as almost intertwined. In this section I provide an overview of the positive impact local news production has on local democracies, and the negative impacts that occur without or with less local news production.

It is almost hard to grasp how far local newspapers have fallen in local imaginations and in tangible reach. In the early 1940s, America could boast 41 million newspaper subscriptions

among its 133 million residents (Lawless & Hayes, 2021). By comparison, the estimated total U.S. daily newspaper circulation (print and digital combined) in 2020 was 24.3 million for weekday and 25.8 million for Sunday (Pew Research Center, 2021).

The number of American newspaper newsroom employees dropped by 57% between 2008 and 2020, from about 71,000 jobs to roughly 31,000, while weekday newspaper circulation dropped by 55% between 1984 and 2018 (Walker, 2021; Pew Research Center, 2019).

Approximately 1,300 communities in the United States have totally lost local news coverage as of 2018, leaving over 65 million Americans in counties with only one local newspaper, or zero local newspapers (University of North Carolina's School of Media and Journalism, 2018; Hendrickson, 2019). This downturn is due to a combination of factors, including technological, economic and cultural developments (Hanusch, 2015).

The dozens or more journalism jobs lost during the Covid pandemic only accelerated existing downward economic trends for local journalism as an industry (Hare, 2020). Between 2008 and 2018, the newspaper industry experienced a 68% drop in advertising revenue (Pew Research Center, 2019). "In this moment, the bottom is falling out economically for local news organizations," reported The Atlantic (Waldman & Sennott, 2020, para. 3).

There are more positive indicators to report, as well, among the doom and gloom. Online-only news outlets have added 10,000 jobs from 2008 to 2020 (Pew Research Center, 2021). Digital newspaper ad revenue is projected to eclipse print newspaper revenue by 2026, hitting the \$5 billion mark, according to one report (Fischer, 2022). Digital readership numbers are on the upswing, too. A 2020 Pew Report said that digital weekday circulation was up 30% in 2020, and digital Sunday circulation climbed 29% over the previous year (Matsa & Worden, 2022).

The same 2020 report noted that the average number of monthly unique visitors to local news websites has increased 44% since the fourth quarter of 2014.

The non-profit local news model continues to take hold. For example, in January it was announced that 20 local news organizations will receive funding and training to, in part, help catalyze philanthropic business models, supported by Report for America and Local Media Association (Local Media, 2022). A Business Record article on the emergence of this trend cited seven such initiatives that over the last three years have raised more than \$15m in philanthropy. The reporter said:

The emergence of a variety of nonprofit news organizations or philanthropically funded community news funds – and substantial donations flowing into them – indicate that community and business leaders across the United States are recognizing that independent, factual reporting of news represents a vital community resource. (Gardyas, 2022, para. 6).

There could be increasing momentum toward greater and new kinds of government support for local journalism. The Local Journalism Sustainability Act would create tax credits that help news outlets hire more journalists, while the Journalism Competition and Preservation Act would let news outlets collectively bargain with social media companies over fair prices for content shared on those platforms (Donovan-Smith, 2022).

In the spirit of Kali, as the local news industry has seemed to be burning from one perspective, it is also renewing. Ben Smith, The New York Times media reporter, noted that in recent years there have been the founding of numerous flavors of journalistic innovation, including local news outlets more focused on the community, new climate reporting, and Youtube being used as a media outlet. He wrote:

And yet in the United States, there's also a generation of ventures growing up in the cracks in the sidewalk, fueled by a new sense of mission in American journalism and by the sheer quantities of money, private and nonprofit, floating around. (Smith, 2021, para. 3).

B. News & Democracies, Particularly on the Local Level

Benefits of Good Local News for Communities & Democracy: What's Great about Local News

Among the virtues of a robust local news information ecosystem is the ability of a community to build a strong community web (Hess & Walker, 2014). One way this can happen is through a shared civic identity. Without local media, a community loses a symbolic opportunity of creating and owning a sense of place in an increasingly fractured society. Local communities face diminished cultural meaning in an increasingly nationalized and large metro-focused media ecosystem, but local media can act as a counter balance to this, fostering a localized sense of self that is valuable in a democracy (Castells, 2010). Or, as stated by McNair, "Local journalism is part of the social cement which binds communities together and is widely and rightly viewed as an essential element in the construction of local identity" (2006, p. 37).

Reading the news is a precursor to being engaged in political conversation; what's more, reading the news is a precursor to feeling empowered to express one's political opinion (Koch, 1994). In an independent quantitative study, Kim et al (1999) came to a related conclusion, finding that an individual's volume of news media use was closely associated with their frequency of political conversation. The research of McCluskey et al (2004) took these conclusions a step further, finding that "print media may be particularly effective at conveying important information that becomes the building blocks for perceptions of actual efficacy while

at the same time encouraging normative expectations of influence” (p. 448). Or as put by Lowrey & Daniels (2017):

Communities benefit most when journalists are authentically embedded within their communities and when citizens believe they themselves play a legitimate role in not just having conversations, but in shaping agendas and communicating pertinent, everyday information about their community’s structures and processes. (p. 337).

One thing local journalism does well, especially compared to national media, is better hold onto the trust of audiences. A 2022 Gallup/Knight poll found that, “compared with other sources of local information, Americans also say local news does the *best* job of keeping them informed, holding leaders accountable and amplifying stories in their communities versus social media, community-based apps and word of mouth” (Fioroni, 2022, para. 2). The same poll found that, at least among Democrats, trust in local news increased between 2019 and 2021, while trust in national news decreased.

Outlets can capitalize on that trust by directly empowering their readers and viewers as citizens. Said Darryl Holliday, cofounder of and director of the news lab at City Bureau, a civic journalism organization:

Think about hosting trainings for your community, opening up your newsroom and the facilities you have. That’s how you democratize skills and provide platforms for more people to learn how to do journalism, to adapt it for this new era. That’s the baseline. In the end, journalism skills are civic skills. Some of the most exciting media organizations I know aren’t just producing news content or engaging people online, they’re working directly with people on skills and information they need to self-organize — wherever they live. (Hammonds, 2022, para. 23).

Another positive indicator for local news is the industry and audience's willingness to accept student reporters as norms. According to a 2022 Pew Research Center Study, 11% of state capitol reporters are student journalists (Blazina, 2022). The percentage is much higher in some places, such as Nebraska, where 58% of reporters covering the state capital this year were students, and Louisiana and Virginia, where 26% and 25% of reporters, respectively, were students this year.

Another strength of local news is the ability to help create a sense of place for readers. "The power of journalism to create places may be one of its most important cultural functions for American social life," wrote Nikki Usher in *News for the Rich, White, and Blue* (Usher, 2021, p. 243). But, as Usher writes, to fulfill this promise for all citizens will mean that newspapers and all local news outlets will need to do things a little differently than before. "Many newspapers (and news outlets more generally) have systematically marginalized communities and participated in retaining the status quo" (Usher, 2021, p. 238).

Insufficient Production of Information for the Local Democracy

The collapse of local news is causing a "national crisis" that leaves city council and school board meetings uncovered across American communities (Bosman, 2019). When it comes to local policies and politics, city newspapers are often the only reliable information providers (Rubado & Jennings, 2019). Communities are "woefully uniformed" as both their attention and the local industry's profits are increasingly siphoned by "tech giants" (Pen America, 2021). This matters to local democracies, as local news has been found to foster better communities in a myriad of ways, including leading to less political corruption, while losing a newspaper has been found to lead to decreased civic engagement (Adsera et al, 2003; Shaker, 2014).

Local newspapers are singular in their ability as a medium to determine the issues debated by citizens and to help a community digest public policy issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Jones estimates that of the news that feeds democracy, newspapers provide up to 85 percent of that diet for American audiences (Pen America, 2021). There is no other medium positioned to fill local newspapers' public journalism role of shedding light on local issues, according to the Federal Communications Commission (2011). As the size of a newspaper shrinks, the volume of news coverage withers (Hayes & Lawless, 2021). It's a death spiral that neither the journalism industry nor academy has found a way to stop.

Negative Impacts of the Loss of a Local Media

Newspapers remain an important contributor to political awareness, including among those with limited interest in politics (Peterson, 2019). Political conversation shared through young people can have a multiplier positive effect for local information ecosystems. When preadults are exposed to political media messages, it acts as a stimulus for political discussion among preadults and their families, teachers, and peers (Owen & Cammarano, 1987). Local newspapers can also act as buttresses against the polarization of their communities (Darr, Hitt, & Dunaway, 2018). In these ways, local newspapers bring us together as other forces pull our communities apart.

The relationship between local media with its community is often so much more personal than that between national media and a local community; much is lost when the connection between media and place becomes almost immeasurable. Being a local journalist is just *different* than being a national journalist. Local newspaper journalists exhibit much stronger support for the community forum and advocacy role than what research called "metropolitan journalists"

(Hanush, 2015). Local journalists see themselves as advocates for their community, positioned to trumpet good news about local businesses and highlighting community achievements (Bowd, 2003). Janowitz argued for a “community integration hypothesis,” claiming that local journalists were more likely to have a higher regard for their readers, and were more involved with local community groups, compared to national journalists (1952). When the storytellers of a community do not feel a shared sense of fate with that community, how does that reshape the stories they tell that community about itself?

When local newspapers go away, it’s often the communities most in need of a translator and advocate who suffer. As stated by Abernathy (2016):

Low-income and rural communities need strong newspapers to give voice to their interests and concerns, provide context and analysis around problems and solutions, and help set the agenda for debate and adoption of effective public policies. Television and radio offer little more than spotty coverage; their intermittent attention does not make them a reliable alternative news sources for people in rural and low-income areas.

Without a local paper, there is a strong risk of news deserts emerging across vast regions in the country with communities that can least afford it — with political, economic and social consequences for society as a whole. (p. 63).

News Judgment Practices Aligned with Facilitative Theories of Media

It would not be enough for the local journalism industry to fix its business model, and replicate the legacy local news, politics, and culture reporting enjoyed by communities before the Internet and mass concentration of media outlets. As explicated in Chapter 1, Section E of this document, the mode of communication is broken, too, leaving our communities divided and

social fabric frayed. In the breakdown is an opportunity to rebuild something better -- for communities, for democracy, and for the institution of journalism itself.

Wallace notes that “news judgment is the first filter all news passes through, and it usually isn’t based on anything measurable” in their book *The View from Somewhere: Undoing the Myth of Journalistic Objectivity* (2019, p. 34). Wallace goes on:

But news judgment is still always about power -- who controls the narrative, whose narratives matter, and how the appearance of “mattering” is created in a society rife with entrenched inequalities... News judgment matters. It affects what kind of world we think we live in, and who we think populates that world (pp. 34- 36).

Wallace (2019) makes a compelling argument that news judgment is a moving target because our shared values are a moving target. Yesterday’s “activism” becomes tomorrow’s “objective norm.” For example, there was a time, not long ago, that a journalist who wrote about LGBTQ marriage as a human right would have their objectivity questioned. “How does something *become a story*? How does an issue move from the sphere of deviance, the unspeakable, or the unimportant, into the zone of controversy and legitimate debate?” (p. 33).

An antidote is a form of local journalism which better aligns with both the normative role of facilitation and the values of deliberative democracy. To accomplish this, the subject areas explored by local media must be sourced from the community itself, or as Matasick (2020) calls it, ‘demand-driven’ approaches to media. What does a community care about? What would they want their local media and deliberative journalists to focus on?

C. Trends in the Journalism Academy

The studies laid out later in this proposal seek to explore the viability of journalism programs to help fill the gap in local news coverage. So first, we should understand a little about

the current state of journalism education – its opportunities, and also its limits in regards to a potential closer union between the journalism academy and surrounding information ecosystems.

There are currently 114 journalism programs that are fully accredited through ACEJMC, and an additional three provisionally accredited programs (ACEJMC, 2021). U.S. News & World Report lists 363 colleges offering a journalism major (USNews, 2021). Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication last did their Annual Survey of Journalism Mass Communication Enrollments in 2013, when they found that there were 480 active journalism and mass communication programs, down from 485 the previous year (Becker et al., 2014). 213,055 students were enrolled in these programs in 2013 (with about 198,000 of these undergraduates), down from 215,371 the previous year. These programs granted 57,705 degrees in 2012-2013, a 0.3 increase from 2012. An important reference point in regards to what is being studied here is to note that not all of these graduates go into news production. Journalism and mass communication programs are employers, too, staffing roughly 7,000 faculty and 5,000 adjuncts.

There have been signs of distress in the journalism academy, which is experiencing an era of disruption and needs to be reexamined, including an exploration of a Journalism 2.0 educational model (Maniou et al, 2020). The authors of the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication survey warned that “the data... hint that a focus on journalism as the curricular core of the field, as the common title of the field—journalism and mass communication education—might be dysfunctional from the point of view of attracting students,” (p. 15), and “the data suggest that the journalism component of journalism and mass communication education is a not a growth area in terms of enrollments, and a focus on journalism as practiced in the past is not likely to attract student interest” (p. 15).

The value of journalism education seems to be in a constant state of questioning. As recently as 2013, nearly half (48%) of journalism editors and staffers surveyed by Poynter Institute said journalism education “keeps up with industry changes a little or not at all” (Rosenstiel, 2013). In that same survey, it was only a quarter of media professionals who said that when it comes to learning newsgathering skills, a journalism degree is “extremely important.”

That said, there should be jobs out there for our well-prepared students. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that “employment in media and communication occupations is projected to grow 14 percent from 2020 to 2030, faster than the average for all occupations, and will result in about 151,000 new jobs” (2021). It also might be heartening to remember that these are not bad jobs. According to the same USBL report, the median annual wage for media and communication workers was \$61,310 in May 2020, well higher than the median annual wage for all occupations, \$41,950. Again, the media industry contains a multitude of jobs and roles, not all directly related to news creation, and not all who benefit local information ecosystems.

Despite the turmoil in the industry, journalists, by and large, are still glad to be holding the title. According to a 2022 Pew Research Center poll, 77% of working journalists would choose the career again, 75% are extremely or very proud of their work, and 70% are very or at least somewhat satisfied with their job (Gottfried et al, 2022). According to the same poll, 68% of journalists 18 to 29-years-old say there isn’t enough diversity in their newsrooms. While in the present tense this does not bode well for our students of color, over the longer term, as those young journalists take over positions of hiring within news organizations, we can be hopeful that more of today’s generation of journalists of color find jobs than did a generation ago.

I bring this up in the context of looking out for the future of our journalism students. While students who pass through teaching hospitals and journalism programs might not all end up in old school journalism jobs, these statistics give confidence there is a financial future for our students, if not necessarily in direct news production roles. Perhaps teaching hospitals may do a better job of helping journalism programs keep up with industry trends, due to the symbiotic relationship they must keep with contemporary local media in order to stay viable.

D. Experiential Learning & Journalism Teaching Hospitals

Next, we will take a closer look at a central concept in this research, the journalism teaching hospital. I will briefly walk us through what academics and the popular press have said about journalism teaching hospitals. There is a general lack of research towards the journalism teaching hospital concept. One of the impetuses of this dissertation research is to begin to help fill that gap.

Journalism Teaching Hospitals

Media Shift's Nick Swyter described teaching hospitals as "a model of education that unites students, professors and professionals to produce community-driven content under the same roof" (2014, para. 7). He estimated that elements of the model exist in no more than 100 of the nation's journalism schools and programs, yet it mostly exists "as an aspiration." The Poynter Institute's Tom Rosenstiel (2013) noted that in the teaching hospital model, content is produced not for classroom consumption, but public consumption, leading to content that is more connected to the community and of a higher journalistic quality.

Journalism teaching hospitals function much in the same model of traditional newsrooms: stories are pitched and assigned, original reporting is done, journalists write drafts, journalists and editors engage in an iterative editing process, and the piece is published to the public. In the de facto role of editor-in-chief is typically a faculty member with a working background in daily journalism, and the students, often in their capstone class, are the reporters. The newsroom is often a three-credit class. The content produced is often shared in the model of wire services to subscribing print and online news publications, and is sometimes shared through an in-house publication that reaches the public on its own. In both cases, the content is often available for free or for a limited fee to partners, and free to the public.

There are key differences between the teaching hospital model and internships. Teaching hospitals are in-house, allowing the program to control the student's experiential learning, guarding against exploitation. If the student's work is strong enough, it is likely to be published, ensuring the student graduates with valuable professional-level portfolio clips. While an internship is likely to leave the student with a concentrated yet smaller group of professional connections, a teaching hospital puts students in direct touch with a plethora of community stakeholders. A key difference between teaching hospitals and student newspaper publications is that the teaching hospital often allows the student to be published in numerous publications statewide, which facilitates graduating with a greater diversity of clips. Teaching hospitals allow the students professional-level editing and reach to the general public in a different kind of way than through student-run newspapers, in ways potentially better modeling the profession they are entering. Student newspapers, a hallmark of journalism pedagogy experiential learning, have limits that teaching hospitals might not. For example, Bockino (2018) found that student

newspaper editorial teams are significantly less coupled with their online audiences than U.S. daily newspapers.

The popular press coverage of these programs has been overwhelmingly positive. “As more than 2,000 newspapers across the country have closed or merged, student journalists from Michigan to Arizona have stepped in to fill the void,” noted an October 2019 article in the *New York Times* (Levin, 2019, para. 1). The work done by these programs stands on its own. One program, Virginia Commonwealth University’s Capital News Service for example, won first place in seven categories in the Society of Professional Journalists’ 2019 Mark of Excellence competition for Region 2. The Richmond First Club presented its 2019 Good Government Award to the program, while a student was a finalist in the Hearst Journalism Awards’ Photo Picture Story Competition, and another student had an article published in 800 news outlets worldwide. That is one teaching program in one year. The work at teaching hospital-type programs make real world impacts, including 30 student journalists from Stony Brook University helping to tell that community’s shared pandemic story (Stony Brook University News, 2021).

Another metric of success for teaching hospital programs is their track record of grant funding, including from Knight Foundation and others. In an article titled, “Journalism Funders Call for ‘Teaching Hospital’ Model of Education,” Knight Foundation quoted a letter signed by top representatives of Knight Foundation, McCormick Foundation, Ethics and Excellence in Journalism Foundation, Scripps-Howard Foundation, Brett Family Foundation, and Wyncotte Foundation which said, in part, that “in this new digital age, we believe the ‘teaching hospital’ model offers great potential...’ as scholars help practitioners invent viable forms of digital news that communities need” (Newton, 2012).

The teaching hospital-centric literature overlaps with research on student newsrooms, and leans toward the positive, if not all enthusiastic. Smith et al (2019) found that student newsrooms in communities of practice help students develop a deep sense of responsibility to their communities, while navigating criticism from those communities. Littlefield (2018) found that a teaching hospital clinic model gave students valuable experiential learning opportunities without taking away from other learning objectives. Francisco et al (2012) engaged in a case study of the teaching hospital program at Youngstown State University. They concluded that “there have been benefits for each constituency—the student journalists, the university, the professional media, the community foundation, and the public” (p. 2690). The authors wondered how our society can sustain this critical public resource of news in the wake of the collapse of the newspaper’s business model. They concluded that “there does not seem to be any single solution, but colleges and universities, as the cases examined here suggest, are one part of a solution” (p. 2695). Anderson et al (2011) concluded in their discourse on leveraging the teaching hospital model that the journalism academies can become what they referred to as “anchor institutions in the emerging informational ecosystem.”

They encouraged journalism programs to increase coverage of local communities outside the university or college in conjunction with local media, while calling on media to support innovation in the journalism academy, and to support these programs (p. 2). They called for both the federal government and community foundations to provide funding and/or support for teaching hospital programs. “Journalism schools and programs represent an incredible national resource. How many media outlets could boast of 446 bureaus distributed across the length and breadth of the United States?” (p. 29). Littlefield (2018) notes that teaching hospitals increase the stakes of student work while allowing core learning objectives to be fulfilled.

The University of Vermont, which in June 2022 received \$400,000 in grants to support their efforts researching what I'm calling teaching hospitals, refer to them as "news/academic partnerships." Vermont is particularly well positioned to explore this model. As reported by Bloom (2022):

The National Center for Community News at UVM was inspired by the success of its local Community News Service, which pairs student reporters with professional editors to cover local issues and provide journalism to newsrooms around Vermont. Organizers said that since its launch in 2019, Community News Service reporters have produced more than 1,000 stories print, online and broadcast stories, serving as both a newsroom and a laboratory to creatively experiment with ways to help local news with the many challenges it faces.

Experiential Learning & Communities of Practice

Closely related to teaching hospitals is the broader concept of experiential learning. Experiential Learning Theory emphasizes learning as a process engaged between the student and their environment (Kolb & Kolb, 2005). More and more, top-tier journalism programs and mainstream media are leaning into experiential learning models and entering into partnerships that distribute student-created content (Madison, 2014). In her look at programs that utilize experiential learning, St. Clair (2015) concluded that by participating "students would have concrete, authentic experience in cross-media production of journalism, an extensive published portfolio, and developing professional networks in the community and in the media industry" (p. 122). Jones (2016) noted that journalism is best taught in a hands-on environment, and that communities can see the students' coverage as a public service.

A complementary concept to both teaching hospitals and experiential learning are Communities of Practice, which Smith et al (2019) described as vibrant student newsrooms where students learn by observing, teaching, and doing journalism. The theory of communities of practice understands learning through four pillars: practice, learning by doing, learning by belonging/self-identity growth, and meaning (Wenger, 1998). In Smith et al's look at academic journalism communities of practice, they noted the importance of the student media advisor, "a significant person, both within the community of a college institution and within the CoP, which serves as a locale of learning that is distinctive and cannot be compared with a classroom" (p. 298).

I personally do not believe that it particularly matters whether a program is called experiential learning, teaching hospitals, or communities of practice. Across the variations in these models and word choices, the same fundamental concerns are at the forefront: how our journalism programs can best serve our students, our communities, and the local information ecosystems. All must benefit from the dynamic.

Limitations, Concerns, Pitfalls & Potential of the Teaching Hospital Model

Experiential learning and teaching hospitals can cause a strong sense of anxiety among students (Steel et al, 2007), a legitimate concern in an era of increasing societal anxiety. The work can be draining, and students must be protected legally (Newton, 2012). The lack of student pay in currency at some programs remains a lingering ethical and functional concern.

Ryfe & Mensing (2013) wrote critically about the teaching hospital model, arguing that "rather than creating conditions for students to help re-think journalistic practices, the teaching hospital model reinforces the conviction that content delivery is the primary purpose of

journalism,” and that instead the journalism academy should focus on an entrepreneurial model which “would lead journalists to contemplate the disruption of journalism, and, we believe, to invent practices that will ultimately replace the news industry we have now” (p. 2).

The title of “teaching hospital,” of course, does not matter. What matters is that academics and their students are recognizing the gap in local news coverage, and are doing something about it. This is happening beyond journalism and even communication departments. Recently, a political science professor at Tufts announced via Tweet that “We’re starting a news outlet,” Professor Eitan Hersh posted. “We cover state & local news in Mass. College students are the writers. We want to help fill critical gaps in local news reporting and also train the next generation of citizens and journalists” (2021). Within weeks, Hersh and their team would have news stories in email inboxes with original reporting about a local community that would not have existed without the good work of these students, and a professor who saw how the classroom could benefit the community, and vice versa.

Abernathy (2016) notes that, “The decisions that the new, as well as longtime, owners of (local) newspapers make in the near future will have implications both for the health of local journalism and for the vitality of their communities” (p. 7). The same could be said of journalism departments, and how they decide to share their professional and student resources with their surrounding communities.

A further expansion of the teaching hospital model at American universities has the potential to substantially increase local news coverage in the associated media markets. It still remains to be seen if this concept can scale to the size it would need in order to fill the gaps in local information ecosystems. And it still remains to be seen if these programs are able to sustain

as they face inevitable turnover in leadership. The prospect of temporarily helping to fill gaps is nice, but the hope of creating institutions is better.

Journalism teaching hospitals/local media and deliberative organizations like the Center for Public Deliberation are a lot alike, which means they potentially have a lot to learn from each other. Both are in the interest of (1) identifying areas of community concern; (2) collecting reliable, unbiased information about that topic; (3) condensing and translating that information for audiences, then making that translation readily available; (4) so that the public might use that information to guide how the community addresses that area of shared concern. And, of course, they provide students with invaluable real world experiential learning opportunities in the communities they call home while at university.

As I start to embark on my own career as a researcher, I find this overlap a place for potential further research. Particularly as someone who is likely to end up in a department with something like *journalism and mass communication* in its title, I want to explore how journalism can evolve to continue to meet its essential informational role in our democracy.

There is a direct thread between democratic theories and the public journalism movement which emerged in the 1990s. Important to public journalism is the concept of “constituting vital ‘publics’ with the usable knowledge that enables them to deliberate about complex issues and to engage in collective problem solving” (Sirianni & Friedland, 2005, pp. 98-99). In a public journalism framework, journalists should empower readers to think of themselves as empowered and engaged citizens “rather than as mere spectators, victims, or consumers of information” (Sirianni & Friedland, 2005, p. 99). Public journalists are less thought leaders and more like the conveyer of the Nations; their key role is that of a connector and convener, bringing together stakeholders and decision makers so *they* can find their community’s path forward.

Public journalism theorists themselves point in this same broader direction by labeling journalists “civic professionals,” and by bringing libraries and nonprofits into the conversation. Sirianni & Friedland (2005) found that these institutions “are recognizing that access to information represents a first step to a broader and deeper democratic discourse” (2005). Similar conversations are being had in civics studies, such as Boyte (2005) describing the shift to democratic states to democratic societies. “The shift can be conceived of as a move from seeing citizens as voters, volunteers, clients, or consumers to viewing citizens as problem solvers and cocreators of public goods” (Boyte, 2005, p. 536).

How do journalism departments move from training journalists to civic professionals? And what role should experiential learning opportunities like teaching hospitals play in that evolution? Even the Cronkite School at Arizona State University, one of the most celebrated and established teaching hospitals, thinks there are limits to the model. In a 2019 report on teaching hospitals, the school stated the following: “It might appear that this teaching hospital approach is an antidote for the... ‘crap journalism’ currently practiced by many news media... But will it solve the chronic problems faced by the profession? Certainly not! It is just one piece of a jigsaw puzzle” (Hamusokwe, 2019).

E. A Broken News System

Negative News Exposure is Bad for Us

The contemporary news ecosystem is, in many ways, bad for democracy. But is it good for individual citizens? The consumption of hard news television programs has a negative effect on the development of mental well-being over time, Boukes and Vliegthart (2017) found, with the negativity of news stories and the feeling of powerlessness caused by watching hard news

cited as explanatory factors. Negative news exposure has been connected to negative affective states (de Hoog & Verboon, 2020). Negative news deteriorates emotions more than positive news facilitates emotions, making negative news particularly potent (Giri & Maurya, 2021). Giri & Maurya (2021) also found that media affects an individual's self-evaluation of their psychological resilience, which can lead to a multiplier effect as the media reports on despair and creates despair.

These negative impacts are intuitive when we consider the close connection humans have, and have always had, with the places they call home. The windows between us and our communities can feel like mirrors. If my city is going to hell in a handbasket (or so the news tells me), I might be destined for the same end, too.

The potential negative effects of news consumption have become mainstream enough that there is now research about how to mitigate these negative effects. For example, Kam et al (2021) found that daily practice of mindfulness meditation protected individuals against the impact of COVID-19-related news exposure on state affect.

The News is Polarizing

Althaus (2012) notes that “high levels of audience segmentation could insulate audiences from news of politics altogether, polarize attitudes about public problems, and shield incumbent politicians from being held accountable through the electoral process” (p. 107). The dehumanized nature of online forums can lead participants to feel more alone in their opinions, and this might cause them to act out in ways they never would in the embodied world. Petit et al (2021) found that when study participants read news articles with arguments they were

diametrically opposed to *and* that had a low volume of negative comments, these participants were more likely to use swear words in their comments.

Social groups and opinions are often related, with one's social group determining one's opinion, as we tend to favor those messengers we categorize as being in our own group (Anastasio et al, 2005). Polarizing news coverage that continues to emphasize divisive frames does more than just report on those divisions and frames; it can create and perpetuate them, too. The inverse can also be true, as "nondivisive coverage in the form of mixed opinions may blur the intergroup boundary, obscuring the influence of in-group members and allowing for more independent formation of opinion" (Anastasio et al, 2005, p. 188). Exposure to counter-attitudinal news decreases negative attitudes toward the opposing political party (Levy, 2021).

The Effect of Fake News is Real News

The proliferation of fake news has eroded more than faith in media, with fake news being accused of "destroying folk's faith and beliefs in authorities, experts and the government" (Zhang & Ghorbani, 2020, p. 3). "Democracies need respect in the system, and certain types of incivility in certain places can threaten the very fabric of social order or minimum levels of trust" (Chambers, 2021, p. 160). A 2016 Pew Research Center study found that about two-in-three U.S. adults (64%) say fabricated news stories cause a great deal of confusion about the basic facts of current issues and events, a sense shared widely across incomes, education levels, and partisan affiliations (Barthel, Mitchell, & Holcomb, 2016).

Addressing Concerns of Subjectivity in News Decision Making

The watchdog normative role demands a certain stance, if not veil, of what we call objectivity. While noble in ideal, in practice it is impossible, and in effect it is questionable whether our society does or did benefit from journalists writing as if above -- and not a part of -- the communities they're covering.

What is currently accepted as “objective” by its nature and definition is a protector of the status quo. Protecting the journalistic practice of objectivity becomes an exercise in validating social norms and structures, as played out by the decisions made in the newsroom. By that measure, objective journalists are not objective at all, but are backing the present preferred subjectivity of those in power. This plays out most critically within the decisions of what qualifies as ‘news’, and from whose point of view should that news be told. As presented by Wallace (2019):

The sphere of legitimate controversy changes, and it can change in any direction. In moving questions from the sphere of deviance into the sphere of legitimate controversy, journalists and other members of the public often collaborate in complex ways. And the topics and debates that fit into the spheres of consensus and controversy reflect particular ideologies and worldviews (p. 9).

How can that ideology reflected in newsrooms be a *deliberative* one, one that consciously mirrors what that community wants for *itself*, not what elites want for it? It's a question all newsrooms should be asking, including student-driven ones.

A Broken News System: From a Political Economy Perspective

As acknowledged by Fuchs, “You cannot properly study communication without a simultaneous deep analysis of society as totality” (2020, p. 3). Fuchs notes that much of

communication research focuses on what might be called micro-phenomena in individual contexts, while in reality everything happens within a far more complex system – and in our current reality, that system is the dense, nuanced, and often confusing financial-social model of capitalism. Fuchs orients himself within Marxist thinking, proposing a critical analysis of communication (and media) which analyzes and advances “the sublation of class, exploitation, and domination” (2020, p. 8). Specifically in regard to a Critical Political Economy of Communication, Fuchs notes that “Marx’s own approach critically studies the production, distribution and consumption of commodities in capitalist society, capitalism’s historical genesis and contradictions as well as the struggles taking place in this type of society” (2020, p. 9). While in other sections of this literature review the media was positioned within the political theory of democracy, I would argue that a more immediate, pressing and influential positioning is media within the economic and social system that is capitalism.

Media produced to serve democracy – in other words, to explicitly serve all citizens, no matter their position – is a very different thing than media produced to serve capitalism – in other words, to serve the few who profit from its production, and to serve the citizens who purchase that product for whatever uses and gratifications they may find from it, democratically-minded or (most likely) otherwise. This can be confusing for the citizen consumer. Am I reading something meant to serve democracy, or to make someone a dime? In either case, what is communicated as media, and how, has impacts beyond the words and images. “One can say that not only do communication technologies symbolise, store, and communicate, but that every structure in society symbolises the social, makes social action durable, and communicates information about power, wealth, influence, and status” (Fuchs,

2020, p. 88). A media that prioritizes the values and worldview of the powerful would legitimize that worldview, while a media that prioritizes the values and worldview of the more humble average citizen would have the inverse effect.

McChesney describes the political economy of communication slightly differently, noting that “it examines how media and communication systems and content reinforce, challenge, or influence existing class and social relations” and how “ownership, support mechanisms (e.g. advertising) and government policies influence media behavior and content” (2000, p. 110). Again, it is not enough to ask, What should journalism be, or what should journalism be to best serve local democracies? We also have to then ask, *How* can journalism be that within or external to current ownership, support mechanisms, and existing or theoretical governmental policy matrices? Political economy of communication is a structural approach that pulls media research out of the vacuum referenced by Fuchs, and acknowledges and addresses structural factors like labor processes and content distribution.

McChesney argues for communication researchers to keep political economy principles top of mind, even as budget cuts nudge researchers to “cozy up” to profit-oriented media interests. “In these depressed times, this acquiescence to private power is simply accepted as an unavoidable reality, even by people who would openly disparage the situation were they not a part of it” (2020, p. 112). In a capitalism-driven media, where people within media clothe their children and feed themselves through that system, pushes for internal reform are risky and fraught. Government-driven reforms of media have been few and far between, easily labeled as “un-American.” McChesney says that, “university intellectuals can be more objective than those seeing the world from a more narrowly defined vantage point,” and that the tenure system lets intellectuals “tell the truth and let the chips fall where

they may” (2020, p. 113). Doing the research being done here from the vantage point of a Ph.D. student confers similar protections, and similar opportunities for honest exploration of the current system – what it is, but in this case moreover what it can and should be.

Hardy calls for media and communication researchers to not use Critical Political Economy to “cement an orthodox reading but to continue to pose and investigate critical questions of power” (2014, p. 203). Hardy also notes that alternative media is a key way of contesting the status quo – and I would argue that teaching hospitals, existing largely independent from establishment and corporate-controlled newsrooms, are a form of alternative media themselves. CPE, Hardy says, gives particular interest to issues of financing and resources, and he is careful to note that while it has become common in alternative media for journalists and other contributors to write (or produce video, podcasts, etc.) for free, this could be seen as exploitation, a particular concern as labor, by and large, has lost collective power in America and around the world. Of course, this perspective is of particular concern for journalism teaching hospitals, which often don’t pay its journalists in conventional ways, but instead have those journalists actually pay the institution for the experience.

“Media reform is characterised by efforts to ensure communication resources are used for social purposes and shaped by democratic involvement” (Hardy, 2014, p. 211). In this way, the research being done here aligns with CPE-embedded values. The funding that flows through journalism, media, and communication departments are communication resources. One of the driving questions of this research is how those resources can better foster the kind of democratic involvement needed today, particularly on the local level.

F. Deliberative Democracy Principles & Local Journalism

Democracy, & Journalism's Essential Role Therein

McCluskey et al (2004) wrote that an enlightened and engaged citizenry is required for a democracy to function effectively, and in fact, this is a cornerstone of democratic theory. The same authors note that those who do not politically participate in effect cede their influence to those who do. Their research emphasized how important it is that a citizen believes they can make a difference, with that sense of efficacy being directly linked to participation in public life. Community attachment and use of newspapers and television were crucial in establishing whether people felt they could affect community affairs,” the authors note (2004, p. 448).

Thomas Jefferson was particularly eloquent on the topic. Here is a sentiment attributed to him:

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. If we are to guard against ignorance and remain free, it is the responsibility of every American to be informed. (Jefferson, n.d.)

Jefferson makes clear that an educated citizenry is an essential ingredient to democracy, which he alludes to as being both “free” and “civilized.” “Whenever the people are well-informed, they can be trusted with their own government; that, whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them right” (Jefferson, n.d.).

The Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) described news media’s role in democracy as corresponding to three roles: helping citizens understand and negotiate community structures and processes, by interacting with and listening to citizens in meaningful ways, and by helping to lead their communities (Lowrey & Daniels, 2017; Lowrey, 2011; Lowrey, Brozana, & Mackay, 2008). These guidelines provide a very

different impetus from the detached role of watchdog journalist. The walls of the newsroom fall, and journalists find themselves openly symbiotic with their community again.

Deliberative Democracy

In deliberative democracy, “many citizens are bound together intimately through their common citizenship, and they interact guided by opinions that in themselves are slender and provisional but that when woven together into a communal will and a public purpose inspire powerful conviction” (Barber, 1984, p. 163). Research has found that giving citizens the opportunity to talk through issues leads to citizens who are more engaged and committed to their political institutions, along with producing better policy (Chambers, 2003).

For a democracy to be considered deliberative, decisions that impact the public should be preceded by public discussion, and those discussions should be rational, impartial, and equitable; those discussions are both a means to an end and an end themselves (Stromback, 2005). In deliberative democracy, there should be “collective decision making with the participation of all who will be affected by the decision or their representatives... It includes decision making by means of arguments offered by and to participants” (Elster, 1998, pg. 8). So citizen participation matters, but the flavor of participation matters, too. All facts, points, and perspectives should be weighed. Citizens should be informed and engaged, but with added social and rhetorical expectations: “they should be willing to participate in discussions, and contribute to making them deliberative – that is, distinguished by impartiality, rationality, intellectual honesty and equality among the participants” (Stromback, 2005, p. 337).

One of the useful paradigms of deliberative democracy is the “wicked problem” framework, which helps people cut past common divides and avoid false solutions (Carcasson,

2013). According to Carcasson, “Wicked problems have no technical solutions, primarily because they involve competing underlying values and paradoxes that require either tough choices between opposing goods or innovative ideas that can transcend the inherent tensions” (p.9). We are all on one side, navigating the same thorny field toward solutions that will equally benefit all.

Deliberative democracy processes eliminate one’s ability to engage in motivated research and only attend to “one side,” and they lead people through divergent thinking, past “the groan zone,” and to convergent thinking (Carcasson, 2013). These processes are also deliberate, and “the more deliberate the communication, the better democracy works” (Curato et al, 2017, p. 29). Curato et al also found that deliberative processes can be pleasurable for participants.

Deliberative democracy is aware of human nature, including the truism that people are “suckers” for simple good versus evil narratives, and we cherry pick information to fit those narratives (Carcasson, 2017), traps that media too often set and easily play into. Deliberative democracy processes help circumvent these unfortunate tropes by laying out information in a consciously less biased way, allowing citizens to cut past political party-affiliated heuristics, and toward a more central, evidence-based kind of cognitive processing.

Citizens of today are different from previous generations – in their media consumption amounts and habits, in their interconnectivity, in the flatness of the world they were born into – and this must be recognized in all forms of communication with the public. Citizens are more “cognitively mobilized” and seek self-expression and nonhierarchical forms of political engagement. (Invernizzi-Accetti & Wolkenstein, 2017). Far more educated and with greater efficacy than previous generations, this leads to individuals seeking a different kind of engagement. One that is... more engaging.

These deliberative processes can help bring us together. “Deliberation induces concern with the common good over partial material interests, as arguments couched in collective interest terms are more persuasive” (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2019). Curato (2017) et al called deliberative democracy practices “the solution to group polarization” (p. 146). They note that polarization depends on group homogeneity, which is consciously and conspicuously avoided in deliberative democracy processes. Grönlund et al (2015) found that polarization is an outcome of unstructured conversations, but not when groups are run on standard deliberative principles with a facilitator.

According to Arthur et al (2008) “The creation of a shared political identity underlying citizenship should also allow for multiple political identities based on gender, race, ethnicity, social exclusion, etc.,” (p. 389) which gives our communities a chance to rise above -- or perhaps around -- the dichotomous frames which dominate our national cultural conversations. On the local level in particular, it’s far more advantageous to reaching shared societal goals for citizens to not divide themselves between self-identified Democrats and Republicans, but rather uniting under what is essentially an “I love my city” political banner. Deliberative principals can impact more than just our cities. Payne & Samhat (2012) called deliberative processes more efficient in the pursuit of global environmental policymaking.

Narrative is a crucial aspect of democratic deliberation, thus making it a key consideration for deliberative journalists, in turn (Boswell, 2013) . “In the most basic terms, deliberative democrats are interested in how people make sense of and communicate about political affairs” (Boswell, 2013, p. 620). Deliberative principals emphasize that communities should guide the values of their leaders; so too should communities have a chance to guide the crafting of their own shared story.

As noted by feminist scholars, deliberation may be well intentioned, but it can build off biases favoring majority cultures. “Since deliberation favors rational conversation with a particular speech culture, better-educated, white, middle-class men have the best cultural resources to benefit from deliberation” (Min, 2018, p. 29). A practitioner or city can pull a perfectly representative sample of citizens into a deliberation, but everyone’s voice in the room must also be heard as equally valid, no matter the parlance in which it is spoken. The codification of white supremacy in America hasn’t happened just through laws, but also through norms. The detangling of white supremacy in America involves shifting public communication norms, maybe most critically in public democratic discussions that lay claim to deliberative values.

A Normative Shift: Deliberative Democracy & Local Journalism

Now I will talk about a shift that is happening in newsrooms and within the academies across America. A more deliberative-minded kind of journalism pushes journalists to think more collaboratively, and to actively share a sense of community with their readers, viewers, listeners, and the cities they call home.

Local media can provide a service to municipalities that might otherwise not be available (Karlsson & Rowe, 2019). Karlsson & Rowe argue for a Theory of Geography of News, which positions long tenured local journalists as the actors best positioned to have good news judgment and to understand their communities, noting that “digital communication techniques cannot fully compensate for the lack of actual presence” (Karlsson & Rowe, 2019, p 17). Robinson (2014) emphasized the continued relevance of being near to people in community journalism, and the need for physical place and digital media space to co-exist in a way that fosters, not deters,

genuine human connectivity. “Journalists can nurture and expand what it means to belong to a home,” Robinson wrote (p. 115).

Ellis et al (2022) describe a move from a ‘journalism as outrage’ to a ‘journalism of solutions’ (p. 121). This perspective shift easily transforms from ideals to action. Which differences in our community could use mediation and translation? Where could the community use help centering and expressing its values? How do we promote a sense of belonging? How do we foster connections? How do we help the people of our community feel like they’re a part of something?

Reckon is Alabama Media’s “showcase brand for tackling its community's public problems,” as described by Ellis et al (2022, p. 121). In a spirit of what might be called deliberative journalism, Reckon brings citizens together in the interest of laying opinions and facts on the table, and openly weighing arguments against each other. There is an acknowledgement that the problems in our community are so complex that they must be faced together. “If democracy is problem-solving, then deliberation is the process by which citizens engage with each other to decide with each other to choose what to do,” and who better to lead that conversation than those who have been leading our centralized cultural conversation for years: journalists (Ellis et al, 2022, p. 122). Relationship building is a dependable precursor to community problem solving; after a generation of journalism of outrage more than enough problems have been pointed out. Maybe it's time for journalists to embrace a facilitative role as primary in their normative professional self-conception, in the interest of facilitating citizens doing that fundamental and urgent democratic work of problem solving (Ellis et al, 2022). Ellis et al went on:

In many ways, journalists need to unlearn long-taught habits of mind and shift their own perspectives away from an institutional mindset that enshrined their enterprise, authority and distance. Only by changing their own stance to one of collaboration with the public can journalists authentically engage with the community in mutually beneficial exchanges over the long haul. This often-wrenching change in attitude and role is the essential foundation on which to build a deliberative perspective (p. 123).

In a meta-analysis of forty-seven public journalism studies from 1995 through 2001, Heider et al (2005) focused on the difference in content between public journalism, which we are focused on here, and traditional journalism. They found that public journalism had certain telltale traits, including constructive reporting, providing mobilizing information, being less likely to use official sources, and taking the initiative to include potential solutions in their reporting.

In an ideal deliberative democracy, political discussions should be commonplace, including in the media. Similar public journalism ideals apply here. Stromack (2005) notes that as citizens mainly access political conversation and information through the media, democracy places “exacting demands” on media and journalism (p. 340). Media should create “an arena for everyone,” which is not an easy task when traditional journalistic forms were developed and implemented by those with a non-representationally white, male, and educated cultural standing.

Moving from a perspective of ‘I have the authority to question power’ to ‘I have the authority to convene my community in the interest of finding solutions to shared problems’ changes the journalist’s orientation as an actor within their field. In a deliberative orientation, journalists are suddenly infused with an enterprise to be organizational sparks that inspire real, positive change in their communities. Where journalists had sought to create a sense of distance from their communities (namely, above them), journalists drop to earth and become the inter-

webbing thread of those communities. At a moment when local journalism might be at its 100 year nadir, in terms of cultural relevance, embracing a facilitative-centric normative view of journalism can thrust local media back into relevance through its association with shining a light on paths forward. “For the theory of deliberative democracy, political conversation should be conceived not just as an agent contributing to better opinions but to more active participation. Indeed, these findings suggest, deliberative democracy *is* participatory democracy” (Kim et al, 1999, p. 379). In such a way, local media goes from producing a product to be digested by consumers, to being a conduit passed through by citizens on the way to better shared futures.

Local-level journalists and news outlets are often skeptical of direct input by citizens (Guth, 2015), but this is missing an opportunity. A focus on a constructive approach to news coverage could decrease the likelihood that news consumers tune out, seeing deliberative and solutions oriented journalism as healthier (Boukes & Vliegthart, 2017).

An important aspect of the media's role in the deliberative model is in how they approach evolving ideas and how they frame the local political ecosystem. People are encouraged to change their mind when presented with new rationale or facts, and just as important, what we call “politics” should not be seen as a battle between opposing political forces, but rather a continuing exploration of a community’s problems and the best ways to solve them. As put by Carcasson & Sprain (2010):

A deliberative media would focus more on... uncovering the underlying value dilemmas and tough choices inherent to public issues... Such a media would shift away from a focus on conflict and politics as a spectacle and take more responsibility for improving the quality of public discussion. (p. 3).

Or as Ettema (2007) put it:

Journalists as well as citizens and officials must participate in the ongoing consideration of what justice requires in the case of particular laws in particular contexts. Based on this reading of deliberative democracy, the mission of journalism is to reason about the application of substantial values to particular cases, and most dauntingly to assert what the majority decides to be wrong (p. 146).

“Without journalism there is no democracy, but without democracy there is no journalism either,” claims Carey (1999, p. 51), a truism that should act as a call to action for media, citizens, and those who hold the flags for local democracies. What’s more, it matters how well citizens are informed, as “where there are disparities across social groups in political knowledge... democracy is at least a little less democratic, regardless of the underlying reason for these inequities” (Eveland & Scheufele, 2000, p. 216). As found by Jerit et al (2006), it is important that political information be transmitted in ways that can be comprehended by the least educated. Those same researchers found that increases in (the same kind of) media disproportionately benefits highly educated consumers. “Our definition of democracy is one that demands the full participation of everyone and recognizes that too many people have felt (or have been) excluded” (Ellis et al, 2022, p. 13).

Deliberative journalists should also stay vigilant to the imbalances of power in their news selection processes. As said by Lewis Raven Wallace, “News judgment is still always about power – who controls the narrative, whose narratives matter, and how the appearance of ‘mattering’ is created in a society rife with entrenched inequalities” (2019, p. 34). Or as Jay Rosen (1999) expressed a somewhat similar sentiment, “Even in their role as observers, journalists made choices about where to stand” (p. 289). How deliberative journalists build equity into their news selection processes – how they determine where and whom they stand

facing, and why -- will go a long way to determine just how democratic the deliberations being produced really are.

Facilitative Role of Media in Democracy

This work is grounded in and builds on a classic foundational normative theory of media in society: the facilitative role. *The Normative Theories of Media* (Christians, 2009) presents four basic roles for journalism in democracy: the monitorial role (watchdog); the facilitative role (what we're talking about here); the radical role (journalists within the revolution); and the collaborative role (which can extend to state press, or through acquiescence of journalists to state narratives). The intentions of the authors of the book intersect with ours here. They write, "Today, both journalism and democracy are challenged by great changes, ranging from information technology to the global economy. All of this is an invitation to examine critically the media's place and task in society... At issue is not only what is the role of journalists in society but above all what this role should be" (Christians, p. vii).

"In their facilitative role, the media promote dialogue among their readers and viewers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate" (Christians, 2009, p. 158). This facilitative theory of media grows out of the democratic tradition, and rests on beliefs that communities discover goods together, and that the best opinion rises after spirited debate among a diverse and representative community (Christians, 2009). In this theory of media in society, media is not a totally detached bystander, or solely in the watchdog role, but seeks to actively enrich and strengthen its community.

Facilitative media "frames the democratic process in normative terms as interactive dialogue in which citizens engage one another on both practical matters and social vision"

(Christians, 2009, p. 159). Facilitative media “is both rooted in and promotes deliberative democracy” (p. 159). Journalists frame the democratic process as a dialogue among citizens, and they facilitate the negotiation of not just a political agenda, but social and cultural agendas, too. Journalists as facilitators take on something of the village elder role; they help the public “come to terms with their everyday experiences themselves” (p.163), and they see their rationale being established in the interest of a “healthy society” as much as in the First Amendment (p.160).

Institutions only gain legitimacy from the agreement of citizens (Deveaux, 2000), and a newspaper needs to reflect its community to function as a successful public forum (Darr et al, 2021). It would be against facilitative media theory for the content areas media facilitates to be anything but be derived, at least in large part, from the community being facilitated itself.

For many, the facilitative role might seem to go against expected journalistic role norms. Schudson (2003) suggested that the traditional role of journalism in America emphasizes objectivity and a detached ethic, which can be seen as at odds to journalists being involved in solution finding and setting agendas. While entrenched beliefs about the role of journalism in society might lead one to believe that the public expects a watchdog role and rapid reporting, Heider et al (2005) found the opposite to be true in their study of what the public expects of local news. Instead, respondents said that providing a public forum was deemed extremely important. It is particularly noteworthy that numerous groups often left out of political dialogues in America -- African Americans, Hispanics, women, and adults with less education and income -- strongly endorsed journalism that offered solutions to problems (pg. 952).

A mode of facilitative journalism that has seen increased traction in recent years is Solutions Journalism, which points journalists’ resources and efforts toward identifying how peer communities have successfully addressed issues the audience’s home community are currently

facing. Both the academy and industry have found reason to be optimistic about audience reaction to solutions journalism. In a case study of the largest daily newspaper in Alabama switching its focus on enterprise and solutions approaches, newspaper analytics revealed an increased number of page views and longer engagement times on their solution-oriented news stories compared to their traditional stories, and sentiment analysis of the social media data showed a significant increase in positive sentiment and significant decrease in negative sentiment (Lough & McIntyre, 2021).

A Closer Look at the Deliberative Journalism Concept

There are key distinctions between all journalism movements, from what constitutes a journalist, what counts as a publication, what values should guide content selection, which audiences should journalists strive to reach, and why, and a myriad of other factors. This project has sought to align itself with a moving train: the deliberative journalism movement that is taking shape in Northern Colorado, as an evolving “Deliberative Journalism Project” partnership between Colorado State’s Center for Public Deliberation, CSU’s Journalism and Media Communication department, and Gannett publication The Coloradoan, among others. I will lean on two working documents that have floated among DJP collaborators to help define what deliberative journalism is, and what its values are.

The Key DJP points working document lists six tasks for deliberative journalists, including ensuring broad voices/addressing trust and lack of representation; improving quality and accessibility /addressing misinformation; summarizing and framing – addressing confirmation bias and polarization; engaging /interaction – hosting online and in person events;

serving as a catalyst for collaborative action; and capacity building – for all of the above, the community, journalists, and news outlets (Carcasson, 2022).

The Key aspects of dlv journalism working document lists seven key aspects which are more thoroughly processed (Carcasson, 2022). The list is largely convergent with the above, but it is worth briefly diving into, too. That working document prioritizes: rejecting polarizing framing in favor of a more collaborative mindset; journalistic recognizing themselves as vital parts of local democratic information ecosystems, including potential roles as conveners and translators; representing a broader spectrum of voices who are impacted by decisions made by government and other influential actors; deliberative journalists work less story to story, and more seeing a bigger picture of how they can help their community find solutions to shared problems; caring about outcomes and people; and journalists seeing themselves as part of – and not separate from – the communities they cover.

One way this project diverges somewhat from where deliberative journalism currently stands is in regards to content selection. I have prioritized a facilitative model of journalism ethos that the community should be deciding what counts as news, and what the community leadership should be focusing on. Whereas deliberative journalism allows newsrooms more leeway to determine topics of importance itself.

III. Research Questions

A. Study 1 Intro

The public's polled desire for local news remains robust, with almost 9 out of 10 Americans believing everyone should have access to local news (Sands, 2019). News consumers want their news as local as possible: not just by city, but also by time, distance, and neighborhood (Schmitz Weiss, 2018). In the absence of a silver bullet solution for the local journalism industry, the production of this vital information for democracy – locally produced local news – will likely fall on a number of community stakeholders, including non-profits, libraries, and also the journalism academy. Part 1 of this study further examines one way the journalism academy has adapted to help fill this informational void: through teaching hospitals. This paper fills a gap in the literature by exploring the conditions under which sustaining teaching hospitals are founded and sustained.

The teaching hospital model to be explicated here has proven successful across decades across multiple universities, and would benefit from additional research. But there are tensions in the model worth exploring, too. Do editors trust the work produced by journalism teaching hospitals? Do audiences trust the work produced by journalism teaching hospitals? Is participating in teaching hospitals good for the students' mental health in the short term, and is it good for their careers in the long term? Do teaching hospitals improve local democracies, as understood through deliberative values, or do they replicate and enforce existing power structures? On a very practical level, there is also the inherent tension of news being produced with an institution as public, bureaucratic, and image-focused as universities. Is the academy a

safe environment for news to be produced, or is it an environment more likely to lead to *safe* news being produced?

The research questions processed here hope to shed light on the above issues.

RQ1: What do teaching hospital practitioners report as necessary ingredients for starting what they would consider to be a successful and sustainable journalism teaching hospital?

- RQ1A: How do teaching hospitals practitioners frame the origin story of their school's teaching hospital program?
- RQ1B: What amounts to a "good year" in a teaching hospital program, to practitioners, and what do they believe a good year looks like to their university?
- RQ1C: What do teaching hospitals practitioners believe sustains a teaching hospital program?
- RQ1D: What do teaching hospitals practitioners believe are the conditions that would have to change in order for a program to grow?
- RQ1E: What do teaching hospitals practitioners believe are the conditions that would have to change in order for a program to no longer exist?
- RQ1F: Do teaching hospitals practitioners perceive their teaching hospital program as being valued within their department and university?
- RQ1G: What conditions do teaching hospitals practitioners believe would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new teaching hospital to start?

B. Study 2 Intro

In the second study, we continue the path laid out in the first study, and explore where it should travel next. One of the critical findings from Study 1 is that teaching hospitals need to choose the right subject matter(s) to cover. Quite simply, local audiences need to be interested in the content produced by students. What's more, the journalism produced by the teaching hospital should aspire to better meet deliberative and democratic ideals.

Using interviews and narrative methodologies, Study 2 aspires to answer these questions:

RQ2: What do audiences report as being their perception of the role local media currently plays in the local democracy, and what role would they like to see local journalism play in an ideal democratic scenario?

- RQ2A: Do audiences report that they would embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?
- RQ2B: Do audiences report that they would embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?
- RQ2C: Do audiences report that they would embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?
- RQ2D: Do audiences report that they would embrace journalists as community solution finders?
- RQ2E: Do audiences report that they would embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

- RQ2F: What do citizens report as a potential turning point for their city – for good and for bad – and how does that translate into what local journalists and governments should focus on?
- RQ2G: What do citizens report as being the antagonist to their city’s hopes and dreams – and how does that translate into what local journalists and governments should focus on?
- RQ2H: Whom or what would citizens report as being the underdog in their city’s story, and how would they, as the narrator, change the story to balance the scales – and how does this reflect what they might want local journalists to cover, and local government resources to focus on?
- RQ2I: If their city were a play or a book, what do citizens report should be the title, and why – and what policy issues of importance can be teased from these answers?

IV. Methodology

A. Introduction

This dissertation consists of two studies, both of which use the thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews as their research methodology. I go into the advantages of the interview method in the following section. The second study explored in this dissertation in particular leans on narrative theories and methodology, which is explored next in this section. Then I will walk you through how I chose my sample populations, how data will be collected, and how it will be analyzed. Finally, a section on methodological limitations and some of my own analysis.

B. Literature Review of Methods

Interviews

Interviews are a common way for researchers to better understand both journalism and journalism education, including Jaakkola (2018) using interviews to study pedagogical newsrooms, Ferrucci (2018) using the approach to understand journalist's views of journalism programs, and Cullen (2016) using the method to understand how journalism capstones demonstrate student skills. Wenzel (2020) used interviews to gather data from both community members and journalists, asking journalists about their outlets, challenges they face, and how they conceive of their audiences.

Littlefield (2018) used a slightly different approach to study journalism teaching hospitals, using a survey of 10 students and a focus group with 8 teaching hospital students. In their study of citizen surveys in Germany, Ludwig et al (2019) used open ended questions in

order to gain data that was unbiased from predetermined categories, and that is also what I strive to do here.

More broadly, interviews are one of the most commonly used research methods because they allow researchers to gain information that they could not gain through observation alone, including people's ideas, thoughts, opinions, and attitudes (Berger, 2020). Berger notes that the word 'interview' is related to the French word 'entrevue,' which means "to see one another or meet" (p. 213). This research aspires to see and understand respondents' lived experience, and to meet them where they are. Berger notes four kinds of research interviews found in scholarly research: informal, unstructured, semistructured, and structured. The most appropriate version for this research are semi-structured interviews, as they allow for both a pre-written list of questions designed to address the research queries, while also maintaining the more casual, natural, and humane quality found in unstructured interviews (Berger, 2020).

Berger (2020) notes numerous elements of best practice while conducting interviews, including obtaining basic biographical information at the beginning of an interview, guaranteeing anonymity, assuring an accurate recording, avoiding leading questions, and being a good listener, which includes maintaining eye contact and showing interest. Leslie (2017) encourages researchers using interviews to be friendly and relaxed, to be aware of respondents' stamina, and to be conscious about putting those being interviewed at ease, including being overt about when they are being recorded.

In their discussion of Thematic Field Analysis in their text on qualitative interview techniques, Wengraf (2001) has a visual description of understanding theme revelation that resonates: "The told-story is the surface under which is detected a flow in and/or of thematic fields, under which a deeper structure is then postulated to explain the two upper levels" (p. 272).

In my research, I wish to allow participants to talk how they would naturally speak, and then for the researcher to do the work of organizing the collected stories in a way that's both faithful to their intent and reveals important things about our society and culture (finding the deeper structure).

A major concern embedded in the interview methodology is that respondents are doing just that: responding, and responding to a researcher who enters the dialogue with their own experiences, orientations, and their own subconscious desires and beliefs. As eloquently put by Bakhtin & Holquist (1981):

The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself on the answer's direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoke, the word is at the same time determined by which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. (pp. 280-281)

Or, as put by Silverman (2013), "the assembly of narratives in interviews (or conversations) is always a two-way process" (p. 47). As suggested by Silverman, the interviewer's question is not a gateway to the authentic, but is part of the process of assembling what will become a shared narrative. To this end, what interviewees say should not be treated as pure morsels of their truth, but as somewhat orchestrated and socially constructed, even in the best of research conditions.

Another concern with the interview method is the impact it can have on those being interviewed, who likely are not used to being questioned as such on a regular basis, and even the impact on the interviewer, too. "We have to keep in mind that there is a certain amount of stress

involved in interviewing people and be mindful of the comfort and energy level of the people being interviewed” (Berger, 2020, p. 215).

Finally, a concern of note when conducting interviews is the innate fallibility of humans. People don’t always tell the truth, they want to appear more noble than they are, they don’t always remember things accurately, and they have a habit of telling others what they think they want to hear (Berger, 2020).

In their book on citizen centered journalism, Ellis et al (2022) suggest that when interviewing subjects in underrepresented groups, face-to-face interviews are preferred as the method because it feels more like relationship building, and less like attempting to extract information. Self-awareness and reflexivity are keys to avoiding the pitfalls of the interview method. I aspire to stay aware in not leading my subjects, not having hopes for their answers, and to allow those being interviewed to feel comfortable and unpressured.

Narrative Theory

In this section I will defend the use of a narrative framework for this research. While semi-structured interviews allow respondents the space to answer questions in a way that is more natural for them, that openness does not go far enough to create a space for respondents to fill with their most clear and honest truth.

As noted in *Varieties of Narrative Analysis*: "... narrative inquiry tends to focus on personal stories-- especially their content, themes, and structures" ... but, "the same applies for inquiry into the social organization and social conditioning of stories" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2012, p. 3). The stories told by local media about a place, when compiled together, ultimately tell the story of this place. And this story matters.

Facilitative theories of media and narrative theories intersect in a way that feels quite natural. "The social narrative we call news is an agent of deliberation," write the authors of *Normative Theories of Media* (Christians, p. 161). By this measure, local media have a social responsibility to be aware of the narrative they are crafting for a local community, and the impact that narrative might have on shaping future communal narratives (i.e., the future of the place). More critically, they have a responsibility to be aware of the social narrative which that community is telling about itself. That can only happen through listening, be it in focus groups, interviews, or observation, and by allowing people to talk the way they speak and think: in stories.

In *Varieties of Narrative Analysis*, Holstein and Gubrium (2012) discuss the existence of institutional norms of narrative structure. They cite studies based on court cases which conclude that stories told in an institutionally accepted narrative structure were more likely to be viewed as true. To this end, it becomes a moral imperative of those with influence in a local information ecosystem to normalize and spotlight the singular narrative vernacular of the subcultures that make up the quilt of that community, and to respect them, too.

Polletta & Lee (2006) conducted a study of those participating in an online public deliberative forum which concluded that people find personal narratives to be politically unserious, subjective, and deceptive. This, one could argue, is a remnant of a colonial mentality that privileges traditional Anglo-Saxon narrative tropes at the expense of many indigeneous, Latin, and African narrative modes, which put less emphasis on things like linearity and acute causality, for example. A political dialogue that inherently justifies certain kinds of narratives while discounting others is not democratic at all, and deliberative journalists should be

particularly attuned to this concern as they seek to invite and attract a truly representative chorus to their tables.

Storytelling helps people figure out how they feel about something, and it makes disagreements easier to tolerate (Polletta, 2012). Polletta also notes the power of storytelling to allow citizens to clarify preferences in political discussion. This pulls a view of policy making from something that should be done by “experts,” and instead the storytelling allows for a community decision to be more directly informed by that community itself. Polletta talks about “the lack of a cultural common sense about storytelling and, in particular, an epistemology of the form: a set of assumptions about narrative’s relation to truth and knowing” (2012, p. 247). In the absence of a societal recognition of the value of divergent forms of storytelling from different cultural backgrounds, then the Anglo-Saxon traditional mode of storytelling favored by the legal, business, and political classes stands alone as communication currency. St. John et al (2014) said that community media would need to shift gears, and start “engaging with communities of interest that desire to see themselves, and advance their common interests, in and through the news” (p. 209). What are the stories a community wants to tell about itself? What narrative shape best suits the heartbeat of that place?

Space is an orienting principle of narrative research (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015), making it a good fit for research about local media, which is always deeply oriented within a physical (along with shared psycho-social) space. Local identity displays point to more permanent relations, and they reproduce and circulate shared ideas (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015). People’s activities and conceptions of self are not self-contained but are tied to a social discourse (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015). Or, as put by Riessman (2003), “narrative

analysis can forge connections between personal biography and social structure – the personal and the political” (p. 6).

In summary, narrative is the right framework for this research because storytelling allows people to clarify how they feel about an issue, and it allows for more democratic modes of expression, making embodied participation more accessible. As I will discuss in the next section, the use of a narrative framework is something of a reaction to a way governments more often ask citizens to self-report: through the far more confining methodology of surveys.

Citizen Self Reporting

These studies seek to allow citizens to self-report their feelings about local journalism, and issues and opportunities facing their cities. While, it seems, that few studies in the literature have used narrative-designed interviews to ascertain citizen concerns about their city and local journalism, it is useful to take a side step to briefly explore a more common way that cities seek to allow citizens to speak of their own experiences: surveys. This section briefly explores the commonality of citizen surveys, their limitations, and what we can learn from them that we bring to our chosen method, interviews. I then explain how using narratives helps to ameliorate some of the concerns in the literature about surveys.

Citizen surveys are regularly used by local governments to better understand the satisfaction level of their populations, and some use them to guide funding patterns (Kelly & Swindell, 2001). When cities want to know how their citizens feel, they commonly turn to surveys, an “all-encompassing measure that can be used to assess performance in even highly complex services with few objective measures” (Hjortskov, 2017). What is said in citizen

surveys is a big deal, as cities use this feedback to guide funding and policy choices; determine action steps, and can improve performance (Rivenbark & Ballard, 2012).

Surveys can be problematic, as the designation of performance indicators as objective evidence of government quality is a specious one (Kelly & Swindell, 2001). The same authors also note that citizens won't always bother to retrieve all available information before responding to a survey, and citizens may critique a service even if they have no or limited experience with it. Even when survey questions may be ambiguous to a citizen, most will formulate an answer anyway (Van De Walle & Van Ryzin, 2011). The same authors found that depending on question order, citizens will give different responses to the same questions (2011). Citizen surveys will likely always have their place in the way that local government attempts to listen to its citizens, but the gaps in its efficacy calls for complementary qualitative methods to further unearth how citizens feel their government is performing – including, what categories and topics *they* are judging their city based on.

On a structural level, the questions asked on citizen surveys (and other criteria based assessments) are naturally biased toward entrenched interests and concerns, as “the approach requires the prior specification of standards that a fully effective democratic constitution might be expected to meet” (Mathur & Skelcher, 2007). The same authors reference the Civic Index of the National Civic League of the United States, which presents 12 components as being the normative guide to city self reflection. Surveys are by design top down, which works against deliberative values we are making central in this research. In their study of citizen satisfaction surveys in Serbia, researchers found that “communication practitioners need to engage with the public to discover their level of knowledge, attitudes, behavior patterns, and information needs” (Fil'a et al, 2014, p. 118). The authors called for “communication channels that facilitate

listening, feedback, participation, and dialogue” (p. 118). All of which makes an argument to use interviews when looking to ascertain citizen concerns, so that the issues they care about can be stated by citizens on their own terms.

In particular, pairing narrative methods with interviews might best set a citizen up to be fully and organically voiced. Shaw & Corner (2017) call narrative the natural form of civic engagement. The authors argue that successful civic engagement is innovative, and allow citizens to find their own vocabulary through storytelling. “The most participatory forms of deliberation would, in theory, allow citizens to define the research questions being asked and involve citizens in the decision making process” (p. 276).

Again, narrative methods are meant to complement traditional modes of receiving feedback from citizens. “Stories contain within them knowledge that is different from what we might tap into when we do surveys, collect and analyze statistics, or even draw on interview data that do not explicitly elicit stories with characters, a plot, and development toward a resolution” (Ospina & Dodge, 2005, p. 143). Ospina & Dodge argue enthusiastically for the use of narrative methods in public administration research, arguing that story mediates the way people approach societal problems, and that narrative methods can lead to higher quality public administration research. Jones et al (2019) found that the use of narrative methods in citizen engagement can allow for innovation to come from the citizens up on the local level, rather than the traditional flow of from national trends to local.

Journalism researchers have used narrative methods, including Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014), who used interviews and narrative to better understand journalists’ production of protest news. Dworzniak (2007) used interviews and narrative to unearth how local journalists feel they are impacted by covering violence and death in their own communities. Martinez & Albuquerque

(2020) further supported the argument for the use of the methodology. Their study used in-depth interview and literature review to better understand the life of a journalist, in a combined methodology they referred to as the life history method. This allowed them to situate their subject both in the context of the literature and history, and to also include narrative elements that offered the reader a sense of scene, place, and flow. Particularly in Study 2, the majority of interviewees will be interviewed in the place they are speaking about. Martinez & Albuquerque portray a path where the journalism researcher can take a partial step out of the confines of academic writing, and into the embodied world.

Sampling Strategy

Study 1: Determining the necessary ingredients for starting what will be a successful and sustainable journalism teaching hospital.

Subjects were chosen using the practices of purposive sampling, which is “widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases related to phenomenon of interest” (Palinkas et al, 2015, p. 533). The participant population were current and former academic leaders of university-level journalism teaching hospital programs. Eight such leaders were interviewed for this study. Subjects were identified through Internet searches, existing relationships and knowledge, and snowball techniques. Interviews were conducted via email and phone. The interviews were read and coded multiple times, and analyzed for common, disparate, and unique elements.

Study 2: Using narrative methods to unearth the topics citizens want local media & government to focus on, and what role they believe local media should play in contemporary democracy.

To be deliberative, we almost have to do things differently than before and set our own tracks, to a certain degree. “An important aspect of deliberative engagement and addressing wicked problems is the need to engage broad audiences, particularly going beyond the usual suspects and empowering previously disengaged audiences” (Carcasson & Sprain, 2016). Maldonado (2017) calls bringing together a representative sample of participants to be a “key challenge with overcoming external exclusion” (p. 9).

Based on most recent information from the City of Fort Collins Planning Department, the City of Fort Collins is 57.16 square miles, with an estimated 72,761 housing units, and an estimated end of 2021 population of 172,321 (City of Fort Collins). The median age is 29.3, the median household income is \$65,866, and 55.5% of the population has completed four years of college. The United States Census Bureau notes that the city is 49.9% female; 17.9% of the population is under 18; and 10.9% is over 65. The city is 86.3% white, 1.5% Black, 3.4% Asian, 12.3% Latinx, and 0.9% Native. There are 7,643 veterans in Fort Collins, and 6.9% of residents are foreign born. 15.9% of the population is in poverty, and the average travel time to work is 20.7 minutes.

To determine the composition of the sample, I started with a quota sample – which would equally represent different demographic groups – and then imported the values of judgment sampling, which allows the researcher to bring in additional values in a purposive way, in order to better meet the deliberative ideals discussed above. Quota sampling is a method for selecting numbers of subjects to represent the conditions to be studied rather than to represent the proportion of people in the universe (Luborsky & Rubinstein, 1995). In the interest of empowering previously disengaged audiences, the subjects interviewed statistically overrepresented Native, Asian, LGBTQ, and African-American subjects. This mix was

accomplished through dedicated recruitment, and by keeping track of demographic information as the study unfolds, and making sure the right balances are being reached – and adjusting recruitment methods as needed.

As this entire dissertation is being crafted with journalism teaching hospitals in mind, it is important to reach interviewees who we hope our students will cover. A deliberative value that I hope to see in journalism teaching hospitals is reaching a greater diversity of sources than predecessors. The hope is that the interviewees here will reflect that diversity, and that spirit of empowering-through-listening we hope our journalism students share. So while the majority of Fort Collins is white, it aligns with the values of this project that interviewees be less white – and even less conventional – than the average Fort Collins resident. The value of inviting more people to the communal table should be in journalists’ coverage, in journalism classrooms, and fittingly in this research itself.

Subjects were found through a mix of means, including online posting, reaching out to community members I have existing relationships with, reaching out to organizations who work with different demographics, snowball techniques, and seeking out residents at random in neighborhoods less likely to have Internet access or be reached through my other subject seeking techniques. The subjects for this study identified as such in Table 1:

Table 1

Dur- ation	Age	Gende r	Race	Year s in Foco	City of origin	Religion / Special Identity	Locale of interview
46:17	48	F	Northern European, Celtic, Germanic	16	Kalispell, MT	Non-theist	Met @ local coffee shop

27:56	80	M	White	32	Providence, RI	Jeffersonian	Met @ his church
30:54	Elder	F	Lakota/Ilocano, Filipina	40	St. Francis, South Dakota on the Rosebud Reservation	None, however her Spiritual Path is the Red Road of her mother's people / Disabled	Met @ local coffee shop
11:55	60	M	African-America, Lakota	39	Las Vegas, NV	Secular Satanic / Homeless	Conducted on street in Old Town
35:14	67	M	Lakota, French, English	44	Toronto, Canada	NA	Met in his trailer @ local trailer park
30:52	29	NB	Black	4	Des Moines, IA	Hoodoo / Queer	Met via Zoom
33:11	32	F	Asian/Pacific Islander, Vietnamese	7	Lakewood, CO	No religious affiliation, loosely spiritual / Lesbian	Met @ my home in Fort Collins
29:22	30	M	White/ some Native	3	Scottsbluff, NE	Christian/Buddhist/Hindu/Native American / Raised in poverty	Met @ my home in Fort Collins
38:56	26	F	White/Greek-American	8	Littleton, CO	Spiritual	Met via Zoom
20:31	23	M	White	5.5	Peoria, Ill	NA	Met via Zoom

The majority of interviews were conducted in person, and recorded via personal cell phone. The rest were conducted via Zoom and recorded on a personal laptop. Distinctions are noted in Table 1, above.

I will reflexively note the limitations of my own standing. Wengraf (2001) said, in regards to choosing a sample, that it is dependent on the researcher's prior knowledge of the universe, and that unique experience plays a role in determining what they are looking for, and whom they select to get that information. I am certainly biased in my selections here, in ways I could never be conscious of. That said, I am pleased with the diversity of perspectives represented in this study. They feel legitimately broad, and even expansive. While the sample was not representative of Fort Collins, there is an opportunity to be found in that. Will the values shared by this more diverse group diverge greatly from the values of the mainstream? And/or, will the values shared by this more diverse group converge with the values of the majority, further bolstering what become broad coalition arguments for topics that need attention, reform, and evolution?

Data Codification & Analyzation Methods

Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analyzing and interpreting patterns of meaning within qualitative data which allows the researcher to undergo an organic approach which emphasizes flexibility (Clarke & Braun, 2017). In thematic analysis, codes are used as the building blocks of themes, which provide a framework for the researcher to reveal their findings as more than summarized data, but interpreted data (Clarke & Braun, 2017). This method can be helpful when trying to discover new things about common occurrences, such as Owen (1984) using thematic interpretation to reveal a more complex nature of relationships than previously

understood. In his study, Owen noted a theme when three criteria were present: recurrence (a “crystalizing” found in multiple parts of a text), repetition (the repetition of keywords, phrases or sentences), and forcefulness (indications of enthusiasm). Thematic analysis lends itself well to research like this that is designed to reach a variety of cultures, as “themes allow sense-making at different rates and in various forms fitting the specific concerns of the participants” (Owen, 1984, p. 276).

Burns (2017) used a similar form of content analysis in their study of experiential learning in student newsrooms. While their intentions were different than ours here, their process for identifying themes (scrutiny techniques), adapted from Ryan & Bernard (2003) is instructive: (1) repetitions; (2) indigenous typologies or categories; (3) metaphors and analogies; (4) transitions; (5) similarities and differences; (6) linguistic connectors; (7) missing data; and (8) theory-related material (p. 129). Of these, I would add indigenous typologies or categories to my approach for these studies, allowing for the most unique – to field and place – themes to reveal themselves.

In their study of journalism students’ perceptions of fake news, Bhaskaran et al (2019) conducted focus groups of five or six participants, and then thematically coded the transcripts. During coding they used a constant comparison method, which pushes the researcher to continually critique, sort, and organize data in an iterative way (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

In their study of health journalists’ perceptions of their communities, Friedman et al (2013) used QSR NVivo 9 [32], a qualitative data management program, for thematic analysis, and they coded until saturation was reached, or when no new information was emerging. While these and other research teams used multiple coders, a process that can add credibility to

findings, as this is a dissertation project, I will be the only coder, engaging with the texts multiple times on my own.

Silverman (2013) emphasized the importance of tapes and transcripts of interviews, noting that they are a public record available to the scientific community, and that they could serve as material for future research directions.

There are no absolute rules about coding interviews, and to a large degree the coding process is determined by the character of the material being coded (Berger, 2020). Creswell (1994) laid out basic steps for this kind of coding, which I will use as a model. They include reading over the transcript as a whole; reviewing one and then multiple transcripts for topics; coming up with abbreviations for topics and marking the transcripts where topics are found; turning topics into categories and settling on a final set of abbreviations; assembling all the material for each category and analyzing; and finally seeing whether the codes can be further refined and consolidated. When approaching interview material, Berger (2020) encouraged researchers to be aware that their interpreted meaning might not perfectly align with a respondent's intended meaning.

The interviews in Study 1 will be coded to reveal the specific conditions in which a teaching hospital could start and thrive. The interviews in Study 2 will be coded using thematic analysis to reveal underlying areas of communal focus that could translate into either local news content, and/or the focus on local government resources and initiatives, and also to reveal community thoughts on the relationship between local journalists and their community.

Questions for Interviewees

The questions asked of interviewees as part of Study 1 will be matched to research questions. They will be:

- What is the origin story of your school's field hospital program?
- From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for your field hospital program?
- From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for your field hospital program?
- What sustains your field hospital program -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university? Community demand?
- What conditions would have to change in order for your program to grow?
- What conditions would have to change in order for your program to no longer exist?
- Is your field hospital program valued within your department and university? How do you judge this?
- What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new field hospital to start?

The questions asked of interviewees as part of Study 2 will be matched to research questions. They will be:

- Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?
- Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?
- Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of

citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

- Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?
- Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?
- What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?
- What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins’ hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?
- Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins’ story?
- How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins’ story, change the story to balance the scales?
- If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

Methodological Limitations

Most critically, the methods used here are limited in sample size, and they lack a quantitative methodology to pair with this qualitative methodology. This makes the results less internally verified, and less generalizable. As a broad goal of this research is to positively impact and inform the journalism academy and democracies on the local level, these are not just academic research limitations, but practical ones. More work will need to be done to build on this research in order to verify the scalability of the findings, and in order to catch the attention of the culture.

As Riessman (2011) notes, mediated environments place limitations on the kinds of stories that can be told. No research design comes without some level of mediation. As Riessman

said, “don’t neglect the local context in your analysis, including the questioner and listener, the setting, and the position of an utterance in the broader spectrum of conversation” (pp. 328-9).

While the intention of reaching the community and hearing their opinions, concerns, and dreams is a virtuous one, it’s good to remember that “giving voice to the voiceless can replicate power dynamics” (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015, p. 40). How can these questions be asked and framed in such a way that the respondent feels they are talking to a peer, and not someone they should feel pressure to performatively try to impress? How can the questions be asked and framed in a way that strengthens the democratic – and thus journalistic -- ethic of citizens as a vital part of their city, state, and country?

A limit of thematic analysis is that while it is a method, sometimes in research using critical thematic analysis conclusions aren’t drawn until the discussion section, leaving the analysis devoid of what might be considered a critical framework (Lawless & Chen, 2019). Thematic analysis has been said to be poorly demarcated, yet widely used, leaving it open to criticism (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In their study focused on citizen journalism, Antony & Thomas (2010) used thematic analysis to study audience reactions. Using this method caused them to work with a limited data set, thus limiting the generalizability of their findings.

V. Results

A. Introduction

The results of each study will be presented in turn. The results of Study 1 will be presented as a set of key findings based on all the questions asked of the teaching hospital leaders. When analyzed together, the body of data collected and coded in Study 1 led to a clear set of beliefs among teaching hospital leaders about key conditions that help a teaching hospital program launch and substantially succeed.

The results of Study 2 are organized in two parts. The first five questions probe audiences for their opinion about local journalists in slightly different roles than what might be considered the present normative role. I believe it benefits the reader to see how those interviewed responded to the somewhat distinct journalistic positionalities presented in each question. The second five questions for Study 2 used a narrative-based approach to allow audiences to reveal issues they may want local journalists to cover – and, in turn, what they might want their local government to focus resources and attention on. The findings for these five questions were consistent enough to be grouped into one set of findings, with notations of which questions inspired which answers, where appropriate.

B. Study 1 Results

Overview

The teaching hospital program leaders interviewed identified a concrete and actionable set of conditions and considerations that should be in place to launch a sustainable teaching hospital within an academic department. The two factors that were emphasized virtually across

the board were a strong desire from at least one faculty member to start and maintain a teaching hospital; and a news coverage gap that needs to be filled (which often but not always was a gap in General Assembly coverage). Teaching hospital leaders also emphasized the importance of three other concerns: funding and commitment from leadership, media connections, and access to newsmakers. See Figure 1.

6 Key Ingredients of a Journalism Teaching Hospital

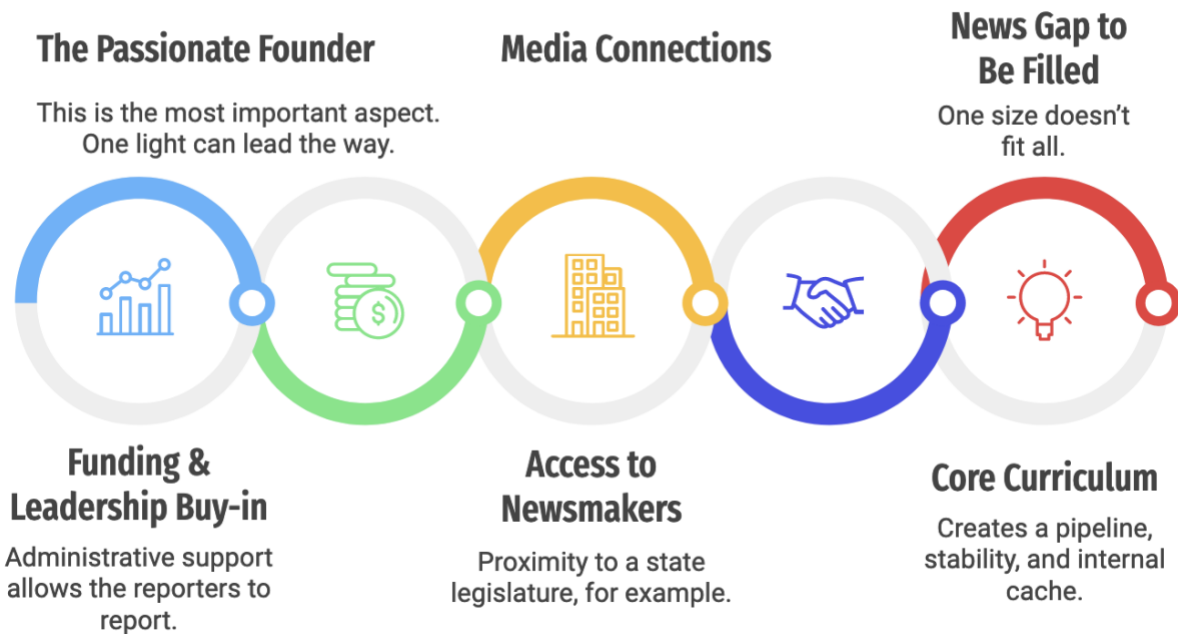


Figure 1

The Passionate Founder

“One inspired teacher. Just one,” is how many professors Eric Newton, former Innovation Chief at Arizona State University’s Cronkite School and funder of teaching hospital programs with the Knight Foundation, said it takes to start a mini-teaching hospital, or as he calls them, first-aid stations or clinics (full interview transcripts are presented in Appendix A).

Teaching hospital leaders often identified one member of the faculty (or in some cases a dean or local publisher) who has been given most of the credit for founding the teaching hospital program in a department. This individual cannot be the clock-in-and-out type who looks to do the minimum amount of service and instruction time. “You would need an instructor who can teach all day every day — it’s a full-time newsroom and a full-time job,” said Karen Denny, the Annapolis bureau director for the Capital News Service at the University of Maryland’s Merrill College of Journalism.

Being the faculty director of a teaching hospital is multifaceted and comes with unique pressure compared to other faculty members. In addition to the requisite instruction, grading, and office hours most professors handle, teaching hospital directors also have to manage publishing platforms, interact with dozens of professional editors on a weekly basis, field calls from concerned elected officials, play a role in fundraising and grant writing, be ready to make corrections at all hours, and more. Brian Creech, faculty director of Temple University’s Philadelphia Neighborhoods, cited personnel as one of the top two necessities for starting a program. “(It’s) the time necessary to maintain the platform, develop workflows, establish editorial standards, and enforce those standards,” he said. Creech went on:

It can be professional staff, or a faculty member whose only responsibilities are the hospital program. There is often the impression that these kinds of projects can be started and sustained with students, and while that is mostly true, there has to be a professional investment in editorial structure in order to sustain the program beyond the scope of a single semester or academic year.

This faculty member needs to be prepared to design and implement the program within the curriculum, noted Eric Freedman, director of the Capital News Service at Michigan State

University. It can be important for those hiring for this role to have a certain amount of flexibility. The right person to launch a program might not be from the traditional academic path from which university departments habitually hire. “My many years as a reporter—along with the many awards I received for my work—I know were critical to my getting hired as a full-time instructor and ESSENTIAL to making this capstone what it is,” said Sue Kopen Katcef, who served as Executive Producer and then Bureau Director for the University of Maryland Philip Merrill College of Journalism’s Capital News Service Broadcast Bureau, said via email. She said the Capital News Service was founded “with the intention of bringing in the BEST professionals (an advanced degree was not a requirement) to give students the BEST preparation for the future.”

Staffing concerns include overwhelming the leadership of the program. “If a faculty member had to teach CNS solo, that might be the death knell,” said Jeff South of VCU’s CNS, where two instructors both count CNS’s associate 400-level course on their workloads.

The balancing act of the role can lead to pitfalls, too, as Brian Creech found at Temple University. “We’ve found that the demands of a public-facing site (audience engagement, grant seeking, and partnership development) can often be at odds with the instructional and pedagogical imperatives we have as a department,” he said. As a result, their teaching hospital uses a team approach:

Two faculty members then agreed to team teach the course, with maintaining the site and its operations serving as their primary service responsibilities. This work, of course, exceeded the university’s expectations for service time, though faculty continued with the administrative expectation that such work was the kind of passion work that could never be adequately captured (or compensated) by university administration.

A News Coverage Gap Needing to Be Filled

When asked for commonalities among successful teaching hospitals, Rafael Lorente, former director of the Capital News Service Washington, D.C., and Annapolis bureaus for the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, simplified the formula:

“They found a niche, or an underserved market, and filled it with eager students and dedicated faculty,” he said. Lorente noted that programs are in different parts of the country -- and different parts of states, and even different parts of cities. “It’s important that teaching hospitals be tailored to serve those unique needs,” he said.

Adrienne Flynn, who was also director of those same D.C. and Annapolis Capital News Service bureaus, expanded on the concept of understanding ‘need’ when starting a teaching hospital beyond just a need to fill a gap in professional news coverage. She suggested that department needs should also be considered, such as lack of outside internships and a need for a capstone.

The most commonly expressed coverage gap among the teaching hospital leaders interviewed was their state’s legislative body -- with a caveat that this study disproportionately interviewed leaders of Capital News Service programs, which cover state capitals. Yet, state politics is a vital part of the democratic ecosystem, and state reporter jobs have been eliminated at newspapers across the country, leaving many state’s populaces woefully under-informed (Bosman, 2019). Multiple respondents said that their teaching hospitals were founded as a direct reaction to local newspapers pulling their statehouse coverage.

While state-level political coverage is a notable gap addressed across multiple teaching hospitals, other thematic coverage gaps have also been filled by teaching hospitals, including

gaps in statewide environmental reporting, gaps in local news reporting, and gaps in reporting in certain city neighborhoods.

Funding & Commitment from Leadership

Start up costs can be minimal. “Doing this in your own class can cost ZERO,” said Eric Newton (all-caps emphasis his own). If managing a teaching hospital can count as an existing faculty member’s teaching load, start-up costs are negligible. Yet, respondents pointed out that funding support is key, including resources to build out a publishing platform.

“The faculty and the greater university leadership need to be invested,” said Lorente. “There are always going to be bumps along the way. Is everybody ready to negotiate those?” Teaching hospital programs are in a unique position to help secure their own sustainability and growth through additional revenue streams than just the student fees that provide the budget for most classes on a college campus. “The more streams, the more sustainable; the more streams, the less vulnerable to pressure,” said Newton.

Teaching hospital leaders referenced a variety of revenue streams enjoyed by their program, including endowments, grants, stipends from honors college, work study funding, subscription fees paid by partner media, fundraising, and stipends paid by partner media.

Department and university leadership need to have “a long-term commitment to serving the community with publication-ready stories produced by students,” said Jeff South, Virginia Commonwealth University’s longtime Capital News Service director. It helps, Newton noted, if a university president is knowledgeable about the collapse of local legacy media, and recognizes its impact on local democracy.

It can happen that a university has a president or provost who doesn't understand or appreciate journalism -- or who, in this era, might even see journalists as a political enemy. In these cases, "success can be defined in destructive ways," said Newton. He went on:

The wrong metric would be for a college president to be happy that no major controversies were provoked by the teaching hospital of news. That is not, and should never be, the aim of such a program. It's like saying a writing program can't produce anything that makes people cry. Or the art program can't produce something people don't like.

Doing great journalism isn't enough to keep a teaching hospital open. It must make sure those in power know that great journalism is being done. "To sustain this funding, it's best to collect a lot of information on what you are doing, so it's clear you are showing progress," said Newton. "It can happen if the hospital is doing good work but doesn't take the time to document it."

Naturally, awards help bring positive light to the department and university, and help keep a program in good standing. Teaching hospitals seem to be magnets for substantial awards and recognitions. "In the last five years alone, our CNS or capstone graduates have been part of four Pulitzer Prizes," said the University of Maryland's Lorente. According to Jeff South, over the years, CNS students at VCU have won more than 50 national, regional and state awards for their work. Creech noted the particular value of Hearst, SPJ, and Editor and Publisher awards to his program.

Media Connections

Many if not most teaching hospitals use a publication model that does not emphasize an in-house website. Rather, student produced stories are distributed to editors across the region or state, who are free to run the story in their publication. Thus, either having or building these connections is essential at the launch of a teaching hospital. Michigan State University's Eric Freedman suggested, "market research to determine whether there will be a demand for the professional-caliber content that the students produce."

Partner media finding value in -- and publishing -- the students' work is a basic metric of success at any teaching hospital. According to the leaders interviewed for this study, the reach of teaching hospitals is growing. For example, the Capital News Service at Michigan State University reaches about 30 daily and weekly newspapers and online news services. The CNS at Virginia Commonwealth University distributed 280 stories a semester during its most prolific years, and they can boast about an official content partnership with both the Associated Press and Washington Post. Teaching hospital programs strive to produce reporting that makes a difference in their community, and they do, often filling a gap where "traditional media do not have the resources to cover" (Lorente).

Access to Newsmakers

Students cannot report the news if they cannot get to newsmakers. Denny noted a critical functional consideration: accessibility to newsmakers. Proximity is key if a program expects students to shuffle back and forth between a campus and state (or local) capital.

Core Curriculum

The most common theme for what sustains teaching hospitals is being “baked into the curriculum,” as South put it, and/or for the experience to be the capstone class for a program. Leaders used phrases like “foundational capstone,” “cornerstone of our curriculum,” and “it is absolutely baked into both our undergraduate and master's curriculum” to describe the classes associated with their teaching hospital programs. It seems that the existence of teaching hospitals can have spillover positive effects on the culture of a department. Said Sue Kopen Katcaf, who has served as executive producer and then bureau director for the University of Maryland Philip Merrill College of Journalism’s Capital News Service Broadcast Bureau:

In order to guarantee the best possible readiness of the students for this capstone (teaching hospital) experience the curriculum must be structured so that it prepares the students by laying the foundation for the critical thinking and technical skills that are required to be successful at the capstone level.

When students are required to register for the teaching hospital course at some point in their course of study, that provides a steady flow of student journalists to sustain the publication structure, and to meet the rest of the qualifications described in this section of this study.

Respondents also mentioned the benefit of having other reporting classes feed content into the teaching hospital program, which adds content then made available to media partners, and which builds deeper relationships with students. At Jeff South’s teaching hospital at Virginia Commonwealth University, he required the students to produce 10 stories over the semester (that number was since lowered). His goal was to have three to five stories in the daily budget sent to editors throughout the state.

Respondents noted that while the work done at teaching hospitals is important, there is a human balance that must be kept. Creech shared an instructive anecdote from the earlier days of Temple University's teaching hospital program:

As PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com grew in reputation and professional standards became a part of the student grade, expectations on students grew, while the time faculty could give to instruction diminished. Students began to resent and dread Philadelphia Neighborhoods, while college administration increased fundraising and positive press attention around PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com. Several years ago, we realized this created an untenable situation, where the demands of PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com overshadowed the needs of students.

This led them to restructuring and, ultimately, continued success.

The "real worldness" of teaching hospitals alone forces students to raise their game above student standards. "If your students know their work will be published, aired or posted, if they know it must be of sufficient quality to be published, that focuses them and reveals what they really know and whether they can work together to help each other," said Newton.

C. Study 2 Results

Overview

The Fort Collins residents interviewed revealed some common feelings about the role of local journalists in their communities, including an enthusiastic openness to local journalists framing issues less adversarially, believing local journalists should quote a wider variety of community members, believing that local journalists are stakeholders in their community, and varying flavors of cynicism about journalists as community solution finders.

The narrative-oriented questions aimed at helping to reveal what topics audiences might like local journalists and local governments to focus on uncovered an array of responses that gravitated toward a few central themes. The most common community elements of concern included the well-being of the homeless, those in poverty, and those who cannot afford to buy a home in Fort Collins. People of color and the queer communities were most often referenced as the underdogs in Fort Collins’ story, and multiple respondents shared a hope for a more vibrant and integrated city. See Table 2:

Table 2

Audience Opinions of Local Journalists in Different Roles & Approaches

Role	Summary	Representative quote
Framing issues less adversary, more collaboratively	9/10 embrace	“So right now how media is overall, I would say mainstream media, is telling an interpretation of what happened, and it’s a very Us v. Them, these are the hard sides, and it doesn’t really give room for the complexity of events that are happening, but also what led to the events both on a local and a global scale. So things can appear very black and white, very doomsday, and not really give a picture of the whole story.” - Sandra
Local J’s as community conveners	10/10 embrace	“The people in the media who are telling the stories would have a great grasp of who to connect.” - Elijah

Local J's as government info translators	Split on the issue	"And the government is so wishy washy and secretive with how they word stuff, so what they say is what the journalists are gonna say." - Dylan
Local J's as champions of civic engagement	9/10 embrace	"Ya, absolutely. And making that (civic engagement) accessible. Making it accessible for a variety of people." - Sandra
Quoting wider & more representative subjects in addition to official leaders	10/10 embrace, with concerns	"Are we saying that in the interest of providing a spectrum of opinions, we're going to provide opinions that are demonstrably false and unifact-checked simply because that person thinks that?" - Antonia
Local J's as community solution finders	Majority open to the role, with fundamental caveats	"Journalists are going to have to do something similar where people are going to believe them again." - Chatan
Local J's seeing themselves as community stakeholders	10/10 embrace	"I think there's something to be said for having fluency in a community's language that really facilitates trust building and genuine answers up front." - Antonia

Journalists Framing Issues less Adversarially, and more Collaboratively

Nine out of ten respondents reported that they would embrace local journalists framing issues less as adversaries and more collaboratively. The two most common reasons stated were a sense that more collaboratively-framed reporting would be less simplistic, and it would have a positive impact on both readers and the larger community.

Interviewees who desired the outcome of less simplistic reporting mentioned things like allowing for more gray area, "you're not getting the full issue," "nuance on both sides," not "fragmenting the larger thought," and the increased inclusivity of collaborative-framed reporting.

The simplicity, multiple interviewees believed, creates something of a false reality. “They’re creating a world that isn’t ours,” said a Native respondent said who we are calling Shappa. While another respondent we are calling Sandra noted that “journalists have a delicate responsibility with how they define and flesh out reality to the community” (full Study 2 interview transcripts are presented in Appendix B).

Sandra also said:

So right now how media is overall, I would say mainstream media, is telling an interpretation of what happened, and it’s a very Us v. Them, these are the hard sides, and it doesn’t really give room for the complexity of events that are happening, but also what led to the events both on a local and a global scale. So things can appear very black and white, very doomsday, and not really give a picture of the whole story.

Interviewees expressed a belief that more collaborative-framed local reporting would have a number of positive spillover effects. These included a belief that this would inspire more creativity, and a hope that this kind of reporting would mend conversations, rather than further tearing us apart. Interviewees stated various versions of saying that this approach would help us better solve problems.

“I think it would deeply affect how people consume media and also how they make decisions based off of media,” said a respondent we’re calling Jada.

The respondent who was less enthusiastic about a more collaborative framing, who we are calling Dylan, said, “News is supposed to be facts.” He preferred a sense of journalistic distance that felt more honest and direct to him, saying:

If you’re a journalist you should be truthful and honest, dead honest, don’t sway a certain way just report it how it is. It is what it is. If that entails something adverse, like a really

touchy subject, just speak on it.

Overall, though, the responses were more than just enthusiastic, they felt hopeful. “I believe we have more in common than we do against,” reported a man who identified as long term homeless, who we are calling Marcello. “The history of this country has always been adversarial. Now it’s time to go against that.”

Journalists in the Roles of Community Conveners, Government Information Translators, & Champions of Citizen Engagement

Respondents were open to local journalists in these roles, but with significant hesitations and concerns. All respondents said they would embrace local journalists as community conveners, believing that it would “actually add to their content,” provide an opportunity for “collaborative restoration,” and noting that “the people in the media who are telling the stories would have a great grasp of who to connect.” Jada teased out the concept:

(For example), housing insecurity definitely. Pulling people in from government, from community and different age groups, and different backgrounds. Like people who were born here and are from here, and then how they are coping with the housing crisis here. And people who are moving here. Also organizations that work with people who are housing insecure.

The respondent we are calling Antonia noted that she believed local journalists might be more reliable conveners than local government itself. She said:

My personal experience with the city mediating those conversations is that I don’t really trust the neutrality of when they’re involved. I think journalists would be better question askers because of their training, than someone in the city because often there is an

institutional momentum or position that people have become a part of and I think that the role in my mind of journalism is to cultivate a different kind of impartiality, but also ask better questions and also first principals questions and I think there's a lot of training in question asking that can facilitate that whole process so I think the evolving role of journalism.

Personal bias was a common concern regarding these roles, but also institutional bias. "I would (embrace local journalists as conveners), but often times their money and backing comes from the people that are in charge so they're not even allowed to speak about stuff," said the interviewee we're calling Chatan.

Similar, if often more intense, cynicism was voiced about the role of local journalists as government information translators, with about half of respondents not having enough trust to co-sign this role for local journalists. On the positive side, respondents called the role "a natural fit," with Marcello citing that "they know all the lingo of the politicians and stuff... so they can translate stuff how they mean it."

Others called government translating a "slippery slope," and Jada saying "the system overall that's in place for mainstream journalism is insufficient to represent what's actually going on." Interviewees questioned the way that somebody would translate, and worry that the profit and clicks motives in journalism leave local journalists as unreliable translators. The interviewee we are calling Dylan worried that journalists are already mouthpieces for the government, "And the government is so wishy washy and secretive with how they word stuff, so what they say is what the journalists are gonna say."

All but one respondent stated they would embrace local journalists as champions of civic engagement. Interviewees believe that local journalism should be making civic engagement

accessible. They also noted that this kind of content creation would be less sensational. Respondents were concerned that journalists do not have the time for this kind of teaching role, and that possibly it should be different journalists doing the reporting than serving in other roles such as champion of civic engagement.

Journalists Quoting a Wider and more Representative Variety of Citizens & Stakeholders, in Addition to Official Leaders

All interviewees responded positively to local journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders, in addition to official leaders. Multiple respondents called for a balance between the two, just as multiple respondents called for journalists to interview both more local experts, including scientists and academics. They thought interviewing more people in the community would add sympathy across that community, increase the amount of data decision makers have to work with, and could lead to solutions. The biggest call was for local journalists to reach and quote those “genuinely impacted by something,” as put by the subject we’re calling Elijah.

That said, interviewees often took time to parse through their concerns. They question not just who journalists interview, but how. One woman of color interviewed, Jada, shared concern that “The way that they frame questions to the folks that they are interviewing are very like leading and very white supremacy.” She went on:

The assumption that the person they are interviewing represents the entirety of a community, or they have assumptions about the way the person lives or is dealing with this situation that kind of get projected on that person and it shows up in the question.

Multiple respondents worried that local journalists claiming to be quoting a wider variety

of stakeholders would be setting themselves up to fail, in a sense, in the eyes of those communities. Another woman of color, who we are calling Sandra, said:

It's naive to claim to people, this is what we're doing, this is where we're striving for.

Most things are inherently biased or limited. They have specific positionality that exists within their own unique time and space, and they only have a limited amount of resources available, and therefore they are not going to be able to represent a community at large.

In a similar vein, interviewees worried about spreading division and warping the discourse by quoting misrepresentative representatives. "Are we saying that in the interest of providing a spectrum of opinions, we're going to provide opinions that are demonstrably false and uncheck-checked simply because that person thinks that?" one asked.

Accessibility is an issue, too. It is common for journalists to work on deadline. It simply takes more time – and often sweat – to reach those citizens who will feel the down stream impact of a policy. While there are official spokespeople to call for a city or organization, often no such spokesperson or organization exists for impacted citizens.

Journalists as Community Solution Finders

The majority of interviewees expressed immediate concern about this role, with virtually all respondents being open to the idea of journalists as community solution *sharers*, rather than finders. Interviewees feel like journalists have a moral obligation to include solutions in their reporting, and should call out the gaps in knowledge. Interviewees argued that since local journalists talk to both leaders and those impacted by issues, they may be best positioned to help find the solutions to problems. Interviewees believe that local journalists can and should fuel the process toward the solutions, should bring more people into solution-finding dialogues, and that

journalism can lead to more efficient change than official processes. “Cause a lot of stuff you don’t know about, because what you know, you read it in the paper,” said Marcello.

Those against this concept were forceful, sometimes saying this goes against the central journalistic values of being an eyewitness and reporting facts. They did not trust journalists to be unbiased. They did not trust journalists to have the cultural context to speak for all – “they don’t account for themselves in the village,” a Native respondent we are calling Chatan said. He and others believed that journalists wrote too simply to account for the complexity of issues, and do not have the right training, noting the lack of economics, accounting, and psychology education among journalists. When asked follow-ups, some of those interviewed would be open to journalists being retrained to be solution finders, while others did not believe those currently drawn to journalism were pure of heart enough to lead solution-oriented conversations.

The concern of bias was pervasive in these responses and others. “Journalists are going to have to do something similar where people are going to believe them again,” Chatan said. “It just seems to me that it would be hard to shape someone to be that way,” said another. One respondent worried that a journalist might steer a conversation toward a pre-ordained solution in the same way the government might. “The city does this over and over,” Antonia said. “They have an idea of what the answer should be in the end, and they ask very leading questions.” More than any other question in this study, the *intention* of the journalist was seen as key.

Journalists who Self-identify as Members/Stakeholders of that Community

Ultimately, all of those interviewed believed that local journalists are stakeholders, and they should see themselves as such. They believe that being a stakeholder informs and motivates their intentions and increases their inherent knowledge about how a story is impacting different

segments of the community. They said that being a local stakeholder increases trust and grounds them in the humanity of the profession. “Anybody in that field who’s viewed that way will be more able to get people they want to talk to invested in their story in the way they want to cover it,” Shappa said. What’s more, interviewees found coverage of local issues by those who aren’t stakeholders to be “upsetting,” “f’ed up,” “rooted in whiteness,” and holds a higher chance of “missing the sacred” in a situation.

Interviewees said that transparency is key: local journalists should make their affiliations and biases plain. They believed that local journalists should also be mindful of how the personal becomes political, but that a local journalist who sees themselves as a stakeholder is better positioned to be aware of and counter those biases. “I think there’s something to be said for having fluency in a community’s language that really facilitates trust building and genuine answers up front,” Antonia said.

A local journalist not being a genuine stakeholder in a community can have damaging impacts on those covered. Shappa told a story about an interaction with a reporter:

You have to think of the people’s pride. It’s like okay, let’s say you come to visit me on the reservation and we’ve been friends so then you come, and like my house is very sparse and I have barely any food but I make you some coffee and make whatever I have to eat – and this really happened to me – and I offer it to you, and ‘No, no, no, I can’t do that’ and what not. You know what that’s telling me? You think I’m too poor, you think that you’re taking food out of my mouth. There are a lot of negative connotations I might have coming from a culture. So you’re really insulting me and hurting me deeply. And he was doing that.

Narrative Based Questions: Potential Turning Points for Fort Collins; The Antagonist to Fort Collins' Hopes and Dreams; The Underdog in Fort Collins' Story; & Changing Fort Collins' Story to Balance the Scales

The responses to the first four narrative-based questions have been grouped together due to the consistent overlap in responses. They are meant to unearth what topics local citizens might want local journalists to cover, and local government to focus resources on. These categories all melt into each other, but can generally be distilled as such:

Housing & Growth.

No matter the question, interviewees often gravitated to concerns and hopes about how Fort Collins will grow, and how the community will manage to affordably house both our current and future residents. “Do I want to see it grow? Not really. I like the size where it’s at. It’s just big enough that it’s a city, but small enough to where it’s not like a city,” said Dylan.

Respondents want people to have housing, and they’d like more people, no matter their income, to be able to afford a home. One older respondent, who we are calling August, said, “We’ve been here 30 years plus. You look at what you bought the house for, and what it’s going for today. You got to say, ‘How does the young family afford anything here in the area?’”

There is a concern that an inflexibility in mindset could be part of the city’s downfall. “We have to see it as a dynamic, evolving place or we’re going to get steamrolled by all the people moving in,” said one college-aged respondent who we are calling Elijah. Respondents believe that solutions to the housing issue will come through collaboration. “I think you need the whole world. You need planning and zoning, local government, you need the ability for someone to be building these small houses in affordable style,” August said.

Respondents noted a tension between values such as housing the homeless and less affluent, and sustainability. One respondent we are calling Rebecca said:

I think people worry the community is growing too quickly, and then on the flip side a lot of the people who don't have permanent housing don't think it's growing fast enough, and that's causing really inflated prices in housing as well as since housing is going up very quickly, the houses going up aren't necessarily quality built.

Homelessness was brought up multiple times by multiple respondents. Shappa said, when asked of the city's antagonist, "Well, I guess the people that don't care about the homeless. Those are the sort of bad guys." While our homeless interviewee noted how police quotas fuel the harassment of the homeless in Fort Collins.

Dylan expressed a desire for more balance in the location of types of housing. He said: Put some more rich houses on the north side, put some more affordable housing on the rich side. If you really want to make things more balanced, have more affordable housing in good areas, not the fucking ghetto or wherever, the least desirable part of town.

In the growth, respondents found opportunities for optimism and for Fort Collins to show national leadership. Rebecca said:

I do feel like we care so much about a community that if we can stop squabbling about things and find some common ground we could move toward community solutions that could be adopted nationwide and fix some of these problems on a smaller scale and be a model going forward for other larger communities that have the same problems.

Integration and Embrace of Non-Heteronormative White Middle/Upper Class Citizens.

Respondents brought up concerns and hopes about the poor, working class/students, non-white, and non-heteronormative residents as often as they spoke about housing and growth. Respondents of color spoke of not feeling welcomed or embraced, even to the point of being felt like they're seen as inherently "dangerous"; white respondents were quick to note BIPOC communities, the homeless/poor/less affluent, and LGBTQ communities as the underdogs, and those for whom future positive turning points should address. One LGBTQ respondent of color who we are calling Sanra said:

I mean, this is a great, beautiful city, but I think that it just it needs a little more of a robust, eclectic, is that the right word – more of a hodgepodge of cultures, identities, and expressions... A lot of the people I talk to, especially like queer folks or people of color or people from all parts of the world, usually when I talk to them they want to leave right away.

What might be called a fundamental whiteness was often referenced as an antagonist to the city's hopes and dreams. "The biggest thing is we've got to get over our white. And nothing's gonna happen until that happens," said a Native respondent, Chatan. The city's unwillingness or inability to clearly acknowledge and confront its problems was also commonly alluded to as a place of both concern and opportunity. Jada said:

I also think that working with community members and acknowledging ways in which people of color have been pushed out and kind of buried and hidden would also be a major turning point for this city.

Respondents talked about the marginalization of people of color in numerous ways. Elijah said:

It's this beautiful place that can really mask the ugliness that people face. There's a lot of racism that happens here but it's not talked about because there are only so many people of color here to talk about it. There's not enough affinity spaces, there's not enough places for communities to gather and to heal and learn from one another. That's just such a significant issue that we don't really talk about or look at.

These concerns were traced back to the original founding of the city. Chatan said, "A fort is a funny place to live. It has two parts to it – one it's a garrison so you're protected, but you're also in an enclave so you're not open to the diversity." Elijah noted:

It was originally created as a fort, and it was created as a place specifically to fight against indigenous people, against Latinx people, pretty much anybody that wasn't white. So for me it's those minority groups that have managed to keep their culture and maintain a place here (who are the underdogs).

While Shappa pointed out:

It was Camp Collins, Indian killers, that's what it was. So Camp Collins is kind of like they've done all over the country. They keep the name of the person who annihilated the Indians and displaced us and created diaspora. There were all those names all over the nation.

Sustainability & Moving Away from the Profit Motive.

Respondents worry about a pervasive profit motive in Fort Collins that holds the city back. They pointed to the real estate industry, out-of-area home investors, the Chamber of Commerce, the fossil fuel industry, and others as perpetrators of this problem. They viewed this value in opposition to ideals of long term sustainability.

Jada noted, “a stark contrast between how the government sees things going, and how the local businesses and the community feel. There’s such a big discrepancy.”

There is a concern about the future of Fort Collins from an ecological perspective. Dylan worried that “it’s gonna get super hot, almost desert climate.” In regards to water, Antonia called how we handle this fundamental resource a major turning point, “Whether we decide to be proactive or reactive about water, and connect actual resource limitations to how we’re behaving.” CSU is seen as part of the sustainability problem by some. “For a school that’s into sustainability etc., there’s no permaculture, there’s no reclamation, that land is ruined. It’s dried out,” said Chatan, of the Hughes Stadium land CSU has long controlled.

Sustainability also brought to the surface tones of what felt like true hope in respondents. “I think the sustainability initiative for Fort Collins could be a really positive turning point,” Rebecca said. Antonia found hope in the city essentially adding a new metric of success that incorporated nature access:

I would add access to nature as a primary consideration for the health and well being of individuals, families and communities. Access to actual nature and I would measure that and so if I think of the system we’re actually in, which is very development oriented, I would have a per capita measure of land that is park, and what of that is actual unlandscaped nature, and I would have a per capita measure of that be a measure of our health.

Local Government, CSU, & their Relationship.

Laced throughout responses was a sense of unease with a local government seen as less attuned to the average citizen’s needs, and not being held properly accountable, in part due to the

way local journalism has shrunk. Multiple respondents worried about the relationship between the city and CSU – they want more transparency, and possibly even laws to regulate how much local political power can exist within the dynamic. They were described as being “in cahoots.”

The desire of both local government and CSU to present a shiny image is seen as holding the city back. Sandra said, about the antagonist to the city’s dreams:

Sugar coating. Maybe more my impression is shaped by CSU, but there seems to be a just kind of a... complacency? Sugar coating? Not being more bold. I’m not sure how you would describe that antagonist... a Vanilla Monster? Just this sleepy complacency.

Multiple respondents felt like national political divides reverberate locally, and not enough is done to combat this. August called this divide the city’s biggest antagonist. “I just think the divide between the right and the left, and the fact that they’re so far apart. And our politicians and everybody else are not putting people together.”

The divide between those with influence and those without can make the vast majority of us feel like underdogs in Fort Collins. Said Rebecca:

I think the community of Fort Collins itself is often the underdog in its own story. Which is kind of funny I think. Usually the community should be the champion of its own story. But I feel like there’s such polarization and disconnect within our community that no matter what faction you’re in, you feel like you’re in an under-appreciated part of Fort Collins.

Multiple respondents called for a wholesale reset of how local politicians are elected/how local government functions. Jada said:

I think that a more representative system that's not just based on what proportion of people are one way or another, but that really includes as many of those experiences and perspectives as possible.

The Title of the Book, Movie or Play that is Fort Collins.

I have left this question on its own simply because the answers are fun, worth sharing, and may provide further fodder for those reading this as they pursue future local journalistic projects, with students and beyond, in the Fort Collins metro. I asked interviewees to give their real title, their aspirational title, or both. Responses can be roughly divided into three groupings, and are reflective of the findings for the previous narrative-based questions:

1. Facade of Perfect Whiteness

The Bubble that Broke

The Giant Biked Mustached Man

The Great Gatsby but with Cows

Fort Collins: The Performance

Wish They Had Closed the Gates Behind Us

Disneyland

2. Genuine Model City

Whatever the Native people here called it

Rise of a New Generation

The City that Showed Up

Goldilocks Zone

The American Solution

Fort Collins: Beacon of Sustainability

3. The Raw

Poor Whites Are the New Slaves

Poor Whites Worshiping Themselves as Gods

Greek Tragedy

Fort Collinsoscopy

VI. Discussion & Future Directions

A. Building a Better Teaching Hospital: Melding the Learnings from Study 1 & 2

Journalism teaching hospitals will continue to exist and they will continue to be founded, but what's just as important is that they keep evolving to meet the needs of their ever-transforming communities. But what are those needs, as perceived by *today's* audience in *this* community? What roles would they like local journalists to be playing in their community? And what topics would they like those local journalists to be covering? Hopefully Study 2 of this dissertation shed a little additional light on those questions.

In Study 1, I found that there was a concrete set of considerations departments like Journalism & Media Communication at Colorado State University should be strategic about as they form and evolve journalism teaching hospitals in their classrooms. Now, I will look at how the findings from Study 2 could or should inform a department as they address those core six findings from Study 1.

These findings could find immediate relevance and traction within existing conversations about starting and adapting teaching hospitals, in both academic publications and in closer to 'popular' journalism press like Columbia Journalism Review or Nieman Lab. These also represent the biggest personal takeaways for me, as I embark into a role where I am likely to be a journalism teaching hospital founder myself.

Passionate Founder

Originally, I interpreted that a founder of a teaching hospital needed to be passionate about that teaching hospital. That's certainly still true, but these findings made me believe they

also need to be passionate about their local community on a broad and deep scale. Today's audience *wants* their local journalists to see themselves as stakeholders in this shared community. You can't fake feeling ownership over a place. You've got to have a little local dirt in your blood. We learned (or the point was reinforced) in Study 2 that audiences can find outsider coverage of local issues to be hurtful. Those in a local academic community, in their proverbial ivory tower and with their well-marked physical boundaries between campus and city, can have a similar outsider-type presence, even in the cities where practitioners both live and work. Whomever in a department that leads the founding of a teaching hospital has to care about that place beyond its opportunity as a setting of academic work – or the audiences will smell it, undermining the whole operation.

I think founders of teaching hospitals also need to be passionately humble. None of the ten people I interviewed for this study struck me as angry, spiteful, or joyful in cynicism. But there was still such persistent cynicism expressed about journalists. Journalism teaching hospital founders need to be prepared to be passionate about the diplomacy it will take to win back the trust for journalists in their communities. They need to be passionate about listening. They need to be passionate about seeing the bigger picture and the longer term.

Media Connections

On a similar note, that cynicism toward local journalism should lead teaching hospital founders to expand their concept of what 'media' is, then and there in the place they live. Partnerships with standing local newspapers, magazines, and radio/podcasts are intuitive fits and they all should be carefully explored, but what other outlets exist for reaching a community? CSU has found an exemplary illustration of a strong non-traditional media 'media' partner in the

Center for Public Deliberation. The CPD already has both reach, through its website and emails, and community trust. It makes so much sense to hitch a new teaching hospital to this kind of star. Teaching hospital founders might also consider partnerships with trusted organizations like non-profits; The United Way, which produces reams of community-minded content every year, comes to mind. Cities, counties, and public health communicating organizations that all have significant standing reach (and varying levels of community trust) should be considered as ‘media’ partners as well.

Those interviewed expressed enthusiastic openness to local journalists framing issues less adversarially. Again, this just bolsters the argument for something like the CPD as a top notch media partner for a journalism teaching hospital. Audiences here *want* journalists to be more like the deliberators and conveners found at the CPD. Let the learning go both ways.

News Gap to be Filled

Here is where the results from the narrative part of Study 2 might be most immediately germane. Based on this very limited study, with its even more limited sample size, local audiences aren’t necessarily putting a new City Hall reporter, School Board reporter, columnist, or crime reporter at the top of their local journalist wish list. Audiences see the local news gap to be filled in almost a different dimensionality. They want reporting and conversations about affordable housing. They want research and convening about how this city should grow. They want the stories of people of color, the poor, the LGBTQ, and those most impacted by policies to be told and shared, and they want those stories to be better braided with the centrally-white master narrative of the city. They want to see a more sustainable city with clean water and access to nature for all – what kind of ‘journalism’ helps facilitate that? What do we call that role in

journalism?

We know that many of our students struggle financially during their college years. The unaffordability of housing and living in Fort Collins directly impacts them. Could a teaching hospital at CSU be built around a publication of some sort dedicated to parsing out the affordable housing problem, and solutions? Could there be a teaching hospital dedicated to telling the underdog stories in Fort Collins?

Funding and Leadership Buy In

Two of the biggest buzzwords in academia – and rightfully so – have been diversity and inclusion. Our local audiences want more people included, both in local media and, I'd suggest, local government conversations. A teaching hospital has the opportunity to be a tip of the spear in a university's quest to meaningfully actualize these values of diversity and inclusion by telling the stories of those who have historically been less included. Storytelling is a form of justice building, and it should be presented as such to the college deans and presidents who can ultimately fund or pull the plug on teaching hospitals.

Similar can be said of teaching hospitals incorporating elements of community convening, championing civic engagement, and community solution finding, as audiences suggest they might do (with varying levels of confidence and concern). Universities all have outreach and engagement budgets. Clever partnerships can be formed with those offices that lead to additional institutional funding flowing through a journalism teaching hospital and the department that houses it.

Access to Newsmakers

When I conducted the interviews with teaching hospital leaders for Study 1, by ‘newsmakers’ they meant particularly those in government, centered around a state or city capital, and others in leadership roles with local and regional organizations. As interviewees confirmed, these voices still matter, but they’re not the only critical voices our student journalists need access to. Based on the findings of Study 2, student journalists also need access to those who are poor, the homeless, and those in ethnic and non-gendered subcultures. Again, it is rare that these communities have spokespeople – they’re *people*, after all, not organizations or governments. Accessing them really, really matters. But it takes time, it takes hustle, and it often takes an amount of bravery. Teaching hospital founders should consider how they will help their students access the newsmakers without PR departments, and how they will teach them to continue to access those newsmakers as they embark on their own professional careers.

Core Curriculum

Audiences expressed a desire for local journalists to be local stakeholders. One way that stakeholder identity is reinforced is through being established for the long term. A journalism teaching hospital bolsters the credibility of its student journalists by being an institution in their community. The best way to do that is to bake the teaching hospital into the core curriculum, to ensure a steady stream of students involved in the operation.

Departments might consider how to build on their existing strengths to spur the success of a teaching hospital. For example, here in JMC we are especially strong in science communications. As local audiences expressed strong interests in things like sustainability, water, living in communion with nature, JMC could consider making a science communications teaching hospital part of its core curriculum.

In regards to the deliberative journalism project here at CSU, it already extends across multiple departments. Should those multiple departments find a way to embed the program in their core curriculum, something potentially generational would be being built.

B. Future Directions in the Study of Journalism Teaching Hospitals

A commonality among those interviewed, all of whom had or do run a journalism teaching hospital, was a passionate belief in these programs. They believe the students, communities, and the department all benefit greatly from its existence. And they all believe that starting one is accessible to virtually any journalism or communication department in higher education. Mainly, an individual in that department just really needs to want to do it, and it can be done. Future research could do a better job of unpacking this passion, and the personality traits of the founders. This could help departments identify leaders most likely to be successful, and it could provide a better framework of self-reflection for those considering pitching a teaching hospital to their department.

Respondents were also open about why a journalism teaching hospital might fail. Particularly early in a program's existence, losing a key champion of the program can make its grounding tenuous. Future research could look to uncover how, from an organizational structure perspective, teaching hospitals best guard against losing a primary supporter. Another risk to the longevity of journalism teaching hospitals is producing work that isn't good, and/or does not connect with the community; the stories need to reach an audience who is better for having read it. Future research that focuses on the community editors who publish students' work, and the public who reads it, will help us better understand how these critical audiences determine what makes student journalism work 'good,' or not.

Future research should also focus more on the student experience of being a part of journalism teaching hospitals. Where, for them, is the line between the healthy pressure of reaching public audiences, and the stress that adds to their already busy schedules? What can departments and teaching hospital leaders do to best foster healthy mental and emotional health habits for students reporting in their communities? What are ways to organize teaching hospitals so that students feel, and actually have, the maximum ownership of the direction of the journalism produced, community partners worked with, and what their day-to-day experience in the teaching hospital is like?

The teaching hospital model explicated here has proven successful across decades across multiple universities, and would benefit from a new wave of additional research and consideration. The concept should be studied to find its finer forms, but also expanded. It is a shapeshifter of a model that can and should be singularly adapted to each student body and university-adjacent community. More entropy will lead to more minds opening to how classrooms can be used to help the information flow in communities, in a way that benefits students and communities alike. At the end of the day, teaching hospitals help students produce work that matters – *matter*ing can mean so many things. A teaching hospital course or publication can be focused on increasing LGBTQ rights and awareness, just as it can be used to increase the religious faith of readers, if implemented in a religious-minded institution. Further research can help expand and adapt the concept until no journalism student ever gets a degree without seeing a glimmer of the potential of the real world impact of their time and talents.

“We all know this is the direction journalism should be going,” said Jeff South, the longtime director of Virginia Commonwealth University’s Capital News Service. “It’s not just

good for journalism education, it's good for the community” (J. South, personal communication, October, 2019).

C. Future Directions about Utilizing Narrative to Illuminate what Readers Want Local Media to Focus on

While an original motivation of this dissertation research was a belief that journalism teaching hospitals are good, and worth explicating, as I embark on my own career as a journalism educator, it feels increasingly vital not to be rebuilding the same old wheel. Adding deliberative principals and narrative techniques to the old journalism model exponentially expands possibilities. Future research should further examine where journalism, including journalism produced by students, can best and most consciously foster stronger local democracies.

While this study endeavored to allow for the blankest slate, and thus allowing for the most organic answers from respondents, future research can and should use narrative to explore specific brands of journalism, such as solutions journalism and activist journalism. For example, what would narrative-based questions reveal about what solutions audiences most want local journalists to help find? Or, at even a level more specific, future research could look at what environmental problems audiences reveal they want local solution journalists to focus on.

Future research can and should expand the narrative principles used to ground questions, and also play with different ways to invite audiences into narrative mindsets and expressions, when contemplating local issues. For example, using the written form, with workbooks or fill-in-the-blank exercise. Future research could encourage audiences to shift their positionality within the narratives of their cities, to see what insights that reveals. This research would build off the

ways that narrative theory is already used, and further push for an intersection between narrative theory-based techniques, and the way that local media connects with readers, and the way local governments connect with their citizens.

On a theoretical level, further study is also needed regarding the central questions of what local audiences want journalists to be, and what they should cover. It's a time of great evolution and rebirth in our field. We should do our best to be led by those we serve. Based on this research it seems that audiences remain open to journalists in the facilitative role, but more research should be done to explore and validate that. I also believe there is room for future research to place Agenda Setting Theory closer to the center of conversations about deliberative journalism. We have to let the people set their own agenda, or we risk replicating old and existing power structures. Further research can help us figure out how to do that.

How this Subject Set Might Differ or Relate to a More Mainstream Sample

I did not ask, so I do not know if those that I interviewed consume local journalism at all, no less how often, which media most often, and for what purposes they seek out that journalism. I also cannot be sure how much respondents generalized all media based on what they read and perceive from national media – though I did repeatedly hammer home the point during interviews that our subject here is *local* media and journalists. Finally, I cannot be sure that everyone in the study was talking about the concept of *journalism* on the same terms, as I did not explicitly define it for them, nor did I ask for them to define it. At this point in American media history, “journalism” can mean a lot of things, depending on one’s semantic boundaries.

By design, Study 2 focused on subjects who, by and large, were less likely to be represented in important community forums like local government. The most intuitive resource I could find that might shed light on how a more representative – or at least more broad and extensive – group of Fort Collins residents is the City of Fort Collins’ most recent community survey results (City of Fort Collins, 2021). The City’s 2021 survey had 603 responses. This is a highly imperfect comparison, as the survey citizens were asked to fill out consisted primarily of pre-ordained categories, with only a simple Likert scale available for residents to register their feelings on any topic. That said, the categories themselves are telling: neighborhood livability and social health; safe community; environmental health; transportation; culture and recreation; economic health; and high performing government. In my study, multiple respondents touched on each of these issues, save for a safe community – which is certainly an issue I would project had been brought up had my subjects been more representative of contemporary conservative viewpoints.

There were limited areas where city residents could write in a response, with the most relevant being the question of: “Thinking about the next few years, what is ONE item or focus area you would like the City to improve?” (City of Fort Collins, 2021, pg. 178). The most common answer lined up with the most common answer of my study: housing costs, with 23% of respondents listing this. The second most mentioned item – growth and development issues, at 11% – also aligned with my study results. The co-biggest finding from this part of Study 2 was a wish for a focus on cultural inclusion. Here the city survey diverts somewhat, with only 5% of residents listing this. Environmental concerns were important to both groups, with the city survey respondents listing that at 10%. One area of complete diversion was on the topic of local

government, and its relationship to CSU, in specific, which was not listed in the city's official results.

The overlap of concerns over housing costs, the environment, and inclusion provides even further argument for both media coverage and local government focus around these concerns.

D. So, What Did We Learn Here that Can Help Address the Problems Enumerated in the Literature Review?

The Political Economy perspective is a handy one here because it gets to the core of the values agenda I hope my research fuels and informs. Local journalism is not just a process or a product; it's a system, and systems should be considered holistically. The two studies here look at two of the main parts of the news production system: deciding what is news and getting those topics reported, written, and edited. The two studies, taken together, address multiple parts of the system, and thus provide greater illumination of the system as a whole. And they do so with an underlying Political Economy awareness that the current news industry is not designed to serve democracy, but rather to serve the power structure. Any evolutions to the field, in my opinion, have a moral responsibility to put the interests of the people and the land front and center within its values.

Put simply, allowing citizens to decide, in their own words, lets them guide the news selection process; teaching hospitals provide a reliable method of both producing that news and training news producers. At teaching hospitals that produce their own publication – or partner with other people-first organizations to reach citizens – they are handling the distribution part of the process, too.

And it's a system with a lot of problems, which means there are a lot of opportunities for innovations and solutions. Teaching hospitals and deliberative journalism shake up the status quo. I argue, they could do well shaking up that status quo together. Here are a few areas of concern in the local journalism industry discussed in the literature review that teaching hospitals, deliberative journalism, and using narrative techniques to understand audiences can help address.

The decline of the local journalism workforce.

Deliberative journalism, even more so than a traditional approach to journalism, requires a great expenditure of journalist hours to reach and engage with the variety of interview subjects expected of them. Teaching hospitals address this issue head on, with a steady flow of some of the brightest young minds from each state.

Restoring trust in journalism.

Let me overgeneralize about college students drawn to journalism, but based on having taught undergraduate classes here at CSU, at Old Dominion University, and the University of Connecticut: many of them are local, from that state, and they're simply good kids. I would trust the vast majority of my students to look after my cat when I was on vacation – and I love my cat. Who better to be the new face of journalism than kids from the neighborhood, letting the community lead the process in a collaborative way citizens have never experienced before?

Expanding news deserts.

One super convenient thing about tapping the journalism academy to address expanding news deserts is that universities have already been strategically placed around the country to

meet the needs of the population of that state. In a theoretical scenario where every college and university in America had a journalism teaching hospital, that would be a substantial amount of coverage. Adding the deliberative element, I believe, substantially increases that teaching hospital's ability to bring on partners who financially contribute to the program.

Take the City of Fort Collins, for example. How much money does the CPD take in from the city, on average? How much does JMC take in?

Continued hunger for local news.

Any reporter who has worked any local beat can tell you: if you're not from the place you're covering, there is a huge learning curve. It simply takes time to gain local contacts, to understand a local culture, and to begin to grasp how the past of a place is working to determine its future. Deliberative teaching hospitals would help quench this hunger for local news using a workforce that typically would have a big head start in understanding local knowledge and culture. The deliberative focus on reaching communities and allowing them to speak for themselves is frankly a more humble, thoughtful process than I've often seen in newsrooms. It also requires less prior knowledge, and more listening. I would anticipate quicker local learning curves for the deliberative reporter than the investigative reporter, for example.

Critical gaps in local political coverage, & the polarizing news.

People are sick of polarizing news, we know from the research. Based on my interviews, I found that people are sick of the national divisiveness that has come to pollute local communal waters. Deliberative journalism consciously works against this, making it the perfect antidote to divisiveness on the local level. We also know that the local government often takes its cues from

local media coverage. This goes for where they focus their attention and resources, but might they also be influenced by the values expressed and proven by that local media? Deliberative journalism has a chance to address gaps in local political coverage in ways that makes the local body politic more thoughtful and democratic.

News for Everyone – Democracy Included

As *News for the Rich, White, and Blue* so thoughtfully lays out, news has too often been created by the powerful and white, to serve the powerful and white. That doesn't sound too good when you say it out loud, does it? As laid out elsewhere, I think the inclusion of narrative ethics and techniques is so important to any deliberative movement, but especially the deliberative journalism movement. People have to be invited to represent themselves: in the way they think, in the way they talk, and in the world they see. That happens when people are invited to tell stories, not when they are asked to respond to Likert scales. The narrative value braids nicely with deliberative values of representation. Teaching hospitals, particularly ones at public institutions, will further many of their core values by sending their students to local communities as story-collecting deliberative journalists.

It's time for the rich and white to do a better job of sharing their responsibility of writing its community's story. This is a way to do that.

News as binding social sentiment.

Local news brings us together. It helps shape our collective sense of place. By doing so, local news can help expand our sense of shared destiny, of shared soul. That really, really matters. You know what else brings us together and helps shape our collective sense of place?

Local universities. A city like Fort Collins and a school like CSU dance in a way that makes them appear Siamese to the outside world. There's a lot of community currency there to leverage, as many departments do well. Deliberative journalism is a smart, useful, and soulful leveraging of the naturally symbiotic relationship between town and gown.

Storytelling, too, is a binding element. Nothing brings two people together like the sharing of stories; it's what's always brought us together.

E. Additional Future Research Agendas

The research in this dissertation points to what could be a career of further research. Everything explored here already could and probably should be returned to with multiple-method approaches. Quantitative research methods could be a natural accompaniment to this highly qualitative approach. Important questions about the entire news production process have been explored here, and all require further – and probably continual – matching research agendas. A particular area of interest is the perception of what is, or should count as, “news”? What do audiences say about this – and does that match with how journalists, publishers, and academics talk about what constitutes news in a contemporary era?

The microphone should linger in front of local journalists. It's important to understand their experiences working with (and within) teaching hospitals, and working within evolving journalism frameworks like deliberative, activist, and solutions journalism. As someone who has walked the journalists' road myself – and who knows how stressful and thankless it can feel – I'm particularly interested in the meaning, joy, or lack-thereof local journalists find when engaged with these adjective models of journalism. I also wonder how working with teaching hospitals and these other models impact future job perspectives for journalists – and also the

journalists perceived opportunities, having had these unique experiences. It is hard for me to imagine a world where the majority of journalists enjoy stable careers in the field; so often we transition to other career paths, such as myself in academia. Do local journalists see working with solutions journalism, solutions journalism, or with a teaching hospital as part of their long term career plan?

A personal value I solidified through this research is the belief that, to a meaningful degree, the topics local journalists cover should come from the community itself. As a fairly hetero-normative, fairly white man in America, I am particularly sensitive to the value that I should not be dictating what's important or how things should go in our society. *WE* should be deciding those things. This value leads to a world of research opportunities. What is the difference in content produced when news decision-making is made in a newsroom, versus when it is community sourced? What impacts do we see this having on readership, profit, and community perception of the publication? Does "bottom-up" journalism lead to more real world impact in local and state democracies? Or is there a sense and egalitarian value, of sorts, in aligning news coverage with the themes, topics, and values currently being discussed by the political and economic elite?

The revolutionary in me – and the true American in me – wants to find a way to clear the slate, and to use research to help build the kind of local democratic information production systems that our society needs right now. There is no waiting for the current for-profit producers of news to do this, because it is not their interest to do this, and conversely it is in their interest to keep the public perception of journalism static. And while there are numerous non-profit outlets doing fantastic journalistic work – and work that undoubtedly is necessary and should continue – it still falls within old perceptions of "journalism" that I think limits its role within local

democracies. I believe there are further overlaps to be found between democracy, journalism, and education systems, beyond just the collegiate level. In 2022 and into the indefinite future, shouldn't we be teaching middle and high school students the tools of journalists? How else do we expect them, and their cities, to survive the problems of this century without the ability to ask questions, do research, enunciate informed policy decisions – and then to be an active part of implementing the right communal solutions? As dozens of books and papers referenced in this dissertation all say, it's time for a new status quo in journalism. It's part of my future research agenda to use my time and talents to assist in raising the tent of that new status quo.

F. Limitations

While Study 1 had an appropriate sample size – if on the smaller side – Study 2 would have greatly benefited from a larger sample size. The smaller sample size in Study 1 limited the scope of perspectives of teaching hospitals that were explored. Would college administrators, department heads, those who run partner media in the community, and students who participate in teaching hospitals agree with these findings? What would they add, and where would they push back? I was not able to answer these questions, and thus they are left for future research.

In the case of Study 2, more participants in Fort Collins would have added weight to the findings and opportunities for further diversity. This study did not attempt to represent the entire population of Fort Collins, but even within the city's minority, less hetero-normative, and less affluent communities, there is more diversity of opinions, values, and lived experience than are reflected here. Greater effort also could have been made to represent majority population perspectives, too; the concept of diversity should be inclusive of *all*, including those in power and who are part of traditionally privileged groups. On a related note, extending the sample size

by conducting the same study in other markets could have resulted in findings that are more applicable beyond just Fort Collins, increasing the universal value of this work.

A few other important limitations of Study 2 became clear as the process went on. For one, starting with questions related to local journalism overly primed the second half of questions, which were meant to be more broadly about the issues citizens care about in their community. Detaching the ‘local issues’ questions from the ‘local journalism’ questions would lead to more organic answers, in my opinion. Also, the more I asked the local journalism questions, the more leading they felt. In the future I should do a better job of examining, and being honest with myself, about what I hope the results will be, and taking more effort to craft questions that don’t encourage subjects in a certain direction. The narrative-based questions were also too few, and too limited. While there was enough weight to the findings laid out in the previous section to call them credible, I also have a hunch that a few different and important findings would have been revealed with a greater diversity of questions.

While the nature of a dissertation is work done by a sole researcher, I believe these would have been better studies if they had been conducted by a team, and a more diverse team at that. I cannot know how deeply my own beliefs and life experiences impacted the research questions, the interview questions, who I interviewed, how I steered those interviews, and how I coded their answers. A diverse team of researchers could have better cut through the personal noise, while also providing a more familiar face reflected across the interview table for the women, LGBTQ community members, and people of color I interviewed, in particular.

One final limitation that I found particularly embarrassing was that my questions were not phrased more simply, both in word choice and sentence construction. The literacy level was disrespectfully high. In retrospect this feels like an almost unforgivable error, given my public

school teaching background, what I learned in the information design class I took here in JMC at CSU, and the intent of this work. This is a true blind spot of mine that limited this study, and will limit future studies, in the absence of an increase of self-awareness.

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Appendix A. Study 1 Interview Transcripts

1. Jeff South

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

Associate professor, Robertson School of Media and Culture, Virginia Commonwealth University. Longtime director of the school's Capital News Service program (2003-2019). In this program, journalism students cover state government and other news; their stories are edited and sent to news outlets for publication. As the CNS director, I taught the students and edited their stories; recruited news outlets as our clients (more than 100 across Virginia); forged an agreement with the Capital News Service program at the University of Maryland allowing us to cross-distribute each other's stories; and reached an agreement by which The Associated Press distributes select stories produced by the VCU CNS program.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for your field hospital program?

As with a lot of journalism, I want to strike a balance between quantity and quality:

I think it's important to have a steady flow of stories through CNS. How many will depend on the number of students in the CNS course (MASC 475); it usually ranges from 15 to 25. It also depends on encouraging other reporting classes to put stories into the CNS pipeline. When I was overseeing CNS, I required each student to produce 10 stories over the semester. That has now been cut back slightly. My goal was to have three to five stories on the "daily budget" -- the list of articles in the mill that we sent our clients each weekday.

It's also important to have high-impact stories. Those can be daily scoops -- when a CNS student writes a story overlooked by the other media. Also, usually toward the end of the semester, CNS students work in pairs to produce a long-form multimedia project. Students can feature the projects in their portfolios for job- and internship-hunting and enter them in college journalism contests.

During our most prolific semesters, CNS has distributed about 280 stories, including 15-18 deep-dive projects.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for your field hospital program?

The university likes students to get recognition and launch careers, so the university-level metrics would include awards and job placements. Over the years, CNS students have won more than 50 national, regional and state awards for their work. And while I have not meticulously tracked how many CNS students find jobs in journalism, I've gathered statistics for a few semesters; it was about 80%.

So in my mind, from VCU's perspective, a "good year" for CNS might be five or six awards and a job placement rate of 85-90%.

What sustains your field hospital program -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

CNS succeeds in part because it's baked into the curriculum as a class (MASC 475 Capital News Service). The program has tradition -- I like to think of the "[carpe diem](#)" scene from the "Dead Poets Society." The program also enjoys strong support, thanks to strong demand, from the professional journalism community.

The biggest factor in sustaining the program is the commitment from faculty members who teach the CNS course and other journalism classes. Editing a story for the CNS wire isn't like any other kind of teaching. The stakes are much higher, and so the time investment is far greater. (It can take a full day to edit one story -- and to coach the student on improvements.)

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to grow?

A recognition by the university that CNS doesn't fit into the typical slot of a faculty member's teaching-research-service work plan -- or the typical slot of a student's course schedule. The journalism faculty is pushing to hire an editor to manage the news service -- and we want to expand the course from three academic credits to six academic credits (to "reward" both the students and faculty members involved, because CNS requires such a big time commitment).

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to no longer exist?

Currently, the university allows the CNS course to be team-taught (two instructors, and both count MASC 475 as a full course on their workloads). If a faculty member had to teach CNS

solo, that might be the death knell. It's crucial for each story to go through at least two independent editors.

Does your field hospital program is valued within your department and university? How do you judge this?

Yes, the department and university value CNS; they tout CNS as a signature program, an exemplary program, in recruiting students. VCU's public relations department has published numerous stories about the success of CNS -- and for that, I am grateful.

What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new field hospital to start?

A long-term commitment to serving the community with publication-ready stories produced by students.

What is the origin story of your school's field hospital program?

Wilma Wirt, who has since retired from the mass comm faculty, established CNS in 1994 for two reasons:

- To give VCU's journalism students an opportunity to actively cover and write about the Virginia General Assembly.
- To give the state's weekly, twice-weekly and thrice-weekly newspapers better access to the legislature — something Wirt deemed important in the everyday lives of all Virginians.

2. Eric Freedman

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

Professor of Journalism. I am the director of [Capital News Service](#), a public affairs reporting practicum in which students cover Michigan government, public policy and politics for about 30 daily and weekly newspapers and online news services. Those papers and online news services pay an annual membership/subscription fee to subscribe to our services and publish our stories and visuals. I am also the director of the Knight Center for Environmental Journalism, which operates a Great Lakes regional environmental news service, [Great Lakes Echo](#). Students in our environmental journalism classes and working for the Knight Center produce most of its content, and content is free.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your field hospital program?

Factors include a) sufficient enrollment in CNS and our EJ reporting classes, all offered in the fall and spring semesters; b) the publication of CNS stories by our member news outlets; c) the reuse (linking, likes on FB, reposting and publication of Great Lakes Echo stories by news organizations, environmental and industry groups and public agencies in the 8 states and 2 provinces in the Great Lakes Basin; d) awards and other recognition of our students’ work; d) successful placement of CNS and EJ students in internships and jobs.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your field hospital program?

The same response.

What sustains your field hospital program -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition?

Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university?

Community demand?

1. Instructors are paid the same way as for teaching other courses, although half my salary comes from Knight Foundation endowments for MSU’s Knight Center for Environmental Journalism. We also use endowment and grant funds to pay the hourly students who work for the Knight Center, as well as stipends from the MSU Honors College, College of Communication Arts & Sciences and Work-Study program.
2. We give more than \$10,000 a year in scholarships and awards exclusively for CNS students and about the same amount exclusively for EJ students. The money comes from a combination of endowments, donations and in the case of CNS, annual membership payments from our subscribing newspapers and online news outlets.
3. Both CNS (JRN 420/820) and our EJ reporting classes (472/872) are part of the J-School curriculum.
4. We have been fortunate to have strong support for both programs from the School of Journalism, College of Communication Arts & Sciences and central administration.
5. I don’t have any way to assess “community demand.” We do periodically track (Google Analytics) the number of visitors to the Great Lakes Echo website. We don’t do that for

the CNS website because we don't need to drive traffic there—the website is used primarily by our member news outlets to download stories and visuals.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to grow?

We think enrollment would grow if the J-School allowed CNS and the EJ reporting classes to fulfill the internship requirement for all our undergrads. Participation in Great Lakes Echo would probably grow if we had more money to hire students on an hourly or per-story basis for the Knight Center.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to no longer exist?

For CNS, the closure of the news organizations that use our material. Nothing comes to mind for Great Lakes Echo.

Does your field hospital program is valued within your department and university? How do you judge this?

Yes. We tout both of them in J-School and college promotional material. J-School directors and deans have publicly praised our work, as have alumni.

What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new field hospital to start?

In no particular order:

A desire by one or more faculty advocates to design and implement the program within the curriculum; b) adequate start-up funding from the administration, grants or other sources; c) market research to determine whether there will be a demand for the professional-caliber content that the students produce; d) a clearly identifiable theme, focus or broadly defined beat (sports, business, health, education etc.); e) industry/professional contacts to provide advice and perhaps assistance.

What is the origin story of your school's field hospital program?

The attached journal article has more details on their origins and operations, but in brief: CNS launched in 1981 as an experimental program, initially headed by the publisher of a family-owned newspaper chain and taught since then by regular faculty members, or a couple of times by a Ph.D. student, all of whom had extensive professional experience. CNS originally had both print and radio components but discontinued the radio service due to lack of demand by broadcasters in the state.

Great Lakes Echo began in 2009 as a follow-up to two earlier Knight Center environmental reporting initiatives.

3. Karen Denny

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

I am the Annapolis bureau director for the Capital News Service at the University of Maryland's Merrill College of Journalism. I am a combination instructor and editor for the students in the state capital bureau.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your CNS?

I think every year is a good year — students get the opportunity to cover state officials and agencies up close and regularly. This leads to a better understanding of how the world works, better journalism and often to career opportunities.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your CNS?

The university is public, so it’s mission is front-facing; when CNS produces something that the administration and public can get their heads around — such as flying a drone over an abandoned Russian compound — that becomes a visible, tangible example of what CNS can do.

What sustains the Capital News Service at University of Maryland -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

It is a foundational capstone for the university; it is sustained by regular funding from the college.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to grow?

I think CNS is growing in new ways as more capstone classes contribute to the program. But my specific bureau can only grow so much without another instructor. The reach of the program continues to grow, however, with new clients added every semester.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to no longer exist?

I think the news business would have to collapse and/or a lack of funding from the college.

Do you feel like your program is valued within your department and university? How do you judge this?

This program is valued. It's supported by the university and college administration and leadership; it's supported in the community by other news organizations who use our content; and it's supported by public officials who consider CNS to be a valuable news outlet.

What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new CNS to start?

I think the accessibility to newsmakers first of all; proximity can be important if you want to cover the state capital and the news from there. You would need an outlet to publish the stories and multi-media that you create. And you would need an instructor who can teach all day every day — it's a full-time newsroom and a full-time job.

What is the origin story of your school's CNS program?

It's nearly 30 years old, so I'm not sure of the genesis, but I know that it started in Annapolis as a way for students to contribute to newspapers that were beginning to pull their State House correspondents out of the Capitol.

4. Brian Creech

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

My title is "faculty director" of Philadelphia Neighborhoods. PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com is the website that our field hospital program posts to, but the term Philadelphia Neighborhoods covers two distinct entities: the publishing infrastructure, including a professional editor, web hosting, video equipment, and a space; and the actual class and its place in our curriculum.

The distinction between these two has become increasingly important, because we've found that the demands of a public-facing site (audience engagement, grant seeking, and partnership development) can often be at odds with the instructional and pedagogical imperatives we have as a department. So, it is my role to maintain instruction oversight and to design the class portions so that our learning outcomes are met, and so that the demands of an outside partner or audience do not overwhelm the student learning experience.

To do this, I work in collaboration with our editor, a university professional staff member we recently hired to manage the editorial and operational functions of philadelphianeighborhoods.com. It is our goal to find ways to make the editorial demands of the

website meet the pedagogical needs of the class. This has meant moving away from a “breaking news, 24/7 coverage” model towards a format more anchored enterprise and long-form news, as well as audience engagement.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your field hospital program?

An average of three stories per student enrolled in our Philadelphia Neighborhoods class that are then published on philadelphianeighborhoods.com is a good year on the site. Publication is the bar for students to receive an “A” on an assignment, and so the number set as a benchmark indicates that nearly all students are demonstrating a professional competency that meets or exceeds the expectations set by our learning outcomes.

On top of this publishing expectation, we also hope that content published on PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com would receive consideration in the annual awards competitions, specifically Hearst, SPJ, and Editor and Publisher awards.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for your field hospital program?

From a university level perspective, submitting (and hopefully receiving) grants related to PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com would be foundational to having a good year. We have received a few grants in recent years which have positive attention from University officials, but there is little attention on the instructional goals of Philadelphia Neighborhoods. Also, receiving positive

local and regional press, as well as student journalism being shared with and published by professional outlets all count as a good year for Philadelphia in the eyes of university administrators.

What sustains your field hospital program -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition?

Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university?

Community demand?

Our program is the cornerstone of our curriculum, with advanced undergraduates expected to produce work within this program. In recent years, hiring professional staff to handle the operational and editorial demands of the site have been a significant sustainability investment, taking the running of the site out of the hands of a faculty member and instead making the operations of the site a full-time staff job. This has allowed us to develop strategic planning around PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com, deepen relationships with community partners, and provide more immediate and responsive accountability to our community audiences. It has also allowed us to pilot new programs in audience engagement and to pursue grants more strategically.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to grow?

We are in a good spot, but to grow, we would need to have regular money to hire reporting staff to provide content for PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com outside of the regular school year.

Donors in the past have given summer fellowship money for students, and these have allowed to us to do special reporting projects. We would also like to hire a full-time audience engagement

and community development person, who would start planning events around our reporting and sustaining relationships with community partners and professional media in Philadelphia.

Also, hiring mentors or coaches to work more closely with students would also be required to help the program grow by giving student resources they need to produce higher quality journalism on a more regular basis.

What conditions would have to change in order for your program to no longer exist?

Budget cuts that remove our professional staff and redirect technical resources to other programs. This hasn't been a real fear, but it is not outside the realm of possibility.

Does your field hospital program is valued within your department and university? How do you judge this?

Yes, mostly because it is the cornerstone of our curriculum, and because university development staff regularly come to us with projects to raise money and seek grants around.

What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new field hospital to start?

The two most important factors are personnel time and technical resources. A publishing platform is crucial, but so is the time necessary to maintain the platform, develop workflows, establish editorial standards, and enforce those standards. It can be professional staff, or a faculty member whose only responsibilities are the hospital program. There is often the impression that these kinds of projects can be started and sustained with students, and while that is mostly true,

there has to be a professional investment in editorial structure in order to sustain the program beyond the scope of a single semester or academic year.

What is the origin story of your school's field hospital program?

Philadelphia Neighborhoods started about 17 years ago, growing out of Temple's "Multimedia Urban Reporting Lab," literally a classroom with Macintosh computers dedicated to producing student journalism for the web. This classroom space was controlled by the department, and faculty realized that the dedicated classroom was an untapped resource that we could build a more structured publishing operation around. The department developed a multimedia reporting class and publication in tandem, called it "Philadelphia Neighborhoods," and decided that every student would be required to take a class that produced content for PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com as their capstone. Two faculty members then agreed to team teach the course, with maintaining the site and its operations serving as their primary service responsibilities. This work, of course, exceeded the university's expectations for service time, though faculty continued with the administrative expectation that such work was the kind of passion work that could never be adequately captured (or compensated) by university administration.

This created an intense situation for students and faculty. As PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com grew in reputation and professional standards became a part of the student grade, expectations on students grew, while the time faculty could give to instruction diminished. Students began to resent and dread Philadelphia Neighborhoods, while college administration increased fundraising and positive press attention around PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com. Several years ago, we

realized this created an untenable situation, where the demands of PhiladelphiaNeighborhoods.com overshadowed the needs of students. So, we hired professional staff to begin handling the operational demands of the website so that faculty could refocus on teaching and supporting students within the structure of the class.

5. Eric Newton

Personal note that subject begins with:

Please list me as a writer and longtime champion of the teaching hospital-style model of journalism education ... also I am a former funder of these programs at Knight, in partnership with other funders, and was for five years Innovation Chief as ASU's Cronkite School built out the most robust version of the teaching hospital I've seen ... since my wife's death I have stepped back from teaching and consulting to write full-time so even though you might see my old titles on linked-in, I no longer hold those posts.

My main message to you ... much, more needs to be done by researchers on this topic. We don't know even basic things: all the different ways to do this, how many schools do one version or another, how many students are involved, whether those programs are physically located in news deserts, or whether their presence saves the community from being a news desert, the hiring rate of teaching hospital students in their desired field vs. overall graduates.

And the biggest question of all: how many Americans get news written by journalism students?

My current working definition:

A teaching hospital of news is a collaborative model of learning-by-doing that includes students, professionals and professors working together under one digital roof to benefit a community, journalism education and journalism itself.

The teaching hospital model, properly understood, is highly effective, saves time, makes complex concepts more easily clear, spurs innovation, encourages real-time research, produces superior graduate hiring, encourages collaboration. When professors and professionals work well together, the result is a meal of fine wine and fresh fish that will satisfy nearly every student.

The teaching hospital of news is a more sustainable journalistic enterprise than almost any other local news operation. Have you noticed how so many private hospitals have become cheap, assembly-line operations — and that teaching hospitals are more respected? This is what can happen when a university becomes the engine of change in a profession rather than the caboose dragged around by industry.

The important thing is not whether a school claims to be a teaching hospital of news. The important thing is that students have professional programs or courses taught by top practitioners in an atmosphere of collaboration and innovation. There, student can practice and better understand the theories and best practices they learn in the classroom. There, they can see practitioners and scholars working together to test new things.

In the 1980s, this was supposedly settled in Oregon when a leadership group of educators recommended journalism programs have a mix of practitioners and scholars. Rather than coming

together, it sometimes feels as though they are splitting further apart, professors and practitioners. But the problems of local journalism are so significant that no one group, not even the whole of the journalism community, can solve them without help.

But my guess is that many schools are either hiring fewer professionals, or lesser professionals, or professionals only as adjuncts. Someone should find out the tenure rates for practitioners and whether they are doing steadily downward as the regional accreditation agencies promulgate rules stating that degrees are more important than competence.

I wrote about the field in

<http://www.searchlightsandsunglasses.org/SearchlightsAndSunglasses.org>

Chapter Two is on Journalism Education... <http://www.searchlightsandsunglasses.org/evolution-or-revolution/> ...

Without the idea of learning by doing, you have a music program without musicians, an art program without artists, a writing program without writers, a teaching program without teachers, a law program without lawyers... and a journalism program without journalists. It simply makes no sense.

That said, a learning-by-doing program must do more than teach current practices. It should help students prepare for a media landscape we can't imagine. It should be trying new approaches and helping find the new best practices.

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

Title discussed above: I'm a writer. For your purposes, I am longtime journalist, philanthropist and professor who champions of the teaching hospital model of journalism education and who funded, encouraged and helped build better learn-by-doing models.

I've done many talks on the topic, the first one might have been at Middle Tennessee State.

Adapted to this: <http://www.searchlightsandsunglasses.org/journalism-education-reform-how-far-should-it-go/>

We kept improving the definitions as we went so we could encourage not just schools or departments but even classes to use the techniques. In Amsterdam I gave a major talk saying that no journalism school anywhere had realized the full potential of learning-by-doing. Some of the bigger schools were surprised by that, but I still think it is true.

<https://knightfoundation.org/speeches/teaching-hospital-goal-journalism-education/>

During that time Knight funded the New America Foundation, and a Knight scholar there, now working at the Democracy Fund, Tom Glaisyer. Glaisyer did a great first scan ...

<https://www.newamerica.org/oti/policy-papers/shaping-21st-century-journalism/> Tom would know if anyone followed up, and I don't think they did.

I noticed that many schools had some elements of the teaching hospital of news but were missing others. a big speech in Amsterdam on the topic.

<https://knightfoundation.org/speeches/teaching-hospital-goal-journalism-education/>

And a Q-A and videos etc.

<https://knightfoundation.org/articles/q-knight-foundations-eric-newton-how-can-j-schools-best-train-next-generation-news-entrepreneurs/>

One important point: As local newspaper economics collapsed, many legacy newsrooms have become depressing places for young journalists to intern. Rather than waste the time of those students, a teaching hospital-style program offers the same practical experience in a far more constructive, educational setting.

And one more; A good outcome of research like yours would be THE CREATION OF AN ORGANIZATION of “teaching hospital” schools. Other providers have organizations — Institute for Nonprofit News, LION for small publishers, many pub broadcasting groups, alternative media, suburban media, etc Once someone creates this group much more will be available in the way of information. It could be done within AEJMC but I would recommend ONA, which has a vibrant educator’s group.. If not, INN might be good, Or a totally separate group focused on how to create and grow university based public media.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for a teaching hospital?

First of all, let's say "teaching hospital-style" journalism education, or something like that. In Amsterdam, I said there could be first aid stations, clinics, labs and hospitals. (The hospitals do all of what the other forms do).

There are many different versions. Reporting classes and investigative classes that are published in their own media or in partnership with other media.

A first-aid clinic might be done at the teacher-level. A clinic probably needs program or school approval. A lab, same thing, and maybe outside funding. It is hard to image a full hospital without strong backing from the university's leadership, particularly the president.

Anyone who says they can't do it doesn't understand the atomic unit of it, which involves students, a professor, a practitioner and a researcher. Teachers made that happen across the country when they were given funding for it. <https://journalists.org/programs/challenge-fund/> Which means it is possible. Scores of schools won those grants, which Tom and I spearheaded with other key foundations.

Now, to your question:

In every case, the good year would be the same. A group of students that learned faster and more about how to be good journalists, with greater graduation and hiring rates. A story or hundreds are consumed by a community — stories that might not have been done, and hopefully with real

community impact. And then ,, something new is learned about journalism through the collaboration of professors/practitioners and the testing of a new technique or technology.

A large national programs of this type — News 21, for example — should think about those goals. But so should the smallest. Student success, news for a community and knowledge for journalism and journalism ed. We should care about measuring those things. We also should measure the community engagement with these outlets. Publishing on a website that no one reads does not feel right to me. Since one can't engage with a whole community without learning about diversity of all types, pushing for engagement metrics would help journalists better understand their communities.

In a good year, students would graduate, find work and in some cases outperform veterans; the community would right a wrong, or more than one, or solve problems because of the journalism, and we all would learn more about new tools and techniques.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for a teaching hospital?

The same fundamentals ... student outcomes, community service, knowledge. Student outcomes can be reflected in awards. If your students start winning professional awards, there you go.

Community service is more about hard impact and steady usage. You also can look at how the story's information is passed around on social media. Scholars and practitioners doing research together should be a best practice at many universities, and also is a great outcome. Spreading what works at conferences and in research can help grow this field.

If a university does not have a president or provost who understands journalism, success can be defined in destructive ways. The wrong metric would be for a college president to be happy that no major controversies were provoked by the teaching hospital of news. That is not, and should never be, the aim of such a program. It's like saying a writing program can't produce anything that makes people cry. Or the art program can't produce something people don't like.

Universities should unleash their own education programs on evaluating learning by doing in the other departments and schools (it's only fair, we report on them)...they can help verify what many of us believe ... If your students know their work will be published, aired or posted, if they know it must be of sufficient quality to be published, that focuses them and reveals what they really know and whether they can work together to help each other.

In my new tools class the students taught themselves new apps, taught each other the apps, wrote 100 word reviews (four external links in each). We had a web site, posted there and distributed their favorites at the end of the semester to 1) the school's professional programs and 2) journalists worldwide through IJ Net. The students learned the kinds of things we think they really will need to know... digital problem solving: how to help each other find and learn new technology on their own; communication clarity: how to write tight, types of journalism: how to review; empathy, creating a "safe space" for discussion: how to give a fellow student feedback. They had to be creative: imagine how the apps would improve journalism (the hardest part) and then some went on to use them in their journalism.

Universities could give innovation awards to teachers and students who perform a great community service (ours do). Giving internal awards to journalism programs sends a good message about the importance of quality news. Universities could require their programs to file all the data asked for by the accreditation council. Currently, they do not, thus no data-oriented national rankings are possible. This also makes it impossible to compare the hiring rates of the teaching hospital of news style programs to the others. From time to time we've wondered if a special rating could be given by a third party to schools that have shown strong student outcomes, effective, innovative models, etc..

What sustains a teaching hospital-- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

Successful non-profit news providers (which this is) need multiple revenue streams. The more streams, the more sustainable; the more streams, the less vulnerable to pressure.

Yes, the administration should support these programs. One step would be to waive any overhead fee on outside grants to programs of this nature. The teachers, program, dept or school would get 100 percent of the money. Or the president can use discretionary funds.

The program itself can raise money. One of my favorite results was what Jennifer Greer did at the University of Georgia for the master's in community journalism, which was a "teaching newspaper" program in partnership with the Anniston Star. The job placement rate was so high (I

think it was more than 90 percent) they charged a tuition surplus that helped fund the degree, the way a different kind of program might have included a lab fee).

Mature teaching hospital clinics or programs, such as those at Missouri, Florida, North Carolina, Berkeley, Columbia, etc. could raise money from alumni to endow the salaries or professors in the program. Endowment grants are generally harder to get but an organization that has build significant goodwill and never done one has a high chance of success, except during an economic recession or depression. A smart way to get endowment money is to be included in the wills of people of means.

If the university owns a public broadcasting license, that unlocks all the usual fundraising, memberships, pledge drives, etc. Or more modern or even experimental methods. We crowdfunded Cronkite News reporting and did the a big quality of life poll on the whole border, both sides, in 2016. <https://innovation.inn.org/2016/01/22/arizona-state-universitycronkite-news-project-summary/> One experiment I haven't seen anyone do is gather contributions from new types of point-of-sale techniques in coffee shops, bookstores, places that harmonize with news.

Certainly there are professors who simply do it and sustain it because it part of the purpose of a class. Doing this in your own class can cost ZERO. Walter Robinson (Boston Globe: Spotlight) went to Northeastern and ran an investigative class that way. He came to ASU and worked with a team of master's degree students. There also are a lot of micro grants for reporting projects.

Faculty building learning by doing into the curriculum. This is the easiest way to sustain it. When the legendary John Seigenthaler was talking one day to the head of the federal court district in Nashville, the chief justice said he had seen a reporter in six months. So a class began and now there is Seigenthaler News Service at MTSU. I ask you, what was the alternative? The Tennessean, which John used to run, was not covering federal courts, something happening across the country as newspapers cut back. John found the fastest way to provide missing coverage and at the same time teach journalism students.

Foundation grants — I once gave grants to universities of different sizes to experiment with summer programs and classes in the style of teaching hospitals. When I said seed funding was available to start these programs, but only on the condition that if they met their goals the university would sustain them, some of the universities did not want to continue to seek the grants. But others did, and Berkeley now has a reporting class, J200, that requires students to do journalism for web news outlets it maintains in Oakland and Berkeley.

There's also earned revenue. Students and professors can experiment with paid newsletters or events or others of the new streams the commercial media is trying.

Multiple revenue streams are good in many ways. Revenue growth multiplies. If your numbers are going up, it is easier to raise outside money from people or foundations.

To sustain this funding, it's best to collect a lot of information on what you are doing, so it's clear you are showing progress. Pro Publica issues amazing annual reports.

If you you lose one stream, you are still in business. Occasionally a misguided university leadership will try to reach down and censor or inappropriately interfere with independent news. They have several tools of intimidation, and one of those is cutting funding. Multiple streams helps. A university president who messes with news that has outside support almost certainly will lose some of all of that support.

A national hands-on journalism ed group could join the Student Press Law Center in launching campaigns against university censorship.

Meddling is a danger everywhere. Bad owners do it. Bad editors do it. Bad nonprofit executives do it. The instances of it are no greater, and may well be lower, for teaching hospitals. A high-quality teaching hospital of news, one valued by the community, can inoculate itself to a significant extent ... with good work.

What conditions would have to change in order for a teaching hospital to grow?

Fresh eyes should look at every program and make that determination on each campus. If the accreditation org (ACEJMC) beefed up its learning-by-doing standards, that might help. They are better than they were but still don't require enough explanation about the nature of those programs, their reach, their accomplishments. You don't have to force a school to do it, you just have to place a reporting load on the school to explain why it's not doing it.

There are scores if not hundreds of universities that have public radio licenses but air NO LOCAL NEWS. Why is that not a problem? A national group could challenge all lose licenses. Right now you have a severely underused local radio news capacity. It makes little sense for me to have a school paper down the hall from a school radio station, but no one can be bothered to walk down the hall and read some news not the radio. Someone with gravitas needs to let those presidents know this is simply unacceptable.

Among larger conditions that seem important: curiosity, vision, courage and know how. Is your president even the least bit curious about the collapse of local legacy media and its impact on democracy? Does your program or school have a leader with the vision, the imagination to see that professional-level, student-produced journalism can save the pain that's coming when communities realize what has been going on without strong local news? Does everyone have the courage to get into controversies? And here is an important one: Does the faculty have the know-how to teach not just current approaches but to assist in experimenting?

What conditions would have to change in order for a program to no longer exist?

That is sadly simple. All that has to happen is that a school loses key champions of this model. That could happen when a dean departs, or a key professor, or a top practitioner, or a researcher who wanted to do real-time research with the hospital. It can happen if a president dumps a dean because of a news controversy.

It also can happen if the hospital does bad work, especially if it can't connect with the community. It can happen if the hospital is doing good work but doesn't take the time to document it.

One way to guard against this is to do the work of integrating learning by doing into as many classes as possible when you have supportive leadership. It's difficult to do this because inertia plays a major role in the functioning of so many universities. But once learning by doing is incorporated, with provisions that we are not just teaching today's best practices, but experimenting with tomorrow's, inertia can make it hard for the hospital to go away on its own.

Eventually, if nothing happens, my guess is that fewer than half the journalism schools and programs will exist. Don't know the time frame but strongly believe I really don't think today's young people want to talk about doing something but not actually do it. I think a reasonable time frame for the death of America's paid circulation, home-delivered, printed local daily newspapers will be no later than April 2040. That's in my Searchlights book.

The teaching hospital can keep a school on top of industry trends, can give the school the ability to invent, can teach 21st century capacities.

Suppose more education goes on line. Why would you go to a local college with a small program or go online to a big school with a good program.

Do you feel like teaching hospitals are valued within departments and universities? How do you judge this?

I do not think most university presidents have even heard of the journalism version of a teaching hospital. It's fairly easy to judge whether you have support. You can follow the money, see it in faculty lines, equipment, scholarships. Does the president support you in public?

That would be a good research project. Someone survey America's university presidents.

At the end of the day, it is leadership and faculty. Good presidents and good deans can find the money to do almost anything. Good faculty want to help students keep up with the times, want to help lead journalism to a better 21st century future.

What conditions would need to exist within a university level journalism or communications program for a new teaching hospital to start?

For a big hospital: A new dean or department head hiring specifically to do that. A faculty that understands how flexible the model is and how they could be part of it. A major grant with an agreement that the university will continue it or return the money.

For a first-aid station or a clinic: One inspired teacher. Just one.

From what you know about teaching hospitals, what are commonalities in the origin stories for the successful ones that have been able to sustain?

Perhaps this might be easier to discuss over the phone. Also remind me to tell you about the funders meeting that lauded ASU and the letter we sent to all university presidents with journalism programs.

Also, about ASU: Cronkite provides a desperately needed community service. A cutting-edge student-oriented educational experience. An industry test-bed attractive to both top professionals and real time researchers. In Amsterdam that time, and ever since, I've talked about the teaching hospital of news being a model of learning-by-doing that includes, students, professionals and professors working together under one "digital roof" to benefit a community, journalism education and journalism itself. That's Cronkite.

6. Rafael Lorente

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

Currently, I am the associate dean for academic affairs at the Philip Merrill College of Journalism at the University of Maryland. Our teaching hospital, which we prefer to call a teaching newsroom, mostly falls under the umbrella of [Capital News Service](#). CNS has reporting bureaus in the Ronald Reagan Building in Washington and in a converted opera house in Annapolis. It has three bureaus in College Park - broadcast, audience and social media, and data and design. We also have a number of capstone courses that publish through Capital News Service, including Baltimore urban affairs, national security, business, video innovation, broadcast field producing and long form audio/podcasting. Finally, our recently opened Howard Center for Investigative Journalism works closely with Capital News Service, publishing both through CNS and through external partners.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for a teaching hospital?

At the most basic level, a good year means we prepared students to go out into the real world and we served the citizens of our state and our country with valuable news and information. Those are among the core missions of a land grant university. When we get into the details, it means we gave our students some unique experiences, we tried something new or innovative like 360 degree video, and we won a couple of awards along the way. This has been an especially good year. Our students have covered the Super Bowl and the impeachment trial of the president of the United States. Our "Code Red" project published in September used temperature sensors, drones and other innovative techniques to tell the story of heat islands and their effect on the urban poor. And that same "Code Red" project, in collaboration with NPR, has won three major awards in professional categories so far this contest season - the National Press Foundation's Innovative Storytelling Award, the Punch Sulzberger Award for Innovative Storytelling from the News Leaders Association, and the Scripps Howard Award for Topic of the Year.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for a teaching hospital?

I believe the answer is the same as the answer to No. 2. The university appreciates that we are training journalists and serving our state and the country. And they don't mind the attention that comes from the awards, obviously.

What sustains a teaching hospital-- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

We do not have an endowment for our teaching hospital. But we do raise money for special projects. It does take a lot of administrative support. It is absolutely baked into both our undergraduate and master's curriculum, with students required to do capstones or semesters in Capital News Service. The new Howard Center for Investigative Journalism is also built into our investigative journalism curriculum. Obviously, the campus leadership has to be supportive and that requires maintaining communication, especially when our students produce stories that upset state leaders or other powerful constituencies. We have run CNS since 1990, so there is a long tradition of students coming through the program. Many of them have gone on to great journalism careers. In the last five years alone, our CNS or capstone graduates have been part of four Pulitzer Prizes. The alumni are very supportive. And in Annapolis especially, our news service provides coverage that traditional media outlets do not have the resources to cover.

What conditions would have to change in order for a CNS chapter to grow?

Money is always the key. But it is not the only factor. We have, for example, considered expanding our local coverage. For that to happen, we would need to hire more faculty editors. But we would also need to find a way to get that news to consumers. And we would want to do it in a way that did not interfere with the independent student newspaper or other local news outlets.

What conditions would have to change in order for a CNS program to no longer exist?

For us, because of how central CNS is to our curriculum, it would take an incredible disaster that would be much broader than just CNS. CNS has the support of state leaders, university administrators, faculty, students and alumni.

Do you feel like teaching hospitals are valued within departments and universities? How do you judge this?

I believe they are. But they are difficult to set up and structure, and they require constant attention. For us, we judge our value by how much the university and our faculty appreciate what we do. There is a lot of pride in CNS. And prospective students often come to us because of CNS.

What conditions would need to exist within a university level journalism or communications program for a new teaching hospital to start?

A lot of creativity and a clear idea of what the mission is and who the target audience is. Different schools and programs have different needs. They are in different parts of the country. I think it's important that teaching hospitals be tailored to serve those unique needs. Finally, the faculty and the greater university leadership need to be invested. There are always going to be bumps along the way. Is everybody ready to negotiate those?

From what you know about teaching hospitals, what are commonalities in the origin stories for the successful ones that have been able to sustain?

Similar to No. 8. They found a niche, or an underserved market, and filled it with eager students and dedicated faculty. And they had the support of their leadership.

7. Sue Kopen Katcef

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

I have served as Executive Producer and then Bureau Director for the University of Maryland Philip Merrill College of Journalism's Capital News Service Broadcast Bureau.

While the Capital News Service has been around for more than a quarter of a century the broadcast bureau was not created until the spring of 2001. I joined the faculty—after serving as an adjunct for nearly 10 years at my alma mater—in the fall of 1999. I was hired as a broadcast news instructor but it was with the intention of helping the College develop a broadcast bureau for the Capital News Service.

Once the bureau was established I served as Executive Producer for all but about two semesters until I was appointed the Bureau Director in 2009.

As Executive Producer I filled a number of roles: I oversaw and the creation and execution of the script for the TV news program that we produced; I helped with editing the scripts of the reporters; I assisted with coming up with stories (I'm a veteran Maryland State House reporter and had worked in Baltimore as a radio and TV reporter for many years so my background, experience and contacts were used daily in helping the reporters in our bureau with their coverage of events).

As the Bureau Director—the equivalent of a news director, I oversaw the operations of the newsroom; I was the instructor for the students who were selected for the capstone that is the

CNS Broadcast Bureau; I made all of assignments; I juggled the reporters in the field and helped with guiding them on their assignments; I worked with them on their scripts; I reviewed every video package prior to air on our newscasts; I coordinated all of our election night coverage throughout the years that I was there (always a complicated evening with dozens of students involved in the studio and in the field).

And there's more but that's the heart of my responsibilities as the bureau director.

I should note that while I am an alumnus of this same program, I do not have anything more than my B.S. But the Capital News Service was started with the intention of bringing in the BEST professionals (an advanced degree was not a requirement) to give students the BEST preparation for the future. And my many years as a reporter—along with the many awards I received for my work—I know were critical to my getting hired as a full-time instructor and ESSENTIAL to making this capstone what it is.

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for a teaching hospital?

I think there are two major factors:

Did the students leave with the skills and knowledge needed for their careers and/or did we help the student with deciding what path they would take for their career?

And did the work of the whole group challenge them, improve as the semester went along and was it meaningful? I'd also add did we challenge convention...did we push our limits...did we make each other—and our end product—better?

If we checked all those boxes then I considered it a good year. Plus...did our work get recognition—by being featured on our clients’ websites or awarded honors in journalism competitions.

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a “good year” for a teaching hospital?

I would think it would incorporate all those points included in #2.

What sustains a teaching hospital-- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

First and foremost, there must be support within the department/program. That support must be for both the mission and the considerable financial obligations required to meet the needs of the bureau (particularly a broadcast/TV bureau).

In order to guarantee the best possible readiness of the students for this capstone (teaching hospital) experience the curriculum must be structured so that it prepares the students by laying the foundation for the critical thinking and technical skills that are required to be successful at the capstone level.

What conditions would have to change in order for a CNS program to no longer exist?

Loss of adequate financial support and faculty would be cause for a CNS bureau to be eliminated.

Do you feel like teaching hospitals are valued within departments and universities? How do you judge this?

Absolutely yes. The Merrill College of Journalism through our capstone classes (like CNS) takes tremendous pride in training and preparing journalists for the jobs—not just of today—but also for tomorrow. That’s critically important.

Our program also seeks to do journalism that makes a difference and serves the public interest. The work of our students in our program is frequently honored with awards at the local, regional and national level. That further serves to validate what we do and brings recognition not just to our program but to the University as a whole.

What conditions would need to exist within a university level journalism or communications program for a new teaching hospital to start?

Since I’m not on the administrative end of this I don’t know that I’m qualified to answer this question. However, at the heart of this kind of thing are two things: financial support and faculty/administrative support.

From what you know about teaching hospitals, what are commonalities in the origin stories for the successful ones that have been able to sustain?

Although I'm well aware of and familiar with similar programs I'm not really familiar with their "origin stories" so I'm afraid I'm not able to address that.

8. Adrienne Flynn

(Note: All-caps were her own.)

What is your title, and how would you describe your role, within the teaching hospital ecosystem?

CURRENT TITLE IS INTERNSHIPS AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR. PAST TITLE/S: WASHINGTON BUREAU DIRECTOR CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE, ANNAPOLIS BUREAU DIRECTOR CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE

From a department-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for a field hospital program?

MOST STUDENTS IN THE PROGRAM ARE SUCCESSFUL, GETTING As AND Bs; CNS BREAKS SOME NEWS STORIES OUT OF ANNAPOLIS AND THE CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION AND/OR COMPLETES A PROJECT OF SIGNIFICANCE WITH AWARD POTENTIAL

From a university-level perspective, how would you describe what amounts to a "good year" for a field hospital program?

CNS DOESN'T PISS THE LEGISLATURE OFF TO THE POINT WHERE IT THREATENS FUNDING; CNS ATTRACTS SIGNIFICANT ATTENTION TO ITS STORIES AND/OR WINS AWARDS FOR ITS WORK; PARTNERSHIPS WITH MAJOR NEWS

ORGANIZATIONS ARE CEMENTED OR CULMINATED IN SIGNIFICANT JOURNALISM AROUND A SUBJECT OF KEEN PUBLIC INTEREST.

What sustains the field hospital programs you've worked with -- administrative support? An endowment? Tradition? Is it built into the curriculum? Your relationships within the department and university? Community demand?

CNS IS A CLASS AND IS ENTIRELY PAID FOR BY THE BUDGET OF THE MERRILL COLLEGE OF JOURNALISM. "CLIENT" NEWS COMPANY CHARGES PAY SMALL STIPENDS TO STUDENTS IN THE CLASS. FUNDRAISING SUPPORTS SPECIAL PROJECTS, SUCH AS COVERING THE NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTIONS EVERY FOUR YEARS.

What conditions would have to change in order for a CNS program to grow?

CNS HAS SIGNIFICANTLY EXPANDED FROM TWO BUREAUS WHEN I STARTED IN 1999 TO ADD A BROADCAST BUREAU, DIGITAL/AUDIENCE ENGAGEMENT ARM, DATA ANALYSIS/DATA VIZ BUREAU AND HAS BECOME ONE OF SELECTION OF REQUIRED CAPSTONE CLASSES. IT IS REQUIRED FOR MASTER'S STUDENTS. IT NEEDS FUNDING TO CONTINUE TO EXPAND.

What conditions would have to change in order for a CNS to no longer exist?

IT HAS BEEN THREATENED WITH CLOSURE IN THE PAST FOR FINANCIAL REASONS AND A LACK OF SUPPORT FROM A PREVIOUS DEAN. HOWEVER, THE FACULTY GENERALLY SEES THIS AS OUR PUBLIC MISSION AND AS JOURNALISM

SHRINKS AROUND US, WE TRY TO EXPAND TO FILL THE GAPS.

Do you feel like your field hospital program is valued within your department and university?

How do you judge this?

YES. BY ITS CONTINUED OPERATION AND EXPANSION AND BY THE HIRING OF A LEADING EDITOR AS DIRECTOR OVERSEEING ALL THE BUREAUS, INSTEAD OF EACH BUREAU DIRECTOR ACTING AUTONOMOUSLY.

What conditions would need to exist within another university level journalism or communications program for a new Capital News Service to start?

YOU WOULD HAVE TO IDENTIFY A NEED (CAPSTONE TEACHING; LACK OF OUTSIDE INTERNSHIPS; GAP IN PROFESSIONAL NEWS COVERAGE) AND DESIGN AND FUND A PROGRAM TO MEET THAT NEED. FACULTY WOULD NEED TO BE SUPPORTIVE AND FUNDING WOULD NEED TO BE SECURED.

What is the origin story of your school's field hospital program?

A PREVIOUS DEAN RECOGNIZED THE CONTRACTION IN STATEHOUSE COVERAGE IN THE INDUSTRY AND PERCEIVED THE PUBLIC NEED FOR THAT NEWS, AT THE SAME TIME THAT THE COLLEGE WAS LOOKING FOR WAYS TO ENGAGE ITS MASTER'S STUDENTS, WHO ARE IN SCHOOL FOR JUST TWO YEARS, MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO BUILD CLIPS AND EXPERIENCE. THAT DEAN OPENED THE ANNAPOLIS BUREAU OF CAPITAL NEWS SERVICE, AND THEN DEAN REESE CLEGHORN EXPANDED AND FULLY FUNDED THE OPERATION. FORMER ARIZONA

STATE CRONKITE SCHOOL DEAN (NOW PRESIDENT OF PACIFIC) CHRIS CALLAHAN WAS THE FIRST CNS DIRECTOR AND LATER HAD OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROGRAM. HE WAS VERY PROTECTIVE OF IT AND ENCOURAGED ITS EXPANSION UNDER THE NEXT DEAN, THOMAS KUNKEL (LATER PRESIDENT OF ST. NORBERT'S).

Appendix B. Study 2 Interview Transcripts

Interviewee: “Sandra”

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

So for instance when we’re talking about Democrats and Republicans, or pro this and anti that, yes of course I would embrace that. I feel like journalists have a delicate responsibility with how they define and flesh out reality to the community and to the public. I think with journalism ultimately it should be focused on I guess restorative, more rooted in community, like you said, so absolutely yah I would say I would embrace that. And allow for more, what’s the word, gray area, and being comfortable not knowing if exactly whether you’re on this side of a line or that. It’s just too simplistic to think we’re red or blue or things are black and white. Where are the grays and the purples? There’s too much of an adherence to political identity or attaching your identity to your stances. It’s just silly to think you’re just one or the other. Yah.

Local issues? Yes. I don’t know, I feel like if you’re defining things about whether people are pro this or pro that, it’s such a tiny little box to put in. There are so many other aspects to stories and situations that you’re overlooking just because you’re tied to categorization, I guess. Does that make sense?

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Community conveners. So you’re defining community conveners are taking two sides of an issue, presenting it to people, and telling them this is where this person stands, and this is where

this person stands, and promoting cross dialogue, in that sense? ... Is this question different than what is going on now, or is it something revolutionary? ...

Yah, I would say so. I would say it has to be... you have to define 'convene, for what? For me, if there's an issue at hand... I'm not really sure how to say this... I think journalists and journalism in general should kind of strive for collaborative restorative for a lot of issues, if they're facing something difficult. The types of interviews they conduct. I feel like a lot of interviews aren't accessible. The easiest interviews to get are the politicians or elected officials. So you get a certain narrative, and a certain public figure representing a certain side, something like that. I think that really messes up what people can actually learn from the longevity of whatever issue is at hand. Gosh, I have so much to say about this!

Champions of civic engagement. Yah, I mean the way they're dealing with it now is so episodic. It depends on what medium we're talking about. I think that's why I was getting so tripped up on the last question, it's like, are we talking about broadcast journalists, are we talking about print journalists, or just journalism in general, I suppose? I'm trying to make too much reference to my TV past or my newspaper past, when I think of myself in each of those shoes, my answers would become kind of different if that makes any sense. But I think the biggest thing I've always thought about deep down is telling more stories that are restorative. We read a lot of stories about conflict or negativity, but we don't ... we've kind of wired our communities to want sort of the messy, dirty, dramatic stuff, and I think the role of the journalist is to tell more positive stories. Like I said, more restorative – like the types of videos I was doing for a newspaper were very different than the kinds of videos I was doing for tv. Cause TV is so fast, you have to interview

this side, and say what this side had to say... and it was very easy within those formats to tell those kinds of stories. With newspaper I had more freedom to tell positive stories, I guess. In a way that was more immersive in a way, I suppose. Which comes with its own issues, but I think they can be conveners in a community, but it's also just trying to highlighting how a community is promoting understanding. There's not enough of a collaborative ethos, I suppose, and that's what a journalists job is. Cause it's just like connecting with one another. The very job is connecting with others and sharing that connection with others, too.

Ya, absolutely. And making that (civic engagement) accessible. Making it accessible for a variety of people.

Is that compatible with the watchdog role? Yah, that makes sense.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

There needs to be more of a balance between the two. I don't think there's a balance between the two. Going back to what I said earlier, I think what should be expected of journalists is there should be more caring in their interviews. Like who they interview as well as how they conduct that interview. I think everything lies in the interview.

How does one conduct an interview in a way that truly platforms the under-represented, in the right way?

That's a very good question. I also think it's naive... these are ideals that would be great if we could do that. If we could identify the kind of people to interview, and making sure we're all doing it equitably, in the constraints of budgets, and things. I think it would be very hard to do. I think it's something that would be fair – but the tools to do that, I'm not sure. And, again, it's naive to claim to people, this is what we're doing, this is where we're striving for. Most things is inherently biased or limited. They have specific positionality that exists within their own unique time and space, and they only have a limited amount of resources available, and therefore they are not going to be able to represent a community at large. But on an ethical level or idealistic level, yah, absolutely there should be a balance. More emphasis on the people. The local officials one is hard for me, because I think we live in a time now when it's hard to know who to trust, I suppose. You asked a question about should we have the same amount of emphasis on local officials and the community. You know, I would say more community, but I don't know what that would look like? Sorry, I sort of went back and forth on that. But I don't think there's enough on people, especially people that are experts in their fields in that community, instead of politicians.

It touches upon what I said earlier, which is I am very hesitant with how we place too much emphasis on the local elected official. I did it a lot as a journalist as well, but I felt like we the limits on time, and the accessibility I had to people – they were just easy interviews. But I think I was doing a disservice to people because I wasn't talking to like people with the boots on the ground, or people that were academics or scholars or scientific experts. Accessibility was an issue, I suppose.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Solutions is a tough one. I don't think they're there to provide the answers to everything. I think that's very complicated. I think to tell people we're here to provide a solution – I don't think that's necessarily the job. I think it's to connect people.

How about journalists presenting solutions options?

The solutions wouldn't stem from journalists. It's up to them to present... having more mindfulness in the sources they're talking to.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Yes. Another interesting thing about journalism is there's a lot of turnover rate. Especially in TV. And I think that's done a lot of harm in the past. I do think that it's important for them to be members and stakeholders in a community. That would inform and motivate the way they work, and the intentions behind their work.

Let's say a reporter grew up in a place... and lives by a river the local factory is polluting. Can he report on that? Can he include his experience in that reporting?...

Because they're directly tied to it? If they were living there? That's a tough one. My first instinct is I think it would be an advantage if they lived in that area, knew the people, knew the community, if they knew how long this person has been here, and how much, the longevity tied to it, and intimately knowing the ecosystem on a like a biological reality level, but also the ecosystem in terms of the community within that little niche. So I think it is an advantage. The

tough thing is of course people will take that as political. Personally I have never been yanked off anything because I had a personal tie to it. I told an LGBTQ story, and I felt like it was important to me. I think if someone else handled a story like that that was important to me, it would be very upsetting.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

First thing that comes to mind, that also comes to mind with CO in general, is a little bit more culture, and a bit more robust... I mean, this is a great, beautiful city, but I think that it's just it needs a little more of a robust, eclectic, is that the right word – more of a hodgepodge of cultures, identities, and expressions.

How would that happen? I don't know. I have no idea. It's just sad to me, because when I was an undergrad here I wasn't paying attention to this stuff, but now that I'm older, a lot of the people I talk to, especially like queer folks or people of color or people from all parts of the world, usually when I talk to them they want to leave right away. They don't want to stay that long. These are the people that I come across. Or they just like they have to travel a lot, or they feel a little bit less grounded. And I found that surprising in the beginning when I lived here for the (second time). And I started to realize too, I think it needs a little bit more of that, but then it wouldn't be Fort Collins, so...

What would be a negative turning point?

I don't know. It's kind of a happy little place, but it's in its own bubble sometimes.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

Sugar coating. Maybe more my impression is shaped by CSU, but there needs to be a just kind of a... complacency? Sugar coating? Not being more bold. I'm not sure how you would describe that antagonist... a Vanilla Monster? Just this sleepy complacency. This persaviely quite numbing force. I think there's been cries of help in this community, and the way that we've approached it is we acknowledge it, but then we quietly brush it away. Just on social media, when there's racist stuff that happens on campus. There's really weird stuff. Moreso talking about CSU because my community, my experience with Fort Collins is. But it's also like in Colorado Springs when shit hit the fan and things got weird, I wish there was more of a showing up of people to push back on key things. This is like a CSU thing of course, but there was like like a black face incident. And people come to campus and say all these awful things about gay people and the responses that I see from CSU, and what I see from Fort Collins on a bigger level, is not fighting for... they moreso focus on keeping the peace then I guess creating any changes.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

The underdog are the people... whether ... I met with a Korean women. I went to the R Bar here, which is a gay club in Fort Collins. There's just these voices that seem like they're very quiet in the corner. And they don't play a bigger role in the stage of the Fort Collins identify and voice.

Like, it's great. There's just some vibrancy that's missing. There's so much potential in it.

There's nothing really obviously divisive or malicious going on. I think this part of CO is one of

the more, even compared to Springs or Boulder, there's more diversity than in other cities. Not by much, but there's more.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

As the narrator of Fort Collins, balance the scales. Be more inclusive of the people that also live in this community that also shares the same landscape and surrounding food and resources.

Shedding more light on those people that light I said also share those things. Getting into every little nook and cranny, or being more mindful of that. Evete these people that are overlooked or not as represented.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

What are those giant bikes that people ride on? The really tall ones? It's a circusy thing. When I think about Fort Collins I think of a man on a bike with a curled mustache, like riding around on a bike around Old Town, pretending that everything is fine, even though it's not. The Giant Biked Mustached Man. Sorry transcript!

The Bubble that Broke and Became Horsetooth. This is why I could never write a book. The Bubble That Broke, I guess.

Interviewee: "Marcello"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Yes. Because I believe we have more in common than we do against. The history of this country has always been adversarial. Now it's time to go against that. Can we steer in one direction. Now

it's time to change it up. We've had 200, 300 years in that direction. Now it's time to change up and see what another direction leads to.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Yes, yes. They know all that lingo of the politicians and stuff. They deal with them. So they can translate stuff how they mean it, you know what I mean. Politicenesese – it's their own language.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

Yes. You've got to get along with the system if you're gonna give accurate information. That way you know what it's about, and how he means it. Cause they are more likely to confide in you if you're less adversarial. Politicians, they are very secretive. They don't want to get their shit burnt, you know what I mean, so they've got to trust you. The journalist gets his trust, he's more likely to open up to them. And that's where we can get the truth. He said this, and I know what he means by this word, he can figure him out. The journalists are agents...

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Cause a lot of stuff you don't know about, because what you know, you read it in the paper. You weren't there. Only way you can trust is trust what you read. They teach us to read in schools. It's mandatory. That's one source you got. And your own intuition. And then you can like figure things out. The way he worded it... You can see the truth as what you see the truth as. Your intuition, you know.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

I think they're stakeholders. I think they should be. Because they're just doing this shit for hype and shit, get you to buy a paper, you can't trust anything you read, it's like reading the Inquirer. That's fucked up, you know.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

The disappearance of the Native American women. Because there's a lot of antagonism of these Natives. My friend, she's Cree, she disappeared, and it never makes the news. An 18 year old _____ woman, she was into nudity, or toplessness, and she was shot by the police, and it didn't make the newspapers.

Get rid of the quota. Cops have productive minimum requirements. (*Reference to Las Vegas and court*). They'll arrest for the same charge, you go to court, and they arrest you again and again. In Fort Collins and Colorado too. They're doing that, they're getting their quotas.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

The police, who work for the politicians. As long as they've got a quota, they ain't gonna be fair. They ain't gonna get paid unless they got that quota met.

Who's the bad guy, the police or the quota?

That quota. I think that's what drives it. If people want a job and a roof over their head... they ain't gonna sleep in a tent, because they're spoiled. With a tent they see on TV.... they're called

homeless. Why's that? Because they don't pay rent. It's a bunch of white language tricks and stuff, you know. And trespassing. We need to eliminate that. Especially on public lands. Yes, I'm part of the public. I trespass here and there. Federal buildings and sidewalks. Places that are open to the public. I'm part of the public. Trespassing, loitering, things like that.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

Homeless people. Most of these are homeless white people, cause their ain't too many blacks around here. Mostly you have poor whites.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

Talk about poor whites had it bad since the beginning of this country. Most of the settlers over here were indentured servants whites, poor whites. _____ the death penalty, or you did.... Since it was a penal colony. United States settlers were mostly indentured servants, inmates, penal colony. The majority numbers were all white. England, Ireland, stuff like that. And they did a lot of shit, man.

Show that the poor whites had it just as bad as the Africans did. That way they Can't think all whites owned slaves. How can they own slaves, they're in jail just like you are. They're in prison, more of of them locked up in absolute numbers than relative numbers. 600 per hundred thousand are locked up. That's a lot. Blacks 2,000 to 100,000, Native Americans 900, Hispanics 1000. But in absolute numbers, 600 to 100,000.

You think of poor whites as a separate ethnic group... ey.

I think poor whites are the new slaves. They never got freedom. They emancipated the black man, he became a Buffalo Soldier. He helped them take the land from the Dakota, the Plains Natives. He just a mercenary. He does more dirt than anything. What about Satanic atheism, that was written by a white man. More blacks worship a white jesus with blue eyes than white people do. They're more into self worship now, worshipping themselves as God.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

Story of Poor Whites Worshipping Themselves as God

Interviewee: "Jada"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Yes, absolutely. I think it would deeply affect how people consume media and also how they make decisions based off of media. So right now how media is overall, I would say mainstream media, is telling an interpretation of what happened, and it's a very Us v. Them, these are the hard sides, and it doesn't really give room for the complexity of events that are happening, but also what led to the events both on a local and a global scale. So things can appear very black and white, very doomsday, and not really give a picture of the whole story.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Community conveners. I think that would be a wonderful thing that media can do and do better, and will actually add to their content in this other way. (For example), housing insecurity

definitely. Pulling people in from government, from community and different age groups, and different backgrounds. Like people who were born here and are from here, and then how they are coping with the housing crisis here. And people who are moving here. Also organizations that work with people who are housing insecure.

Is there one particular policy you would push change?

The U plus 2, of course that one. And reframing policies so that there's a lot more protection for residents rather older and landlords. In terms of quality of housing rather than who all is in the housing.

Government information translators?

No. I think that that's one slippery slope.

I would say no, but they can be kind of like a channeling of that information. So actually talking directly with the governmental leaders and the community members about how its effecting them, why they chose it, but to interpret it is recreating what we have now, which is a lot of news anchors and whoever is creating what they're saying interpreting the motives and the reasons, which is kind of putting one or a few people's viewpoints, and kind of painting it as an overarching viewpoint.

I don't actually mistrust journalists, per se, but the system overall. It's moreso media and news anchors and things like that, I think people don't understand it takes multiple people to create a story. There are are people that are proof reading, and fact checking and things like that so hopefully there's not just one person creating an article. But even that is very limited. So it's not

that I don't trust the individual people, even though I do understand we all have biases, and those definitely play out in how we interpret things, but that the system overall that's in place for mainstream journalism is insufficient to represent what's actually going on.

Civic engagers?

Yes, I think that would be awesome. I think that's a wonderful way for media to engage

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

Oh yes, yes please. The way that they frame questions to the folks that they are interviewing are very like leading and very white supremacy.

How can white supremacy be baked into the framing of a question?

I think I should switch from white supremacy to just whiteness, because the supremacy just kind of tacks on. The assumption that the person they are interviewing represents the entirety of a community, or they have assumptions about the way the person lives or is dealing with this situation that kind of get projected on that person and show up in the question. And also just insensitivity with the way they ask things or even the way they piece together the story. Showing the brutal murder of black bodies on local television on the 5 o'clock news, regularly, I would say is one of those things.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Maybe sharers, but not finders. Assuming that the journalists are also part of the community and are local, they can be a part of that solution finding, but I think that moreso as journalists their key role is to be sharers of the solutions.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Yah. I actually think that to not and to live in the area, is dangerous and rooted in whiteness. Of just having to have that scientific method of 'I am just looking in and I'm not involved.' We all have skin in this game. If you live in the community you're going to be effected by the politics, you're going to be effected by the events. To act like it isn't a part of why you do your work is just like really silencing a part of yourself that needs to be honored and held accountable in your work.

Can it be problematic to be too deeply rooted in a community?

Oh yah. And I think, from what I see of mainstream media, it's mostly what I see. It might not be verbalized but in the energy and the language and the navigation of media that I think it's really dangerous. There's a balance, but also there needs to just be more transparency. If there was more transparency it would be different.

I don't think I'd want every article you wrote to know your background story. I don't think that's necessary. But in your bio for the outlet you work for, listing the areas that you're really passionate about and that effect you, and about your skin in the game a little bit more.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

I have so many ideas on this and also feel like I'm not the best person to answer. I feel like a turning point for this city is to acknowledge and actively collaborate with citizens who are not acknowledged and actively collaborate with citizens that are not tied to the university.

I also think that working with community members and acknowledging ways in which people of color have been pushed out and kind of buried and hidden would also be a major turning point for this city. There are far more, but it's such a big question.

I think we're already in it. I feel like a lot of how local government and like local culture is run is based on what is profitable and so that's why we're having this housing insecurity when it doesn't really quite reflect the beauty and the seeds of ingenuity that is this community. We have urban farmers here. We have people who are deeply invested in sustainability, and creative ways of living that is collaboration with the land. So to have such a stark contrast between how the government sees things going, and local businesses and the community feels like there's such a big discrepancy.

What's the turning point that erases that discrepancy?

I would probably say quite frankly CSU and local government being in cahoots all the time.

There being some transparency about that. And also I think an acknowledgement and repair with the BIPOC communities that have been here far longer than the transplants.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

I don't see things as good and bad, but I would honestly say that I would be considered the bad guy in the dream of Fort Collins. In terms of like I think right now the culture is very white, and like comfortably so, and liberal – neoliberal. So I think people of color like me who are moving here, or already are here, coming in and actually wanting to make a home here, I think we're seen as dangerous. We're like a threat. It makes you face things that you don't want to face. Like, when FC is a predominately white town, or seems so because BIPOC people have been pushed out into trailer homes and things like that, you don't really have to face the inequity. When we come and want to have a voice, they kind of have to face the music.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

I wouldn't use the word underdog, I would say 'not acknowledged and served.' Of course, BIPOC communities, I'd say intersections within queer communities. It's been a while since I taught, but I'd also say our youth and those who are housing insecure. We have not done enough for those communities.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

If I were to change the story, it wouldn't be an accurate story. Immediately get rid of that U plus 2. But not only that. Work on some type of community led what do you call it, think tank, on how you provide more sufficient housing that does not also lead to over capacity in the housing. I would also champion the elders that are in our communities, and also the younger folks in our community, my age and a little younger, who are doing some beautiful and radical work on living in unison with the land while also being in a vastly growing town. Like we can't deny that.

I think those are the two things. And also redistributing in some kind of way where the racial lines are.

I'd probably get rid of everyone who is now serving on local government (laughs). And then have some type of community re-vote and then also re-set boundaries with how CSU can interact with local government. We'll start there because that will take about five good years.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

The Great Gatsby but with Cows. It's probably the closest thing I can think of. The reality would be Great Gatsby... but not with cows. Llamas or chickens. It's like The Great Gatsby in terms of like privilege, but the spin on it is like this eco-friendly, like we want to go back to traditional ways of farming, but they're still very privileged here. But that's Colorado in general. It's a Gatsby mentality. In terms of like what rights look like and who you actually believe deserves to have those basic rights, and what you deem those basic rights, and understanding the privilege of being able to have cleaner water than a lot of states, having access to lots of nature and with that accessibility cheaper access to food. We don't have as many food deserts in Fort Collins and nearby areas as other places. Across CO that is not the case. There are plenty of food deserts in Colorado. But there is this like kind of bubble. Some people call it White Utopia – there you go, that could be the first one. In terms of the second one, I don't know. I would have to kind of wait and see how it all pans out. What did the Indigenous people call it? The Cheyanne, the Ute.... Maybe something that honors that feels good.

Interviewee: "Chatan"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Absolutely. Too often the headlines don't even match the story. They're designed for like click bait, how they frame it, I can't even think of one off the top of my head. Oh, one from this morning. 'Massive Decrease in Oil Prices'. It's 5%. We've got midterm elections...

(On the Coloradoan) It's like milquetoast. It's so bland that there's nothing even interesting. The paper has gotten too expensive, and they want you to subscribe online. Well, there's no substance to most their stories, so why would you do either. I actually haven't actually seen anything from The Coloradoan for a while, because it's just not worth looking into. When we had the Hughes issue, and it was so slanted in favor of the city and they didn't report on the little side things that were happening with this group spending lots of money out of the dark. Why both reading it? You're not getting the full issue. 'Well, there's some people that would like to keep the open space open.' Not addressing the climate issues, the over-capacity, the (water). And you're going to put it under Soldier Dam. Hello? It's a dam. You've got a lake cooling effect – it depresses the energy on this side. All the ozone, which is already collecting in high quantities on the western side of town, and you're gonna condense it even further and add 650 homes. And some more cars. Clever. Not a peep about that. Just the climate effect. Or the fact that it's a corridor for animals – and then people get upset when they show up and eat their kitten. So I don't know that they produce anything adversarial, it's just so bland, The Coloradoan. And when they do report on stuff, it's missing information.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

I would, but often times their money and backing comes from the people that are in charge so they're not even allowed to speak about stuff.

I've seen some journalists covering Ukraine and things like that, and it's pretty decently done. There are some, but basically all the newspapers have come down to four owners, and what you're reading is depends on who happens to own that paper. The big situation we're seeing is the division – to where it's ultra right and ultra left, and the only thing it's doing is creating a lot of division. It's like how they report on BLM, and carry stories on that. And you have people running around, 'It's ANTIFA and they're violent.'

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

Absolutely. And they've got to do that. They've got to get out and collect more data. Collect more resources. You basically hear from the keynote stakeholders and that's it.

You can't (make sure people are representational of their group). But you get a cross representation where people are at, and when I've seen journalists go out on the streets and interview people, it's so incredibly eye opening about how some people have no clue, they don't even know what the issues are, or it's skewed. So when you say representative, that's always a hard thing to come up with, because representative of who? And every time you have groups, you have vested interest. So trying to get a better cross section, you can choose alternate groups, is one way. Or just get a feel.... It would be noteworthy to report on the fact that people don't know what the issues are. And publish that, and how would the stakeholders help educate

people? That would be something worthwhile. And they would actually be operating effectively to create some kind of system in the populace to get people more informed.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

No. A journalist is supposed to eye witness, report on it factually, but that should be that.

If they'd brought the people to the table, and exerted any kind of actual journalism of how divergent CSU is. 'Oh, they have a website with happy little Indians running around, with funny music and water pouring around, and see how we're attentive to the Indigenous population.'

Yah, you make them pay for their school, and you treat them like shit. And you don't even let them have a ceremony out at Council Tree. Alright.

Can we train current journalists to think differently, or...?

Probably whole new people with a different mindset. I took a socio-cultural-historiological-anthropologic class. And we were asked to look at what it is we do. As counselors, we communicate. Well, there's nothing in our curriculum about communications class. There's a lot about psychology, there's a lot about theories, there's a lot about interventions, let's look at the history of this. Who invented this stuff, psychology? The epistemology of the word: science of the soul. We put Freud up there, and we kicked Carl Jung to the side. Freud was a little sex addict, he invented the speed ball. He was wrapped up in all the sexual fantasy. Where was Mrs. Freud in all those walks with Anna and Terrell? This pre-occupation with your sex organs and his whole language is imbued with the language of... he was telling on himself. And the client always will. We don't study Carl Jung, who looks at archetypes and symbolism and understand

your culture. This guy was a total fraud. But if we look at what we're doing and actually design it that way, so I want to teach communication to graduate students, so that if they went into psychology and helping people. Because once you learn that language it becomes a barrier to communication. It has paradigms and everything else that are infused in it to focus people in a certain way to think, which leads to all sorts of nasty vectors. So like, I was trained in Breech Strategic. The health care so called people, the insurance folks, get ahold of this notion that you can do it in six sessions. That's not what traditional therapists were trained to do. We had Stephen Miller show us how to use the OCR and the OCS to get good results. And then people lose. We had the training to really pay attention to what they were doing. And by the time you're on your sixth session, you've reached the pinnacle of what you're going to accomplish for now. Then send them off. But don't discharge them because there's other people that (need to maintenance them).

Basically, take a socio-historiographical class. Dr. Erickson used to say that when you're in the Hung Village, and you're writing up your journals, account for the fact that you're in the village. So we had to take a step back and understand more about our culture and the cultural myths, and language. Journalists are supposed to write in this linear language. Joe Lunchboxpail. We're dumbing people down, instead of making them reach. You used to pick up Reader's Digest, you had to search the words. There was word things that you could learn, it broadened your mind, it broadened your scope it didn't narrow it. Journalism now is like reading the text on an email. They'd have to take a step back and figure out how to be better writers.

There was a Zen master sitting. (One guy says) ‘Master, I am ready.’ And he sends him away. And he comes back I’m ready, I’m down, I’ve got this whole Zen shit, and I’ve got my Tao badge... Another student walks in (in silence). You passed. It’s not what we say it’s how we say it. To get credibility, when the words start to ring true, it will find those people. Right now I don’t know if there’s enough people in the country that can read without filters. Basically your credibility in working with clients doesn’t come from your degrees, it comes from how you roll up, and how you listen. And an addict can come into your group room, and this is my big beef with the health care system here, and the UC Health, and the people at the _____, so you’re going to send someone out with some Boxone, for individual counseling, for a medically assisted treatment, when _____ and everyone else says group therapy. And you’re going to send them to LPCs instead of LACs, okay I can see how that works. Not – it violates all the... an addict wants to walk in with other addicts, and they want to talk their bullshit, they get confronted right away. But they can see their peers have succeeded and advanced. It takes that group hallucination. Journalists are going to have to do something similar where people are going to believe them again. It’s gotten so skewed and conspiracy – not that there aren’t conspiracies. There’s plenty of them. But the media has framed it like anyone who says it’s a conspiracy is wack. Well, that’s just not true. There are several that we know of that have been done.

So I think journalists have lost some of their credibility because they dumb people down. But they’re going to have to start asking them to think more, to reach more.

Good example: Walter Cronkite. He came on the news, totally credible. Boom.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Oh yah. More importantly, yah. If you gotta live here you've got a vested interest in being here. You're gonna have a better idea of what might needs to happen. It doesn't preclude the fact that you're gonna have biases. People do. But there's always people on two sides of the coin. But at least if you're local, you have a better sense of what it is. You live here, you're effected by food prices and gas prices and traffic and the noise, and you're trying to ride your bicycle without getting killed. So when they talk about adding more housing, well, and the bike lane right now we've had this many accidents or so. And there's not enough transportation, oh we're gonna build it – well how are you gonna... they're just gonna know more.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

Well the biggest thing is we've got to get over our white. And nothing's gonna happen until that happens. When you have the fab four, Stryker and the crew, designing downtown, enhancing the cost of leasing down there and all that kind of crap. She used to contribute with the Bohemian kind of stuff, but I was trying to get a women's trauma center here. And the Bohemian Foundation, well we support youth. Well, moms have babies and raise them. You want to support youth, well here's some single moms and they were 95% Army vet and they've been traumatized from being raped, and one thing happens then another being in the military these days. And they wouldn't do it. And the city says to us, well take over the domestic violence center. It's got high walls and barbed wire and it's totally depressing. We wanted the atrium which was this guy's house and it was designed in the center there with plants and everything, and there was access to ... New Belgium would give us pink bikes to go up and down Spring Creek Trail, CSU is over here, women's health center is over here, access to groceries. But the.... 'Oh you want that place with some Koi fish and... idiot.'

Diversification. And just a little more brown. Every once in a while I have to go over to Greeley just to remember there are people that aren't all white. At the CSU board meeting, oh there's a couple of women. And all the rest of them....

We'd see more people of color in positions. Mendez just got in and she's a good liaison and she can hear what we're saying, but it took forever to get that one position. She's smart. That would be the biggest turning point. A fort is a funny place to live. It has two parts to it – one it's a garrison so you're protected, but you're also in an enclave so you're not open to the diversity.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

That goes back to the might of the white.

How can you put that another way?

The patriarchal misogynistic SOB wankers. The old boys. The old school ties.

CSU is a good example. I had a nice little business at the corner of College and Prospect. It took years to get it going. It was Deep Blue, massage work. They came in and stuck that horrible building there. Well, there were 15 housings there for people that could barely afford to get by, but it was okay housing. Now they're all gone, never to be replaced. I had an office as a therapist at _____ and College, I had a three year lease. CSU came in and say they want it for the Forestry Department. I have a three year lease. They made life impossible by putting all their parking way

up close, and any of my clients would have to walk from the back of the parking lot, and just bullied me out of the contract. Was that divergent enough. For a school that's into sustainability etc., there's no permaculture, there's no reclamation, that land is ruined. It's dried out. For 13,000 years people came and were able to share that space. And they had berries, and they had water, and they had animals. Now I had people walk around there. Dried out, weeds. It's sort of the same thing in this town. If they had more empathy, they would have sought to do something. There is supposed to be agriculture and sustainability and such. It would only take a minute to put solar on the roofs at CSU, and this town would have free electricity. But they fight tooth and nail to keep solar out of Larimer.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

The poor. There was a land acquisition here on the Poudre, and the trailers were too old to pull them out. So the Italian guy.... Campen something... t's hard to remember... he actually got in the city so he could come in and vote to get that area removed and put in big houses. There was never another trailer park built to replace it. And when Spring Creek flooded after CSU on the other side of there, the woman died and everything, in the back of the Dairy Queen, that was never replaced. A nice little park that was never replaced.

How about a what as the underdog.

Apart from poverty. When they say median income is \$67,000, trying to base their housing projections on. And I don't know how many people you know that make over 30. So how do they get a median income of 67. And where's all those other people. The homeless had a little

spot up at _____ and they pushed them out in the middle of a snowstorm and they don't want them here and they don't want them there.

Im in that boat where I keep getting forced out. They're trying to get that housing thing where you can buy the lots. Because we're paying \$850 a month. Ya, for the property. I own this (the trailer) but I pay 850 just to be here. And you know most of the people here, it's a 55+ park... my friend on the corner has to go because he can't do it anymore, a pension only goes so far. Sun Communities is strangling us. We don't get that much for our... they let our neighbor put in a new trailer with a porch facing mine, and I lost my little piece of privacy. But I'm still paying 850 for the smaller space. So I don't know how long I can hold on. When my hip was out I couldn't work – I'm looking forward to getting back to work.

Like South End on Taft there's some supplemental housing. The park down there doesn't get bothered too much. Still they keep talking about affordability, well most of us can come up with the mortgage to buy the place, because we worked, and all we want is something where we won't get killed on rent. And that's a big crushing thing that's never been addressed in this town. It's like the white elephant they won't talk about. They talk about what a wonderful choice city you have. Back to journalists and who's promoting the story. When I got here there were 80,000 people in the summer. And it was a great place to raise kids and stuff like that, but the last estimate was 147,000 and the roads are still the same. They've added a few little...

We've got the 7th worse air in the country. How often do you see a report when they talk about it in the local papers. It causes people all sorts of problems, health, everything down the line.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

How would I change the story? By becoming more inclusive and diverse, first of all. It wouldn't be Me in my culture, it's always a We. So it would be done more by a council of people that were dedicated people to the community and had the vision. What we like to refer to as elders. Where in this town a lot of them just get kicked to the curb. A council of elders because they lived through it and they have better perspective. In our system, the kids tell the parents, the parents tell the grandparents, the grandparents tell the clan mothers, and the clan mothers tell the chiefs. Then it goes, do we have consensus. No, so it goes all the way back down, and all the way back up again. So just the structure of our government, for one, is too unilateral. So yah. What's the average channel you can get ahold of your council person and stuff like that?

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

I'd have to think of some kind of Greek tragedy. That stumps me. My repertoire of plays and stuff is pretty limited. I had to read Great Expectations and such...

The Storming of the Bastille

And the Rise of the New Generation

Interviewee 5: "Elijah"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Yah, I'd say so. Right off the bat, I think we live in a world where we have differences, but if we let our differences like tear us apart then where are we gonna go. There's nowhere for us to go if we absolutely hate each other. And we never find a place to agree on something. So I think it's

really important for journalists to try... even more than just like bring together those separate ideas, but to try to mend those conversations and to find that common ground.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Community conveners. I would say so. The people are at the front lines who know the stories of the experiences I would assume would be the people in the media who are telling the stories would have a great grasp of who to connect. I think a better grasp than someone who is sitting at one end of the media and only sees something from one end of the media, and doesn't really know how to find that connection with the other side of disagreement. I'd say that that objective seeking lens is really critical to getting people to convene well.

Government information translators. It leads into the way that somebody would translate. One person can perceive one thing from the government in a positive light, while another news media could.... My experience of local journalism is a little more from the heart and I think it's a little more centered in the community than in a story just trying to make money. So local journalism would be a great avenue to tell those stories and to tell what the government is doing.

Champions of civic engagement. Yes. A lot of outlets don't pick up stories that I personally find important. They like those big in your face stories, those are the only ones that make the cut of the thirty minutes or however long a story can have. Especially in my experience going to things like protests, or even just going to events around the city, you don't see a big media outlet at some little ranked choice event at a brewery. But I could see a local journalist doing that, and that's extremely important work, obviously. To me ranked choice voting is an important

conversation, but it doesn't get the attention it deserves. But I see local journalists showing up to those events and at protests that do mean something to a lot of people but don't get that mainstream attention as much.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

100% yes. I guess for me I think of those that are genuinely impacted by something. Think of like the plastic bag ban. I love that. I'm all on board. And I guarantee that has some adverse impact on some population of people that isn't me. I can afford 12 cents a paper bag, but what about somebody who couldn't. I think that that story is something that should be told. They have this experience that I can't really relate to. So I'd certainly say that it's really important to see who's impacted by whatever it is, and those stories really tell the tale of what's happening.

You want experts. You want people who know about the general situations, and who know about the laws and what something might do. But what about what it's actually doing. The only people who know what it's actually doing are people that are facing whatever it is.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

In collaboration with others, of course. In collaboration with others, with experts, with people who can speak on those general themes and topics. Journalists can get the stories and then I think you can find an expert who can contextualize that experience, who can contextualize why that's a thing and really together cohesively find this is the issue we're looking at. I think like you said, the bridge builder it's a lot of the time... the media goes and finds those stories as opposed to a

government official who sits and waits for the phone call to tell that story. Which might never come. They might never get told that story. But the journalist is finding that story. And so I think that bridge building connection is really critical, and can make for the ability to find better solutions.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Yah. That would just be wrong to say that because you're a journalist, your experience isn't valid in the situation. That sounds, no. Absolutely, I think their experiences are just as valid as the community members they're trying to represent, certainly. It seems just like... I wouldn't want to take away anyone's voice, even someone doing the media work as well. That shouldn't take away their ability to be an engaged citizen in their own right.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

I think it's a huge turning point for me is I see an active inclusion of both people and necessary services and utilities, it's really, I don't know, especially after talking to some city folks, whatever, there's like this almost anti-growth perception that's like deny the opportunity to succeed. Because you don't want more people to be here. But I think the beneficial turning point, the good turning point, is when we say active inclusion is the way we actually make this community a better place, not by keeping it how it has been and maintaining what was. Because it's impossible. We have to see it as a dynamic, evolving place or we're going to get steamrolled by all the people moving in. So I think it's really owning that we have to have these public services, and we have to find a way to actively recruit the people that come here and are from here. For me that looks like ensuring that anybody that moves here and lives here has housing. And also ensuring that those housing – whatever that housing is and wherever that housing is –

are on linear paths with public transport. I would never drive a car again if I could have easy access to public transport that could take me school and take me to work. That would just be the most beautiful thing. That would take away the need for parking lots. That would take away the need for so many of these structures that take up so much space, that we could use for people and we can use for small businesses, for like anything for the people, unlike a structure that just takes up space, like for me a parking lot. I just see so much potential there. And we have such a potential walkable city, bikeable city that if we don't utilize that we're doing so many futures disservice. Because it's something a lot of places don't have. And we're still small enough that we can do it before it's too late.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

Can I talk about just recent happenings? You probably saw the Coloradoan article about people buying ten houses in Fort Collins for over 100,000 dollars the asking price. Talk about destroying the standard of living for anyone who lives in this whole city who doesn't have that same standard of paying 100,000 over asking price. Granted it was 700,000 they paid, it was from 6 to 7. That is just is absurd I'd say to anyone who wants to live here who is under normal median means it just blows any standard of living here out of proportion. The inflation is absurd. I would say where the money goes, is driven by money. It's really tough and it sucks because some people don't intend on doing that. Somebody may want to move here and they can afford it so they throw money at it, and they somehow get the house because they're with 50 other people betting on it. Good for them. And what is the ripple effect of that? It's pretty bad for those that can't afford the same standard. So I think some are intentional antagonists, they boost it for

profit. Some are unintentional, but nevertheless I think it is that act blowing things to a proportion that others can manage. And then what about those people that can't manage? They're expected to. But they have the social support nets to do that.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

I guess for me this was back ... historically this was a very white place. It's called a fort for a reason. It was originally created as a fort, and it was created as a place to specifically to fight against indigenous people, against Latinx people, pretty much anybody that wasn't white. So for me it's those minority groups that have managed to keep their culture and maintain a place here. I think about in the 60s when all the Mexican laborers came here and yet they still have their community heres. They didn't leave. Even with the standards of living being blown out of proportion they're finding ways to manage to stay here, which I think is just an example of resilience. And being the underdog they're not letting it go. Holy Family Church still stands, the first Latinx church ever in the city. It's really cool. There were ways that people tried to push them out. Like You plus 2 in the 60s when it was a criminal offense, it wasn't civil back then. You'd go to jail. You could go to prison for living with more than three unrelated people. Yet they found a way. Even with their multi-family households they found a way. So I'd say that's the underdog story that I think of.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

It would be really cool to see for me a representative government not only proportionally, because there are a lot of white people in Fort Collins, and so proportionally would give them a lot of the space and a lot of the voice, which is currently the way it is. I think that a more

representative system that's not just based on what proportion of people are one way or another, but that really includes as many of those experiences and perspectives as possible. Now we have a council of six of seven women. That's never happened before. It's always been male dominated. And they already have these radical new ideas about how we can make this community better, and really see that we need to start looking at them, and looking at what we will become. Because previously it's always been looking at what we are. And so I think it takes mixing it up so it takes bringing in those new perspectives that challenge the perspectives and challenge what we live in. Because there's a lot we can't control that's going to happen and the people that are more resilient to that change – and it takes a lot of different people to become resilient to that change – but I think that the more perspectives and the more diversity we have in leadership spaces, the more resilient we will be to change.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

It's not over yet. I don't know the ending to this book or movie.

I thought of, The City That Showed Up. I mean in that the city that finally said, we see other communities not doing these things for other people, not giving housing to people that are homeless that are struggling. Not saying that's an important issue that's not the fault of a person, but of the community. Seeing them stand up and say this is our problem, and this is something that we have to take on. I think that leading with humility comes from that title.

And I guess where we are today, gosh, Fort Collins: The Performance. I see we look great everywhere: in the media, in pictures. This is a beautiful city. Our crime rates are pretty low. Our

amenities are fantastic. We have a lot of greenness everywhere. There are trees all over the place. It's a beautiful place. It looks aesthetically incredible. But when you dive into experiences with people that live here, that maybe can't afford to live here but do and have been here for a long time, or even come here for college, like, I can't live here. I'm struggling so hard just to get through college. And they'll leave afterward, longtime residents, but you're making it really hard for them to get the education they want. It's this beautiful place that can really mask the ugliness that people face. There's a lot of racism that happens here but it's not talked about because there are only so many people of color here to talk about it. There's not enough affinity spaces, there's not enough places for communities to gather and to heal and learn from one another. That's just such a significant issue that we don't really talk about or look at. We continue ... because it's such a beautiful place. A lot of people previously thought that growth wasn't inevitable. They said we can stop growth and we can just be this city forever. We can't. And we need to figure out how to grow beyond this one idealized Fort Collins that was, and into a beautiful Fort Collins that could be, that's multi-cultural, that shares experiences, that connects people. Because right now we just kind of keep the wall up and say, we're perfect. And that's it, we're perfect.

Interviewee: "August"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Absolutely. I think we need both sides of the issue, and not just accept what CSU PR department puts out on the street and reporting it as CSU reports that X, Y, Z happened. Okay, X, Y, Z might have happened, and you might have reported it as they said it, but what's behind it? What's the why? To me, I looked up 'professional journalism' as we were fighting the stadium. It said, 'seek

truth, and publish it.' What more do you want? I want to know the truth. And if there's nuances on both sides, I want to hear both sides.

Look at it with perspective, and be willing to ask the appropriate questions of what's behind what you said. Is there a motive to the publication you just put out. For instance, several months ago, our local school system, the Poudre School System, put out a document about minority kids, and they have more infractions in the school system. And it made it sound like the system was biased against minorities. The question is, in my opinion, is why do they have more problems? If we understand that, we know how to solve the problem. Unless we admit there's something going on here, we can't solve it. And the newspaper just regurgitated what the school system just said. Here's the document. Okay, that's nice, but what do we do with it? How do we fix it? How do we address it?

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

How can you say no. They've got to pull in the information, question it themselves, be willing to ask the appropriate questions of the people that are presenting that chunk of news, and say what's behind this? How come it's that? In a lot of cases I don't think they ask the why question.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

Absolutely, and that's what I think our local paper has lacked over the last several years. Was Letters to the Editor, and the folks putting out, well, 'I'm considered about X, Y, Z.' And getting

people from both sides of the issue responding to that Letter to the Editor and saying here's my view and here's the other view, and I think they've almost abandoned that. Now it appears to me they're now going a little bit back towards that. But the Letters to the Editors ... the stopping of that doesn't make sense to me. To me, that's what a local newspaper is. To me, I want to hear what the local folks are saying.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Why not? What is their role besides tossing a situation the table, and saying, here's what we find wrong with this. And can we get those two sides into a room here and say, what do you think? Where are you coming from on this? And listen to the other side. In a lot of cases, to me, you get two people who are eyeball to eyeball, it's hard to really get pissed off at somebody because you're looking at them. And you're listening to what this human has to say, even though you may disagree with it, at least you can get it on the table and the proverbial, we can agree to disagree on this.

How about with the stadium – how could the paper have helped find solutions there?

I think it would have been much in their favor if they had done that. This was published back in November. I swear that it was written by the CSU PR Athletics department. And the paper simply regurgitated what they were told. And if you look in there it looks as though the stadium is a financial success, which is what I have been dealing with the last couple months, trying to unearth that. Please don't correct this, this is my first pass at looking at what they said here, and looking at it from a financial standpoint. I've put it out to a number of friends who have editorial reviews, and you can keep that. You went to journalism school, you're a journalist. How many

classes did you take in economics and accounting. Well, I got a call several months ago from Matt Baker, who is one of the sports writers at the Tampa Bay Times. I said what are you calling me for, I don't know you. He said Central Fla University, CFU, is looking at the same thing that CSU did. Their football team now plays at the professional stadium that the Tampa Bay Buccaneers play. Just about twenty minutes off campus. And they've got one guy on their board of directors who is adamant that we've got to build an on campus stadium, and we're going to attract all the elite, alumni, all of the stuff you heard from CSU when they were promoting it. It just doesn't work. This is what I've been doing. I assume you're familiar with CORA, the Colorado Open Records Act. To get information on, what's going on here guys? And I've got all the data and they're losing their ass. Millions and millions and millions of dollars a year. And to me you look at what's happening in the college athletics world and there is a major, major shift toward professionalism. I don't like it here, I'll go put myself in the transfer portal, see who needs a running back at X,Y, Z place. The tradition of having a team that belongs to a university is gone. And to me you're losing something. If a kid can get 50 thousand dollars for selling his name to Dellanbach Motors, I'm a capitalist, go for it. But it's going to make the rich richer and the poor poorer in the athletics world. How are we dealing with that? And are we being realistic in looking at the actual numbers. Why is someone at the Coloradoan not looking at the numbers? Because we went there and sat down with them and we said Look guys, here's the numbers that CSU is giving their board of directors. Here's what they reported to the NCAA. Totally different. And we sat down with them and we said, here's the data. And the business reporter said oh, oh, I've got a guy who knows how to read those things and I'll get it to him. If she's the business reporter and she can't read an income statement, we are in deep deep doo doo here. And that's

why I asked Matt. I talked to him on the phone. I said can I get into the financial aspect of this? And he said you better take it down a notch or two. I'm a sports reporter.

They need some background. If you're going to report on something, and somebody says we're really making money here, you've got to question it. You've got to say, show me your income statement, show me your balance sheet, show me how you're doing this. If you don't understand it, you ain't going there.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Well they are, so yah. They're here. They live here. Their future is here. The people they talk to are all living in the community, yah, I don't disagree.

I'm not sure. You're making an assumption that they're going to be prejudice for some reason, or slanted or leaning. I guess from personal opinion you should be able to detach yourself and say alright, I need to look at both sides of this and report it fairly. Let's face it you can't live here without having some kind of opinion, some kind of feeling, some kind of leaning to the community. So yah you're biased but I think you kind of have to put that aside.

Unfortunately we've lost our trust in the media. We just look at it and say they're just fanning the flames here. I need somebody in the middle who's going to say, here's realism. Here's what the right says, here's what the left says. When you get to those extremes I don't think there's much you can do with either side because they're so biased off the edge. But the 80% in the middle, can relate to listening to both sides of the issue. And that's what I look for journalism to

do. Seek truth, and publish it. It's a very simple process in my opinion. Not easy to achieve but a relatively simple to look at.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

Somehow we need to deal with our growth issue. This is such a nice place to live. We were looking at our neighborhood. We've been here 30 years plus. You look at what you bought the house for, and what it's going for today. You got to say how does the young family afford anything here in the area. And that's why I deal with Habitat for Humanity because it is a way to deal with that issue. Is it the end all and be all? No. We need to figure out a way to somehow deal with the community that can't afford to live here.

It's easy to say but kind of hard to do: bring the whole community together and say look guys, somehow we need to deal with this. Let's say the Hughes Stadium group. Can we put affordable housing somewhere, somehow, on this. And to me, the mini house, the small house situation, crops in here. Let's be able to build, it's like a spider arm. Let's build a base here. There's a community room, there's a kitchen, you can butt your small house that you spend \$70,000 for into the body of the spider. And you have eight small houses surrounding this center piece. You've got eight families of people in this group, rule it yourself. Figure out what rules you want for the middle part. Everyone's gonna have their own place, they can shut the door. You get 200 sq feet of solitude, quiet, whatever you want to do, but if you're going to come out to the body... You can come. You can listen to other people, you can hear their opinions, and you can figure out how to live successfully with each other even if you have to tolerate some things you don't like. That's what I what would have happen. And I think you need the whole world. You

need planning and zoning, local government, you need the ability for someone to be building these small houses in affordable style. And you need a system where you can plug them into this body. And if you're gonna leave it. You're going to California? Tow it to California. Plug it in there and you can have your own little house.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

You're making me think, this is not good, ha. I just think the divide between the right and the left, and the fact that they're so far apart. And our politicians and everybody else are not putting people together where at least you can get 80% of the people involved to say, alright, I can live with this. The extreme ends are never going to be able to deal with it.

And somehow be able to talk to each other. I play tennis just about every day. And we're a bunch of old farts. And there's a divide between the conservatives and the liberals. Every other Thursday night and we pick a place to go to, for example DC Oaks, and somewhere between 4 and 8 of us, and we pick a topic and throw it on the table and say what do we think. Where are we going with this. One of the times we got some of the people that used to be the managing group of the sports department and say, what's happened in the sports world? And we had the ex business manager for the sports department come and accept questions and talk about it. We'll talk... the last topic was what's going on with Ukraine? What's going on here? The aggression, and how do we accept people. And we hear both sides. And for the most part it hasn't come to blows yet. We're able to talk and at least put on the table our views.

For instance, the League of Women's Voters. The whole Covid thing has put a kibosh on a lot of it. They used to have their topics, they had meetings in the town hall and they would put a panel up on the table to say we've got to talk about this, and the people in the audience can ask questions and things of that sort. They're not doing that anymore. Because they're not getting everybody together, and nobody seems to want to get to that place. I'm not sure how Covid effected that but I'm sure it did, but they're not doing that anymore. League of Women Voters, even though I don't agree with them all the time, is a group, in theory, that will put it together for us.

And to me, the Colorodoan, that would be an ideal situation for them.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

The people who are working at extremely low levels in the society, who aren't earning enough to enjoy what a great place this is.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

I've got to stop and think about that. Let's face it, we came out of the agricultural society, way back when. Folks from Mexico came to work the sugar beet situation, because they're the only ones that would come here and work. They were the hands on folks who got us sort of where we are. At this point, it goes back to the affordability. We need to honor what they did, we need to recognize, and we need to educate our minority populations to the point where – one of the our topics on a previous wednesday was Ryan Williams I think his name was, Harvard, he said, the way to solve the inequity in the dollars and sense part of this world is to educate our kids so they understand how to budget, how to buy a house, understanding what an investment is, insurance,

all those kinds of things, so that when they walk out of school, they're ready for the world. If you look carefully, Poudre School System does an excellent job, it's a required course for them. That's what we learned when we did the Thursday night thing. And they had something called personal finance and it is especially well done if you just look at the curriculum. I assume the teachers are going to teach it effectively. But if you look at what they cover... When I went to school, nobody taught me how to balance my checkbook. Nobody told me how to buy insurance. Is interest good, or is interest bad? If I'm paying for it is it coming back to me. And what about my credit card? I can go out and spend money. Ey, I'll pay them off a little at a time, but you're paying 18% interest. We never learned that. And I look at what Poudre School System is doing, and I think they're doing an excellent job of teaching that. That should go across the nation in my opinion. Get them ready to leave home and say I have to budget. I can't live this way unless I stop drinking, or stop smoking, or I can't afford to do this kind of stuff.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

We got here and wish they had shut the gates behind us.

Probably a great place to live, but somehow we need to make it more livable for more people. To me that's... I hate to dump on the word diversity, but I think we spend too much time on that particular aspect, but we need people from all sides of this issue coming here, being able to afford to live and work and make the community something everybody likes. When we got here we said, we don't want to move anymore. I like this place. Shut the door. But they kept coming here, you know, like you. And you're bringing something to the party, which is good. But somehow, somehow, when you look at the traffic, the city wasn't designed for this many people,

nor did anybody I don't think... maybe they did after WW2, putting in the water system, but other than that, the streets are kind of expanding to meet the needs.

Interviewee: "Shappa"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

I absolutely would. I mean, who wouldn't. Every day I read stories about people who said that was taken out of context, and they believe that the things they're putting forward is actually what's being interpreted and put down on paper, but they say he took it totally out of context, or she didn't write it in the way it was intended to come across. So I would definitely think that's the better way to go is to do it collaboratively.

Instead of Dem v. Republican, how should they see things?

I remember years ago, I was young and naive and incredibly shy, and I hadn't yet found my voice. And I was at a very sophisticated cocktail party, and it was held in Los Angeles at a place called The Abbey. It used to be an Abbey and then it was vacated and they bought it and refurbished it. And so I met a guy who was a bull fighter there, from Spain. Different people like that. I just stood there and looked around and never really found the courage to talk to people. But someone came up to me and said, well, which political party, I couldn't understand what he said. He said, "Are a democrat or a republican?" I said I don't know. I don't even know what those are. I've never talked about politics, my father never talked politics with me. I left home when I was 17. It was just something that was never done. But in a traditional Lakota lifeways, they go don't pay attention to that. They're crazy. They're creating a world that isn't our world. So don't pay any attention to those things that they call... Everything is divisive. Are you

liberal? Or are you democrat? Well then we're enemies, because my ideas are better than yours. And we do have that too in the culture. But yah, we're told not to pay attention to it. And I still don't, because if I did pay attention to what the city and CSU thought about us moving forward, I'd probably wouldn't have the courage to do it, but because I've gotten rid of that fear somewhere along my life path. I just said, we know what's going on, but that's between the two of you, and it has nothing to do with us. What these crazy people are doing. They're destroying the earth, they're destroying it systematically. They know where we're at in the condition of the earth, and they're still – they're giving more permits to dig for fossil fuels, to dig more mines, to destroy more mountains, destroying the water, oh don't make me crazy.

I think that if I were training them I would guess first we would have to have some kind of meaningful communication about their parties, their respective parties, and bringing them together and talking about any particular one issue, and then maybe listening to what they say and being astute enough to pick up the similarities in their thoughts, and then try to if we can do that, if we can get them to recognize we do have the same about this, and it's okay to write something a little oppositional, but that's not going to fragment the larger thought, you know?

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Only you. I mean, only you. I have seen journalists before, and well maybe it's because I don't know they didn't come across as being sincere. Even if they were Native, American Indian. I can feel sincerely that only goes so far just to get you to talk.

Could there be a shift where they become that?

Absolutely. Are you talking about those kinds of things in your class?

Oh yah.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

I would. I certainly would. I think the more input that they can get from a variety of people, and then be able to sort of consolidate it into something that everybody says that's exactly what they said, they say, that's exactly what I said. And then you've done a really good job of pulling it all together so it looks the same to everybody and makes sense to everybody.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Well, absolutely, yah. I would. Because look at you, you walk your talk, you practice what you preach, because that's what you've done. Just knowing, I've felt a true allyship with you, and that gave me more confidence to walk forward with this. Knowing I'm going to go forward with it anyway, but just knowing you're there and kind of a little safety net is a comfort to my heart,

It just seems to me that it would be hard to shape someone to be that way. When you go into this, I want you to be solution oriented and you know all those things. I think that emotions and feelings should be allowed to come forward organically. I think it would be easier to say what are your interests, try and find what really interests them to the point of I want to explore every facet of this, I want to tell the story of this part of it, and that part of it until everyone can see the many facets of a story. I don't think that it can be forced on them or taught to them. So if you can

really sort of share that with them. Find something that really interests you, find something that you care so much about that you want to cover it for years to come.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

I would, because anybody in that field who's viewed that way will be more able to get people they want to talk to invested in their story in the way they want to cover it. And I think that's important to the journalist, and from the people, it's a give and take. I think in the answer I had for the last thing are a lot of the reasons why being viewed as a stakeholder is important, because if people say, he wants to do a story, but he's here this week and next week is gonna be off someplace else, he doesn't really care about this community, he just smells a good story, kind of thing.

Have you heard of, what the hell's his name. He was on the Pine Ridge Reservation. I met him and we took a walk and blah blah blah. And he was just a very nice young man. And then a lot of people on Pine Ridge didn't like the stories he put out there. And they called it poverty porn because he focused on that and didn't focus on the beauty. Even because we were doing a march, that's when Leonard Peltier was accused of killing those FBI agents, what was that, 40 years ago. And so we were having a march to the homestead where it happened, and he went along on that. I don't know how much of the beauty of it he captured. You know, like the emotion that went with it. We saw four horses running along side us. Behind the fence, but running alongside us. And they were black, and they were red, and yellow, and white. And the eagle is flying over them. People forget how to look for the sacred sometimes.

How can you have good intentions and just focus on one thing? I don't think you can. And you have to think of the people's pride. It's like okay, let's say you come to visit me on the reservation and we've been friends so then you come and like my house is very sparse and I have barely any food but I make you some coffee and make whatever I have to eat, and this really happened to me, and you offer it to you, and no, no, no, I can't do that and what not. You know what that's telling me? You think I'm too poor, you think that you're taking food out of my mouth. There are a lot of negative connotations I might have coming from a culture. So you're really insulting me and hurting me deeply. And he was doing that.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

Well, I think that it's not gonna change in one year. Everything is a gradual evolution. I remember when I was in high school there weren't a lot of people of color. I graduated from FC High School, and you didn't just see people mixing too much, not even the people of color, for god's sake. Since coming back to Fort Collins from California, I got a job at the mall when it was the real mall, the beautiful mall. And I had one of those kiosks at the center of the mall. I was working at a kiosk, I don't even know what I was doing but there I was. I loved to people watch and I would observe people. I started seeing more and more and more mixed couples. I thought, they're so brave, those young people. To them it doesn't matter what people think, here they are walking in a public place. In the 50s and 60s you wouldn't do that. In the 70s you wouldn't do it. I thought, but I love it, and that's the first time I saw it, and since then I've seen more and more and more, I've seen more and more marriages. So I see Fort Collins as a positive change, because whether they want it or not, the young people are integrating. So I like it.

I think that if Fort Collins became more compassionate and caring about the homeless population that would be one. The evolution in integrating the population is another. Think of it, my father was invited to come to this town to help integrate the business community. And so those are two really positive things that they could do. The first of course is going to be the most difficult because right now as things stand, they're so greedy. Very greedy. The city and CSU have an equal amount of greed. There's no one that really gives a shit about the homeless population. If they did, the mall out there that used to host K Mart and a lot of those stores, they would have done something there for the homeless population a long time ago, But then you've got the idiots coming in from California, and some of them don't even care about Colorado, they just want a second home here so they can ski during the winter. And if Colorado and Fort Collins specifically would not have that then maybe they will... I have a friend who I love dearly that has a bed and breakfast, and I can understand to a degree because you never know. But you can find some really decent homeless people, and you can say you can be here for a few months until you get on your feet. I can't remember this star's name, he's like a movie star, and he took in an entire family of Ukrainians. And he said, yes, I'm giving them, what is it, not amnesty, a safe place to be until things quiet down. More people needs to have hearts like that. I don't know. I've worked with the homeless in Fort Collins. So I just think that's one really important place. We're all human beings.

Our hearts opening as the turning point.

Yes!

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

Oh my gosh, I have to point fingers?

Well, I guess the people that don't care about the homeless. Those are the sort of bad guys. They have growing to do, they have their own evolution to go through. But I think I don't even have to work hard at it. I see things and look the other way – I don't like to think about the bad people or the bad things.

Well, I have no power over it. These probably aren't the answers that you're looking for, but it's what we're taught. You can talk to people but sometimes it just doesn't register with them and so there's nothing I can do to change them, and hopefully they grow and open their eyes.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

Of course indigenous people, particularly indigenous women. People that live below the poverty level. And that is no matter what occupation they may have, or wherever they are, it's like that station in life follows them around and I think that can change if people said, oh my gosh, it seems like you're stuck in that particular position, sit down and talk, sort of like you and I are talking, and how can I lift you up. You know the story about the needle that wears a groove in a record, and it won't get past unless you help it. I think it's kind of like that story.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

I would bring people together from a lot of stations in life I guess with a lot of different thoughts and feelings, and people that are strong you know, and they feel strong and they feel confident,

and they're going to try to run away with that moment because now's my chance to talk, and they'll talk and they'll talk and they'll talk, like, I do, and then you've got people who've got great ideas, but they think no one is interested in hearing my story, I've always been shut down in life. I'm just not gonna say anything because they'll probably laugh at me or something like that. And i'd tell the person with all the confidence because of their station in life is pretty secure for them, inherent, and I would say, that's really good. Then I would look at somebody like me, and I would say, I really want to hear what you have to say. What you have to say is really important to a lot of people. And it helps them. Every time somebody says, that was good, but what do you have to say.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

Whatever it is, it would be around changing the name of the city. I was even thinking of that this morning. If I can change the name of the city, what would I call it? A Lakota name? No, that wouldn't be appropriate, because it's Cheyene, Arapaho, Sashonie, Ute, Apache territory as well as as Lakota, and I couldn't come up with an answer. But I think that...

If it was just Lakota? If there had only been Lakota here?

Let me see. O'Lakota.... How dare you make me try to think of a name. It would have to do with O'Lakota because that means peace. Okay let me run through my things. The second word would be... when I remember how to say nation. Maybe Nation of Peace. Maybe City of Peace.

Let's say you had to give it a subtitle.

Fort Collins: Fort Collinsoscopy. Fort Collins needs a colonoscopy. The only thing I can think of, because it was Camp Collins, Indian killers, that's what it was. so Camp Collins is kind of like they've done all over the country. They keep the name of the person who annihilated the Indians and displaced us and created diaspora there were all those names all over the nation. And that's where the Mount Rushmore came from. That was carved by a man who was a known Nazi supporter. Each one of those presidents, they were all famous Indian killers. They were put there to remind us, to keep reminding us. Same with the Crazy Horse monument. You know he never let anybody try to take a picture of him because he really did believe a piece of your spirit is captured but anyway, and the people say he is not happy. Lightnighg has struck twice when they were trying to build it, and then they have to start repairs over again. And it was supposed to be a university for Native Americans, and I don't think they ever got that off the ground. And now they employee almost nothing but white people. And so they said then, what do you think Crazy Horse would think about them defacing the side of a mountain to try to capture the likeness of a man that never would allow it. Pew! He sends a lightning bolt.

Interviewee: "Dylan"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

I think local journalists depending on what they're looking into should definitely work together but depends on the topic. What are they researching? What is it about? As a journalist you should dig deep and always speak the truth, find the truth. Find what matters and report on it and have a neutral standpoint. Don't be with it or against it. You should be reporting the news, journaling what is out and what's the current event, what's the topic. If you're a journalist you should be truthful and honest, dead honest, don't sway a certain way just report it how it is. It is what it is.

If that entails something adverse, like a really touchy subject, just speak on it. And then I don't know, is a journalist fighting each other, battling each other? If you're like swaying a certain way, I can't.... That's more biased fake news shit to me. News is supposed to be facts. What's happening, what's going on. It's such a ratings system that will people sway a certain way just to get more views, more likes. It's sensationalism. It's fucked up, is what it is.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Community conveners. Yah, 100%. They get their ideas from news from journalists. I don't like saying news. It's lost its value. Cause the news can be anything. I can write a report and put it online and it's news. So what's factual is factual, and you almost have to be a local community to know. I talked to this guy and I heard this, and I heard that, and you come up with general sense of what happened, or an idea of it.

Government info translators. Usually, that's true. Cause they usually write or speak on what they've heard from the government. And the government is so wishy washy and secretive with how they word stuff, so what they say is what the journalists are gonna say. Unless the journalist has an opinion on it. See, it depends. If you're someone that like blogs or journals about your opinion, then that's okay because it's your opinion. But don't state it as it being the actual facts.

Champions of civic engagement. It depends on how good of a journalist you are, also. Like, if you're someone that people believe in and you've got a good reputation, you're reputable, 100%. If the population can trust you, then yah, you can sway opinions, get the people together and go

on some sort of whatever it is, donation drive for charity, you have the power. But journalists aren't like that sought after anymore. Everyone gets their news from their news feeds and their scrolling through their timelines and they're getting their information from sites that were reputable, New York Post, New York Times, AP Post, it's a weird era, it's a weird age. Where people don't have to go to the newspaper or a certain place to read something or whatever. There's videos there's other articles. Everyone has an opinion, everyone has a smart phone. Everyone is typing something. Twitter in itself is like a micro-journalist – everyone is reporting on something. So how people collect their information is totally different nowadays compared to five and ten years ago.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

It's always funny to hear different opinions from a wide range of people. And you kind of get more of a perspective on who's thinking what. If you get your opinion or perspective just from the main guy, you're gonna get just the top layer. You're not gonna get the dirt. And the dirt is never out there in the open. You read some stuff, you hear some stuff, start digging around, and you realize oh that's why they're doing this, or that's why they're passing that bill, or that's why they're enforcing this. It's because of some other motive, I guess. That's almost like common sense. You can't just ask the main guy. What did Sally say here on the South side, what's this dude say that's up in the rich hills. What's this dude say that's just a college kid that skates to work every day. What are these opinions, what are their mindsets about this topic or problem. And that's how you come with a solution or an answer, just reporting in general, being a journalist. Definitely get the perspective of a whole circle. Ask the homeless guy what he thinks

about it. Ask the rich guy who's walking in a suit getting coffee right down the block. What's the heartbeat of the city. What's the real deal – not the top layer, what's the dirt.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

Yah, sure, if they're about it. Like if they're just reporting on it to get likes then probably not, but if they're reporting on it in the community and usually they are because they're talking to all sorts of people, they're in the mix, they're in the middle of things so it's usually ... they feel they have a moral obligation to find the solution, and if they do, more kudos to them, and they probably score more viewers or likes or whatever but if you're reporting on a problem and talking to all these people, you're almost the prime person to solve that problem with the help of resources and maybe some people you know. 100%, a local journalist can actually be a hero in a lot of ways.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Not at all. They're just someone asking questions. They should be a part of the community. Everyone should. But if you're going around to different areas and asking questions, not everyone is gonna like you. Some people are not gonna like that. So... how do I wrap this to make sense... I guess my answer is no, I don't think so.

Do you want your journalists to live in the city they're reporting in?

I hope so. I hope it's not some guy in Cleveland asking questions about people in Fort Collins. I'm just saying there are different communities in a city, it's not just one big community. There's multiple communities. The journalist, where he lives and does his stuff, that's his community.

You venture outside that community to ask people questions. The trailer park community, the rich community, the college kid community, the north, south, east, west, there's multiple communities, and sometimes they're big, sometimes they're small. Where the journalist lives, that's his area, his community. He visits the local coffee shop, gas stations, food venues that would be his community. Nothing wrong with having your people – you Sally Joe every morning when you get your cup of coffee. That's your community. There's problems that arise in every community. Sometimes this community is getting hit with car theft, this community is going through an HOA crisis. Different perspectives in different areas are going to be different. Everyone has their own problems, everyone has something going on.

Not news-wise – personally that would be their area. But when it comes to news and reporting, big stuff happens everywhere. Sometimes – and it effects the whole community, not just that micro community. And it effects everybody. Just like was it today or yesterday there was that school shooting, and that's effecting states away. And I wouldn't doubt if it effected these communities. Like, we're not having school today.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

That's an optimistic way to look at it. In my opinion in the next say 10 to 20 years, FC will be the biggest city in the north side. It'll be like Fort Collins, Denver, Colorado Springs. Those will be the three main cities. So I see Fort Collins blowing up. Big, like it's only going to be annoying. People are gonna be like, I remember when you used to be able to ride your bike on the street, blah blah blah. It's going to turn into a mini micro Denver. It's going to be big. It's nice, it's green.

Some people like big cities. It's close to the mountains, it's got a lot of perks. Other people are like I like the small town vibes. You know your neighbor, the crime rate is low, it's not a bad place. In my opinion the future of Fort Collins is its gonna grow, maybe double if not triple in size.

Net five tornado, big one, that's gonna have hail, lighting storm, it's just gonna rip right through the middle of this place.

What's one hope and one fear?

It's gonna get super hot, almost desert climate. The climate is gonna get wonky. Like Colorado is going to become almost like a desert area. Something is gonna happen where certain states are gonna become more deserty when they're not, and Arizona is gonna start growing grass.

Something weird is going to happen with the weather. That's what I think.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

Cyclists. Too many cyclists out there just hogging the roads. They think they're invincible.

There's a lot of traffic going on, a lot of weird construction and angry people, more and more people are moving here, roads and getting more congested, and then you have people that want to literally ride their bikes this close to the car lane, to where I have to swerve into the other car.

It's either hitting a person or collision with a car. Too many cyclists. That's just personal.

What stops this city being the best it can be?

You're also talking to a pretty transient person. I've lived in a lot of cities, a lot of areas. My heart is not set on FC. I do really like this place. Do I see myself growing old here? Probably not. Would it be a possibility? Maybe. It's that cool of a place. It's in my top five of places I could settle down at. But I'm not from here, I didn't grow up here. I have a different – same as you, you're from a whole different area. But FC has always been that place. It's easy going, kinda. There's something really nice about it. I don't know if a lot of people see that. Or maybe they will, and they'll start moving here. But something weird about it that's almost too comfortable. It almost makes me nervous, like what's gonna happen? It's just a little too weird.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

The underdog... It's like the college kids that come here, people that come from out of town. Maybe them cyclists, ha – no. That's an interesting question. Who would I be rooting for. There's a lot of old people here, but I don't know that I'd root for them. I'm trying to think of a project. More music venues. That's the underdog. The music scene. It's underrated – not even underrated, a lot of people know we've got some dope stuff here, there are a lot of people coming in and out. More music venues, big ones. Big ones. We should make like a Red Rocks over here that brings in a lot of people, a lot of money, good for the economy I guess, whatever whatever. If you had a solid music scene Fort Collins is almost like Austin. Everyone knows Austin, Texas, everyone knows Memphis, Tennessee, everyone knows Fort Collins can almost be that sub place where it's a small town but in the summer it's like music festivals and all sorts of crazy stuff going on. It's already is, but like even more. That would be the underdog of Fort Collins.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

Fort Collins was a small city – Now I've got Morgan Freeman rolling through my head. To make it a more balanced city? There does seem to be some sort of – but every city has one – the north side seems to be a little more sketchy. South side got a little more richy people. The west side is sort of by the mountains. There's always sides to a city. But to balance it out? I don't know, I guess it just depends on what you're talking about. Put some more rich houses on the north side, put some more affordable housing on the rich side. Not have sort of shift. If you really want to make things more balanced. More affordable housing in good areas, not the fucking ghetto or wherever, the least desirable part of town. Make more god damn bike paths for the fucking cyclists. The traffic. We don't need huge sidewalks. Make another lane and then underground tunnels or something. Traffic is kind of a problem.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

You could almost compare Fort Collins to Rocky Balboa, if that makes any sense. It's there, it's a little rough around the edges, not in a bad way. It's just not finally chiseled yet. Fort Collins already is what it wants to be, but they can expand on that and make it better, just like the story of Rocky. They could put in some work and be twice as good of a city. This is already a really good place, but if they put in a few extra measurements, kind of figure it out, this place could be one of the most desired places around.

Do I want to see it grow? Not really. I like the size where it's at. It's just big enough that it's a city, but small enough to where it's not like a city. There's a Goldilocks Zone about Fort Collins.

Goldilocks Thirst of the Undead. There's zombies in it, haha. Yah, I guess. That's where we're at. Definitely in the Goldilocks zone. It'd be cool if it got a little bigger, but micro some stuff. Basically, don't be like Denver. Denver is cool, it's just really big, congested, their traffic sucks. I guess I'm not a fan of traffic. There's a lot of stress. And it's just all gray. It's kind of ugly, not a fan.

Interviewee: "Rebecca"

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

Yah, I think that is a huge discussion around journalism today. I do think that a combination of both sometimes the best because talking about the players, and problems and viewpoints is always important, but maybe if that wasn't the largest emphasis in an article, so for example if you have even just a community issue. For example in Fort Collins, I know composting has been talked about a lot – I don't know where it is currently, probably because there's not been a lot of news coverage on it. But maybe if they talked about the problem first and said one of the problems is upkeep, or start up costs or where the large facility is going to go, and those are still up for debate, and whether residents will pick it up, or if there will be low adoption rates, and then here are the two city councilman or women who are pushing this issue, and here are the two that are partially opposed to this issue, and here are the opposing concerns, and the supporters arguments that negate those concerns, but after giving everyone the information to make their opinion, then just seeing what council members are doing what at the time. I think taking a more communal approach before getting into the adversarial would probably be more beneficial to readers entering problems.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Community conveners. I would, I think that, but coming from a background of communication I trust the expertise of journalists. I think unfortunately in our current climate of questioning media that that would probably be a harder sell on a community level just because of all the discourse going on, but I do think journalism has a large role in a community, and convening people around knowledge, so I think that's a natural fit, but there's a lot of distrust that would have to be overcome for that to be more of a prevalent role, especially in local journalism.

Government information translators. Again I think that it's a natural fit given how journalism works, people don't have time to go to community council meetings, to every ballot initiative review or neighborhood review of zoning or permits or what have you, and you often see that the only people who are opposing an issue show up, where they want their voices heard, but the people who are in support of an issue don't really want to take the time to show up. So I do think that's a very important role especially local journalists have. But I think right now we live in such a period of distrust in media that a lot of people who feel that media might be biased might not have trust in them to run that role in a way that isn't biased or shows both sides, and that's something local journalists will have to overcome to continue to be in that role. But considering how much goes on in local politics, it's a very important role that local journalists should take up.

Champions of civic engagement. I think that they should and do, but just like the other two questions, because there is such distrust and people think the media is political and that certain ones have political slights, it makes it hard for them to be universal. I know just in FC a lot of people feel the Coloradoan is too liberal, so a lot of people who don't subscribe to it. But I know when ballots and things like that come out, other than journalism we don't have a good way to get that information to the public. And often times the packets that come in the mail, I don't get them, or they come torn up, or even when you get them intact they're written in I don't have a better word than legalese, but they're very old Constitutional writing that will match – kind of use that old fashioned version of English that most people don't speak. It's more of a dialect now than – I don't even know if I'd call it a dialect because nobody speaks it out loud. But it's a version of English that's outdated and so it's not very accessible to a lot of the public, because they're like, I don't even know what half these words mean, or at least in this context it doesn't make sense. And so it's really important to be able to go to the Denver Post or the Coloradoan or something and say okay, break down what these amendments actually mean, who's for and against it. That's such an important part of media, but again I don't know if everybody trusts or uses that resource because they think their interpretation is going to be biased or one sided or leaning one direction, and I don't necessarily know how to fix that.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

Yah, I think that community engagement and getting community opinion is important because you know, if you're reporting on an issue that you feel is important, like, I use the example of composting because that's something I'm really passionate about. I already have a little local

composting company and so like when I look at the news about by 2025 they're supposed to have a full city wide composting system, and so I look at the news and I wonder why isn't it being covered, and where did this go, and it feels like it's fallen off the docket. But if they had an article about it and then they talked to 50 citizens and maybe they can't quote every citizen, but maybe they do an online poll, and each person that takes the poll submits a quote, and then they have four quotes, two for and two against, and then the poll comes out and 45 people don't care about composting, and only five people do, then maybe this won't be as successful as I hoped it would be because the community is not engaged in it. You don't know that if you're just getting quotes from city council people, and it's their job to care about these issues and they have to have an opinion on these issues, but it's important to know where the community is on any of these issues at any given moment, I think that could also guide journalism. Journalism is first and foremost for the people, which is a double edged sword because you don't want to be reactive or catering to your readers too much or being too sensational. But at the same time if no one is reading your work it's not doing it's job either. It's kind of a hard balance to walk. If you try to walk it well, and cover things that are important that might get less coverage, but also cover things that are important to the community that's just as valuable. So I think getting quotes and getting opinions and the pulse of the community is a really important thing in journalism.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

I think they can act in that role, but that role should be handled carefully. I know that there most major and minor news places have whistle blowing lines, and tell the community lines, and I think being the megaphone for people that are experiencing injustice or maybe even uncovering something illegal that needs to reach the light, I think that's really important, and I think that

sometimes the legal process can be too slow – I’m not saying journalists’ processes are illegal, but if somebody maybe sees something wrong in their company, or sees something wrong going on in political activity, maybe even something questionable with a community engagement the way funds are being mis-used, or they feel that some wrong doing is going on, sometimes approaching that in official channels can be corrupt or blocked or unsafe for some people, or it can take years of litigation, and there are rules of arbitration and things like that, sometimes getting the megaphone of the media to say hey, this local group is embezzling money they’re supposed to use for charity, and things like that, getting it out to a wider audience can be helpful. We’ve seen so many stories of as soon as 9 news reported on this, this company released a statement that everyone would be refunded and totally change their course and sometimes bad things need to be brought to life to be fixed because officials channels are too clogged or slow for justice but at the same time that has to be very carefully wielded because public opinion is so sharp and I think we talk a lot about cancel culture, and sometimes people are canceled for things that aren’t totally true, but once that narrative is out there, you can lose control of that narrative even if you were the person who pressed post or publish. In the community it can take on a mind of its own, people can misinterpret things or read it in a different way, and so it’s also something that should only be done for like really important matters that you know have already been vetted by the journalists and are very deeply solidified before pulling that trigger. Because it’s also somewhat of an unregulated process. The reason that things like arbitration exist is so that it is an orderly process to that and skipping things like _____ lead to misinformation if used too quickly or with not enough information.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Yah, I think it's better if journalists are stakeholders or members of a community, because I think that although it might make them slightly biased, and that's something they might need to work on and address, it is their community so they're probably going to have an opinion on it. I feel like having someone from Denver write about Fort Collins, there is naturally a disconnect there. They're not going to be as close to their sources, they're not going to be quite as plugged into the community, they might not have that trust built in, and like many other journalistic things it's a double edged sword because you're writing about things that are going on in your own community, and therefore you have rose tinted glasses, or maybe not the opposite but might have an opinion that might bias your writing, and I think that's almost what's good about having community writers, because if you can work closely within your community, you can usually find a writer from the other side and have that person proof or even have that person be a co-writer, so you're getting both sides of the community opinion, you're writing well rounded articles, you're still getting that in-depth community feeling of this is why this matters to the community, this is a community take rather than just having like just facts and just... because even though it's good to have an unbiased view and just the facts stated, you're not going to get some of the important parts. Like maybe a building is going up in an area and so the facts are this is what it's going to cost, this is what they're taking down, and you know, these are the for and against sides. But from a community perspective maybe that building is a historical heritage site, or you know maybe it was a school house and 80 local senior citizens used to live at that school house so the new corporate building put up there is really harmful to them as a community and takes away from some of the character of the community. That's stuff you don't get just by looking at the hard facts of a situation. You don't get some of the heart and soul of those problems if you're disconnected from the community.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

As somebody who lives in this community and somebody who's linked to community engagement, something that as a community as a whole feels like a turning point and kind of for the better and for the worse is the growth of the community. I think people worry the community is growing too quickly, and then on the flip side a lot of the people who don't have permanent housing don't think it's growing fast enough, and that's causing really inflated prices in housing as well as since housing is going up very quickly, the houses going up aren't necessarily quality built. I know on the negative side a lot of people feel like we're losing a lot of green space and open space and wild space to build more houses, but then on the flip side you especially have a lot of people displaced from Boulder who feel like they have nowhere to go, and if rents are also sky rocketing to be unrealistic, so people are having to move. So I feel like housing right now is a big turning point.

There is so much growth and so much building projects in the works and they are doing a lot of these – and local journalists have covered a lot of things that could change for the positive.

Recently in the Coloradoan they covered that we don't have enough cell towers. But they also reached out to cell tower providers and found they have plans, and they're willing to work with the City of Fort Collins, and they laid out ways the City of Fort Collins made it harder to build cell towers, and that's really important to city growth. There's a lot of coverage of all these building projects and there are so many new housing markets coming online. Even CSU bought land to build apartments for some of their lower income employees, so there is a lot of growth and they do promise to bring prices to a stable place and have more ability, but there's also the aspect

that that takes land and money and infrastructure change, and will that cost enough, and it opens a lot of negative questions as well.

I feel like every positive turning point has a negative turning point for someone else. As I referenced, I think the sustainability initiative for Fort Collins could be a really positive turning point. As a community there's a lot of exciting things that should be coming down in the next few years, an expansion of public transportation, especially as the east side of town grows. A supposed city wide composting facility, so composting can be accessed by anybody in the city. I know they're already expanded a lot of bike lanes and things like that, but like I said, I feel like there are also a lot of people that feel like those things are negative, and that composting facility will have to be built somewhere, and they've taken out some roads and made one lane roads to make and some people feel that adds to congestion, and a lot of people feel the expansion of transportation has been too slow, and will be like too little too late. There's always two sides to those positive turning points that some people will always feel like there's another side to it.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

Red tape if that makes sense. I feel like it's hard to blame any one person, I feel like a lot of people look to city council and blame people but I think that unfortunately whether that is people's fault or just is bad design that there are a lot of issues that we could have acted very quickly on, but because of pomp and circumstance and red tape it takes a really long time for any action to pass, and I think we are better than some communities, but I don't think we're fast enough and funnily enough I had a conversation the other day with a friend of mine who's also

an alumni of CSU and CSU seems to have what a lot of people want: they have a very connected transit system, almost every bus stops at CSU at some point, and every other bus seems to connect to CSU. It's a very large transportation hub with green spaces, it has new buildings, parking isn't great but it's quick to build new infrastructure when there are congestion problems and things like that and the city of Fort Collins, my friend was complaining that he got a ticket from the city of FC because there isn't enough parking on campus, the city of FC seems to be reactionary while CSU is more forward thinking and we need some of that more on a community standpoint. Back to what I was saying about cell towers, in that article, one of the reasons cell towers can't be placed in Fort Collins is cause we still have like 50 or 25 year old rule about how tall things can be built. So the reason some places don't have good cell service is because the city ruling is the cell towers can't be far enough to reach cell towers closer together because then they'll be competing for signal and the cell towers that won't be better. There are some of these archaic rules and old ways of handling things that are really in the name of tradition or in the name of community are actually holding the community back from advancing and becoming more sustainable or friendly or big enough to handle the size of people living here. There are a lot of old rules that we can't clear so that red tape really bogs down progress.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

I think the community of Fort Collins itself is often the underdog in its own story. Which is kind of funny I think. Usually the community should be the champion of its own story. But I feel like there's such polarization and disconnect within our community that no matter what faction you're in, you feel like you're in an under appreciated part of Fort Collins. FC is not very diverse, so if you're part of a minority community you feel like you're the underdog of FC.

Unfortunately FC wages are not keeping up with inflation and housing costs so there are a lot of people who are lower or middle class white citizens who feel like they're the underdog of Fort Collins because they can't afford to live here. And I feel like there are a lot of people made of feel like they're the underdog to the City of Fort Collins themselves because no matter what race or ethnicity or gender you come from, I feel like there are a lot of people feel disenfranchised from community representatives, and that a lot things the community cares about, the community representatives are too slow to act on, like traffic congestion, housing affordability and availability. I don't think anyone likes the You plus two laws except for like the few. I mean, it only benefits landlords and a few small communities. But it's broken so much it doesn't even really work in the communities it's supposed to protect and it almost became a money making thing, because students feel like You plus two targes them specifically. There a lot of things that make people feel disenfranchised in Fort Collins, and people talk about it but nobody has really done anything. I haven't been a student for four years and You plus two was on the student ballot every other year and still nothing has ever been changed and we're still years away from having buses to every portion and buses are no longer is service and that hasn't changed now that Covid is a little more managed. People have talked for years about train bridges and things like that, one of them was built in the north corner of town after eight years, I-25 has been in construction for ten years and it's not any closer to being done. I feel like there are a lot of problems in Fort Collins that don't kind of have quick or ready solutions and there's a lot of talking and not a lot of doing, and it makes every group feel disenfranchised in some way. Some more important than others. I do think our problem with diversity and things like that and sustainability and housing affordability that might be different per person – if it takes you an hour to get to your kid's

school because traffic is so backed up you're gonna feel like that's the most important problem and you're still not getting your voice heard either.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

I guess that's hard because I do think narratives can be changing, but sometimes narratives have short lives, and they're good at rallying people for a short period of time but whether that's the short attention span of the society, or the short news cycle we live in where you have to move on to another story, and I know I'm personally frustrated when a news article says, we will follow up on this article as it changes, and the article is four years old and there's never been any updates. And you're like, I never know how this ended.

One way to balance the scales is to hold those people in power accountable. For example, roadways projects are set and then nothing is ever done, have a follow up article and hold those people accountable and again I don't necessarily want to throw city council under the bus, but city council met six months ago and said expanding Harmony and expanding College and getting imminent domain permits and widening these thoroughfares to avoid congestion on this side of town was their top priority, but in six months they haven't gotten any quotes for imminent domain, they haven't talked to any businesses that would be affected by imminent domain, and they haven't really done anything – where is this project now. I would love to know where the compositing facility. It was supposed to be built in three years. Have they broken ground? Have they even have a contract or a design or you know following up, even when it's not a flashy headline, but holding people accountable through that process, and continuing to report and follow through is kind of one of the only ways to control and hold these narratives accountable

because a lot of times when people feel like no one is watching they can put something on the back burner. Or yes the community cares about it and we addressed it, but we don't have to follow up on it until they're asking questions in a year or two. Maintaining that discourse and that discussion and that focus, even a gentler approach, this is where we are now, and letting that community kind fo decide how they want to feel about the direction and the progress and things like that might be one of the only ways to not get lost in the pomp and circumstance and red tape of progress.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

I don't know that I can think of a title, but I can think of a theme. I feel like ... I guess I would call it The Stalled American dream as the current. Cause you know everyone who lives in Fort Collins has joked that Disney Land is based on Old Town. And even though American history is not as long as European history, FC is one of those town that still feels old but still has so many new and progressive things, but we're kind of a great microcoms of everything going on with our current society. We're diverse but not diverse enough and we're trying initiatives to be more diverse but arean't really addressing problems like racism in our communities, and we are racing more toward progress and sustainability, but we're also pricing out people in those original communities that they can't enjoy the progress. So many new people are coming in at the expense of so many people who have lived their whole lives and being priced out and having to move somewhere else. And really who is that progress for? I'm not saying people shouldn't move here, I'm not taking that stance, but we should also be able to keep the community we have, and grow not at the expense of the community already here. These are problems that are happening nationwide, but we're seeing them here every day. A lot of those problems we talk

about as a nation – the core of our nation and core responsibilities are getting lost or covered up in Fort Collins as well. I guess my aspirational title would be something like The American Solution. I hope that the community can be – I don't have the answers, I don't have the American solution, I have my own solutions and they might not be the best solutions for everybody, but I do feel like we care so much about a community that if we can stop squabbling about things and find some common ground we could move toward community solutions that could be adopted nationwide and fix some of these problems on a smaller scale and be a model going forward for other larger communities that have the same problems, esp since we are a medium size community that's in our growth era, we have that opportunity and when we're still on the smaller side, but growing to make changes for the positive now – communities that have already grown and these are already big issues staring them in the face, we might be able to fix and avoid them becoming those big glaring problems and then share those solutions with communities who didn't look for those solutions early enough. I guess that would be my perfect hope. I don't think we're currently on that path, but I hope some day that becomes true.

True beat journalism, one of the many strengths you had of it in the newspaper era, you had someone it was their job to follow every community council meeting, and it was their job to follow the issue, and six months from now say the big issue was to fix the roads, and six months later have they done anything about it, or was it all hot air. And I feel like that's missing from so much current discourse. It's also under funding and people not wanting to pay for subscriptions and large media buying up small media. So there are a lot of problems there, but I think that would be the easiest way to balance the scales would be to quietly shed a light on them., not just one big spotlight and it fade away into obscurity again.

Interviewee: “Antonia”

Would you embrace journalists framing issues less adversarially, and more collaboratively?

100% yes. Because in the spirit of *Third Side* by William Yuri, I think standing shoulder to shoulder and looking at challenges together, rather than sitting across the table as though there’s a conflict helps put people in a more creative mindset. Even if just in the spirit of thinking about how people react to like physical location and space that’s not just like... that’s both literal in terms of physical bodies, but also metaphorical in that looking at each other straight on can be like in some cases its point of intimacy, but for a lot of people it can be confrontational, and so I think culturally I think that makes for a much more inclusive conversation.

Would you embrace journalists in the role of community conveners, government information translators, and champions of high efficacy citizen engagement?

Yes. And, I think there’s a really important ... I think I would wonder like visually, relationally how that shifts or doesn’t shift boundaries and people’s perceptions. But I’m reminded of a debriefing in a hospital when something has gone wrong. Say there’s a confrontation with a family and a doctor, and how when the doctor says I’m sorry, and that’s sincere, it sort of unlocks a level of tension... that’s just coming to mind because we have a story in our heads, probably from the Renaissance, that a clinical distance is necessary and the best, and I think we have similar ideas about journalistic distance and so I think that would require a lot of delicacy and clarity in regard to agreements, because a lot of people would go to the place where that leads to undue influence and it might even lead to undue influence, because of the sense of familiarity and who is or isn’t able to participate. However I have a lot of admiration for the

journalists I've met and how I've experienced their listening, and even just as sort of a role model in public discourse, I think that has inherent value. But I think we need collectively people who are skilled facilitated those kinds of conversation and bringing that standpoint of non judgment to those conversations, and I think that can be a really remarkable role for journalism as a mediator of those conversations. My personal experience with the city mediating those conversations is that I don't really trust the neutrality of when they're involved. I think journalists would be better question askers because of their training, than someone in the city because often there is an institutional momentum or position that people have become a part of and I think that the role in my mind of journalism is to cultivate a different kind of impartiality, but also ask better questions and also first principals questions and I think there's a lot of training in question asking that can facilitate that whole process so I think the evolving role of journalism – whether that's the same people that are writing articles, I would question. Because I think that brings in some ethical concerns about that important distance. But I think there may be a whole different category in journalism for that particular role that I think would create a little bit of distance and a little bit of clarity around that function, and provide an opportunity for I would say more teaching and understanding information. But my experience is based on talking and as people who are active reporters today, they don't necessarily have the time for that kind of teaching role because of the demands on our time. So I realize that's kind of getting into the how nitty gritty of it, but I'm reminded I think there's a couple publications, is it the Washington Post that is doing a newsletter on how to read and interpret charts and graphs, and I think that's extraordinarily valuable because it helps people be more informed, understand what they're looking at, and also what journalists are doing in data visualizations. He's taking samples of things so people can understand the numbers, and understand how numbers can be manipulated. I think that type of

educational function on behalf of the public is also in valuable. So I think some combination fo like the facilitation and then also that education role si also really valuable.

I think at this particular time in history, keeping some clear boundaries around that I think is important because there's so much suspicion and conspiracy and all the things that providing a place where it's obvious that lines get blurry is not going to help diffuse conspiracy theories, it's more likely to fuel them. And I think the way that relationship building works I have reporters now who would take my call in a way that they would not if I was just sending things in through the website. And I think it's that relationship building, there are definite socio-economic limits in who can even participate in those kinds of things at all, and somebody who is working two jobs and has a family and whatever, all the things, may not have that time and it's disproportionately going to be people of color.

Would you embrace journalists quoting a wider and more representative variety of citizens and stakeholders surrounding an issue, in addition to official leaders?

I'm thinking at the moment in particular of NPR, which I think does a pretty good job of surveying a range of people, and I think there's a lot of value in that as both color commentary and context, and also I think the narrative element sometimes someone will have this turn of phrase and whether it's just because that person has the gift or if its from a different culture. I'm thinking of the midwest where there's this terribly rich metaphorical language I really love, and I really think there's something beautiful and magical in that. It's simultaneously true that in the present day I'm thinking about the election cycle, for example, I think it can really contribute to polarization and essentially taking a sampling of people in X bucket, to sort of represent things,

but that might not be representative percentage wise of what those demographics are. So I think there's some real risks. One of the benefits are people become more engaged when they get to participate, so you broaden the number of people who are participating and feeling heard and offering more perspectives, and I do think there's a design thinking, discover, time and place for that. However if part of a more diverse sampling is we make sure that we're including a bunch of people who are already vocal but only in the 10%, it may greatly skew people's perception of how representative that is. So in the course of surveying a really broad spectrum, it can skew people's perspective about – I'm thinking of a really controversial issue, I'm thinking of abortion for example. The smaller – somewhere between 60 to 80 percent support access to choice. And a louder, vociferous, prolific minority is essentially really shaping the narrative and discourse because they're finding their way to the microphone. And so I think that is one of the places where there's some risk of misrepresenting reality at the service of inclusiveness and color commentaries. I also think there's some generational bias factors. For example, with telephone surveys it tends to be older people with land lines who are answering surveys. It tends to be younger people with mobile phones who are answering text message question. So I think that's something else that can really skew people's perceptions is the method of asking those questions, and I do think that speaking to the role of journalism essentially curating the most important things to talk about, versus essentially having that determined by a search algorithm and click bait popularity. I think part of that curation is deciding who you're giving the microphone to and one of the things that's happening now that's deeply disturbing and I think undermines the credibility of journalism as a whole is handing the microphone to people who are not taking the burden the proof as their personal responsibility, and are essentially spouting whatever their personal opinion is. I think there are two different domains of information. One is information

that's taken in for decisions to support for myself, and the other is information taken in to persuade. And I think the burden of proof responsibility, there are different thresholds there, and right now people are using the 'I'm just using it for my personal decision making,' but they're then offering their opinion as the truth in a way they cannot connect with facts that they can track down and hand to people in any way, and so I do think that handing the microphone to people who are demonstrably lying in service to making sure they feel heard is not doing anybody any favors when it comes to civic discourse that doesn't lead to hyperbolic places. I think that takes some refinement and finessing, and the place we're at now I'm not happy with what the result is.

The fact checking function of are we platforming unfact-checked. Are we saying that in the interest of providing a spectrum of opinions, we're going to provide opinions that are demonstrably false and unfact-checked simply because that person thinks that.

People are essentially doing trade off analysis all the time. And making those decisions based on their values. I think one part of it that could come to mind as you're describing that is there's a risk of suggesting this one person's perspective is representative of the whole, and I think that is especially risky when it comes to like racial minorities for examples, where it's like this black person is speaking for all black people. Untrue. However I think that excavation in asking those clarifying questions to understand what those values are and what those trade offs are, what the decision making rubric is. Going back to the question of journalism facilitating role in community discussion, even in interviews there could be an eye on... if the concept is sitting shoulder to shoulder looking at this topic, and people have a clannish tendency to be self and

other, then I wonder I wonder if even over there to make step wise inquiries to clarify understanding with that person that would lead towards more effective community discussion. Normally it would be like one question, but it would be like if two venn diagrams are separate, but if you asked clarifying questions then you've got like concentric circles that expand the domain of each question, then you get to a point where even where they're separate, now there's some overlap because I asked clarifying questions that added concentric circles around each of these Venn circles and now there is an overlap because we understand these underlying values or underlying concerns. In any given interview you might have time to get to X depth, and in the one on one facilitated section you're going really broad or really deep, whatever that is, but I just wonder if there's a way thinking about ecosystem that's put together, if each individual and self realized in their understanding of the things they're saying in a way that would help them enter into a more fruitful community discussion.

Often what happens is when people are really tightly clenched around a certain point of view it's because they have a deeply personal story related to that thing and often those stories are really heartfelt and personal, and they do. Often beneath anger is sadness. While we think we have a great collective anger problem, it could be that we have a great collective sadness problem but we're not excavating those questions deeply enough because we're so fixated on being right, or winning, or whatever the thing is. And those stories are really human and really beautiful pretty much all the time. Beautiful in a really big chaotic Kali sense, like creation and destruction, like compost. Not like blossoms.

This is an extreme example, but I think of people who would categorize themselves as incel, and I think about in that psychology there's this deep longing for human connection that's characterized as sex, but there's deep longing for human connection, but wearing these skunk scented Axe body spray because you become repellent of the thing you want most, and it's like this self fulfilling prophecy. But if the deep longing is human connection or acknowledgment or self worth, whatever the things are, instead its manifesting itself as anger and domestic violence and on the path to terrorism and so I think for example of the school shooting and subway shooting and church shootings and all the things, Kyle Rittenhouse, and it's people getting attention even if they're flaming out along the way. And it's manifesting as anger, like desperate act out. Maybe it's just difficult to acknowledge the sadness, but the sadness is the path they're taking in aligned action, that will actually address the thing.

Would you embrace journalists as community solution finders?

I'm just thinking about sort of the arch, and I'm thinking about what solution means, and how there is always a third option. And I think discover, I'm thinking about design thinking and sustainable design and regenerative design and the importance of people having the sense that they helped create that, they were a part of creating the thing. So journalists have a really vital role... also there's an access, part of people's understanding of the role is a granting of access to people from a – there's a word for it in design thinking – first order thinking, where you're actually talking to the person experiencing the thing, rather than being in an office over here discussing other people who are having that problem over there. That role of discovery and laying out the possibilities is I think I have a whole body Yes to that. When I think about the presenting of THE solution – I can see presenting people who are coming up with those

solutions. I think there's some nuanced parsing of that role where they may unearth solutions but to say it's the solution would be problematic.

We found these ten options out there. I think it's really important to distinguish that these are not the only options there are. These can fuel your process and you may or not choose one of these options, but there are always other options and it can be a hybrid, and it could be something totally new, and PS it could be something that's already figured out in Brazil, and if we talked to a broad range of people who don't even live here we may find the housing situation in Brazil. Friends of mine have lived in Brazil and Chile. And the one who's from Brazil said, she's like I don't understand what the deal is with people in the US and having a bias against renting. She said that in Brazil even people who are really wealthy will rent an apartment. And you move into an apartment and you come in and it's pretty much a blank canvas of whatever you want in that apartment and then you move out later. But it doesn't have the same stigma of failure to achieve the American dream. It is itself not just aspirational but preferred. So that's an example of a different cultural mindset that can be really beneficial in my mind to forming a bigger discussion so I think how that is framed is crucial. Not these are the options, but here is a survey of possibility we discovered, and the path forward or the solution the community chooses might be different but I think there's always this risk, and the city does this over and over, is they have an idea of what they answer should be in the end, and they ask very leading questions. For example, the Hughes land in particular. The question wasn't should we leave this entirely undeveloped or not, the question was how much of this land should we develop for housing. That is a totally different question than in the context of the front range or the context of the continent or the context of the Rocky Mountains, air pollution, or whatever, that is a totally different question.

And often its a very myopic based on this agenda that suitable use definitely definitely includes one thing on my agenda, and that thing is housing, or whatever it is. So I think it's really important how that's framed and then offered, and as part of the wide world of possibilities and I think journalism can play is getting people to ask better first principal questions. Love em or hate him, Elon Musk is pretty good at that in terms of figuring out how to get a rocket into space. He's like, well, we need a fuel source and something A shape, or whatever the thing is. We need cargo and fuel and something else the rest is just totally open in terms of how we execute that. And sometimes we realize like oh we might be able to do that with a couple of bicycle wheels and something from my friend John's garage. Sometimes it's like knowing like you go oh, we're building an elephant but really it turns out it's a ginuu. But we started out and knew we had four legs or whatever. One of the ways people get really uncreative and locked into a frozen mindset is when they're in a fear, fearing, reactive, defensive, unresourced place, so I think how helping people shift from a fixed contacting mindset to a curious open expansive investigatory or simply open, there's a spectrum of experience, but shifting from defensiveness to curiosity is I think asking questions and mindset and demeanor and many of best qualities of great journalists can play a vital role in that shift from fear to curiosity. But the presentation of the ideas is really crucial in how that's presented, and coming back to the place we are culturally with like conspiracy theory I think it's also the idea the media has a particular bias in one direction or an outlet has a bias in one direction, you've got to be super careful and I think also gap analysis is part of that. Calling out the gaps in knowledge or like flagging here's what we don't know, here's what we haven't done, here are the gaps that haven't been filled I think that's an opportunity for people to chime in, but it's also an opportunity to essentially model the process of realizing you don't have all the answers, and that's okay, it's not a weakness. It's a part of the

process. In the process of evaluating sources or putting together a clear argument you can make a story out of anything and I think Sean had a really great observation. I've been having a thought that a story is a hypothesis. And he said that that's true, but a story is fundamentally an incomplete model of an infinitely complex system. So the idea that this is an incomplete model and here are the ways it's incomplete, or here are the ways its one perspective. I think those framings can really help people be more creative and innovative, and reduce the polarity that is a real force for destruction right now.

Would you embrace journalists who self-identify as members/stakeholders of that community?

Definitely. They are going to be able to based on their lived experience they may have not better but different questions than someone outside the community. I think there's something to be said for having fluency in a community's language that is really facilitates trust building and genuine answers up front. For example I think about bipoc activism and one of the things I really realized is that one people build trust is sharing their trauma stories to demonstrate you know the pain someone has gone through and how horrible it can be. That's one way, however, in that sense, you can also be contributing to magnifies trauma drama in a way that leads other people to assimilate and take on those stories as though they are their own and it feeds a certain kind of thinking but also reactivation of trauma that people have gone through to consolidate it and turn it into more of a knot.

In that case, another option is to know the language of bipoc activism and just to give you an example, Latinx is a expression very much used in young bipoc activism but older people older of Chicano or however they identify don't like that phrase at all, don't know what it means, or

might think that it's something that's very academic, which is its origin. Its nuances like that that sometimes you don't know unless you're in that community. So I think there's a place for both, and sometimes that might be in collaboration, or even in the editing and question asking QA process, simultaneously opens things up to blind spots where you don't realize that X is totally not understood by someone else because they don't speak that language at all and its not plain language enough for lots of people, or that you've increased perceived bias. I think that's one of a range of possibilities but if it's the only one it's problematic.

What do you see as a potential turning point for Fort Collins – for good and for bad?

Whether we decide to be proactive or reactive about water, and connect actual resource limitations to how we're behaving.

What or who would you say is the antagonist to Fort Collins' hopes and dreams? In other words, who are the bad guys in the story?

The Chamber of Commerce. I think it is one of the most misrepresentative organizations that we have in the community because it pretends and claims to be representative of the entire business community, and to therefore have authority but ultimately they've become the chamber of development and not the chamber of commerce and its a self selecting group of people with a very active lobby. And that fall into sort of a couple of categories. Some people are really solo entrepreneurs who are there to hand out business cards, and networking, others are sort of fancy themselves business influencers and other is a very heavy development lobby that is comprised of builders and realtors and all the things and it is a highly devleopmetn directed organization

that is having an outsize influence on the community because they operate in a pseudo governmental way with the sanction and participation of the city of Fort Collins.

Whom or what is the underdog in Fort Collins' story?

I think it's actually a really odd one. It's people who moved and lived here because they love the proximity to the outdoors and are caught in the thrall of the ... there's some kind of spell that I can't quite describe or put my finger on but there's this ... I can't give you a clear answer on this. There's like a spell that involves what attracts people to a place and wanting to keep them in a place...

This is a personal question for me because .. on a planetary level, I think we are tearing out the heart of the thing we love most because have we are so disconnected from it.

The underdog is a pure spirit that draws people, that gets mangled, then they're adding to the problem.

How would you, as the narrator of Fort Collins' story, change the story to balance the scales?

I would add different things that we measure. I would add access to nature as a primary consideration for the health and well being of individuals, families and communities. Access to actual nature and I would measure that and so if I think of the system we're actually in, which is very development oriented, I would have a per capita measure of land and what of that is park, and what of that is actual unlandscaped nature, and I would have a per capita measure of that be a measure of our health.

And I think that I would dispel this idea that we need to move incrementally from A to B. For example we have been trying since reports written in the 60s or the 70s to build our way to having enough affordable housing for everyone, when people continue to move here. So we're essentially funding an ongoing influx of people to the area when we're not really providing for our own, and we're not connecting that to the literal physical limitations in terms of water in this case. We have this story that we need to move incrementally or build our way out of it, that simply isn't working. And if we look at the facts we realize that's simply not true. However if we were essentially to say from now on, for every X thousands of houses that are built, everyone's water allotment will be cut by X. Right now we have disconnected the resource from the number of people, and I would reconnect the resources with the number of people. And I would also ask... right now if we're spending marketing dollars we have this broadcast version that more people is better, more development is better, all these things are better and that's kind of the infinite growth model that follows a fallacy of a closed system. This idea that we can grow infinitely in a closed system is not mathematically possible. So I would say also ... I would connect those two things, and then I would ask if.. Do we want to keep attracting people here, and why is that our goal? Does a bigger pie actually make things better for anyone? And are there different economic principles we could be looking at that could perhaps lead us to a different conclusion and if so who are those people. Do we really want to attract all people into that system? Or do we really want to attract people who are attracted to a carbon foot print that's half the size, let's say, in terms of square footage, or who are willing to live in a subterranean way that's easier to cool and more connected to what's actually happening in this ecosystem with the resources we have here. I'm really in favor of a retracting economy we're witnessing that

right now with the conflict in Ukraine and Russia. We're witnessing a retracting economy.

Humanity has over extending itself. And I think that would be a question to ask is what ways have we over extended ourselves. If infinite growth were not the answer, what might the answers be.

If Fort Collins were a play or a book, what do you think should be the title, and why?

This is not the pithy version of what this would be, this is the content version of what it would be: A Beacon of Sustainability and regenderativity and inspiration for wherever you already live. This is one of the things I think is a global problem is really manifested here, and this is one of the reasons for immigration, for example, I have different ideas on immigration because I Think often what happens is people aren't solving the challenges they're facing locally, and they're just deciding we better pick up and move because we're in such despair here, it's impossible to fix this situation so we're just gonna go someplace else and recreate something that we left and so how I think that rather than thinking we're inspiring people to move here, I would love it if we inspired people to create what they would love to experience where they already live and so this idea that we can generate here within the community and then export ideas so that whether you live in Topeka KS or Portland or STL you can find things you love about this place and create that where you live without thinking you have to move someplace else to attain it.