Increasing Trust In Journalism Through Community Engagement & Transparency

By Mazi Javidiani

Submitted to OCAD University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Design in Strategic Foresight & Innovation.

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Abstract

The shift in media ecology has disrupted the journalism ecosystem, exposing many of the challenges it faces today. In the economy of scale, local news faces great financial adversity. The concentration of power, the alarming influence of powerful individuals over journalism, lack of transparency, and the lack of diversity have all contributed to alienating the public, ultimately resulting in a loss of trust. This research identified two key leverage point that would help journalism build trust with communities: Engagement and Accountability. Through effective engagement, journalism can tap into the collective wisdom, approaching issues from a more humble stance that would allow for a diversity of voices to be reflected, ultimately resulting in solution oriented stories that resonate with the realities of different communities. Transparency allows for a track record that can demonstrate the sensitivity of the journalist towards the community, while also acknowledging the possibility of wrong doing.

Keywords: Journalism, Engagement, Trust, Strategic Foresight, Dialogic Design, Influence Mapping, System Mapping, Systemic Design, Participatory Research
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Background

Journalism in Crisis

When television entered households, it threatened radio and newspapers' function, and forced them into reconfiguration, making room for a new medium. Unlike television, the Internet has managed to disrupt the media ecology as a whole, giving rise to alternatives that challenge the rigid structures of traditional news media (Scolari, 2013). Newspapers now compete with free online news websites and blogs, television has to compete with on demand videos, radio is challenged by podcasts, and algorithms behind social media and search engines have become gatekeepers of content (Public Policy Forum, 2017).

On one hand, the traditional media is struggling to reinvent itself, and on the other hand the digital-only competitors are fighting to gain credibility (Public Policy Forum, 2017). The internet has enabled a more open and diverse news ecosystem, but also a less trustworthy one (Public Policy Forum, 2017). At this important juncture, what is really at risk is what Mitchell Stephens (2014) calls “wisdom journalism”: exclusive, enterprising, investigative forms of reporting and informed, insightful, interpretive, and even opinionated takes on current events. A journalism that is capable of holding power accountable.

According to Pew research centre, between 2003 and 2012 over 16,000 full time jobs in newspapers were lost in United States, a 30% drop (Pew Research Centre, 2014). Declining revenues are often seen as the reason behind cuts. The financial dimension of the crisis, has inevitability directed most of the focus towards business models, however a closer look at the industry reveals much deeper systemic causes, all bearing the signs of a paradigm shift in the media ecology as a whole.

While this paradigm shift in the media ecology has forced traditional media to question their fundamental functions, and respond with new business models, and organizational structures, very little innovation has been done in this segment (Jarvis, 2014). Meanwhile smaller entrepreneurial organizations, independent journalists, and networked individuals are increasing their readership and proving more innovative and understanding of the new media (Public Policy Forum, 2017). This contrast between the two has created tension. Not just tension between old and new, but tension that relates directly to ownership and access to power. The traditional media's financial vulnerability has robbed it from its independence and subsequently the ability to hold power accountable. It is now owned by the power (e.g. Jeff Bezos buying Washington Post) (Farhi, 2013).

The financial dimension of the crisis, has inevitability directed most of the focus towards business models, however a closer look at the industry reveals much deeper systemic causes.
It took nearly two decades after the invention of the motion camera for cinema to develop its own unique language, and understand the power of montage—the quality that fundamentally changed the function of cinema. In the past decade, the Web has dramatically transformed the media ecology, increasing access to all new media forms, expanding means of distribution, inventing new possibilities, but also disrupting many practices, including journalism. In this fundamental transformation of journalism, the question that begs importance is: **What will be the montage of journalism? What would give journalism its own language in this new media ecosystem?**

According to McLuhan (1964) no medium has its existence in isolation and it is always interacting with other media. For example, radio altered the motion pictures in the talkies and opened up a new avenue for music. Later on, television, as an evolution of motion picture, forced changes in radio programing and content. Journalism too is not changing independent of evolution of other media. Therefore, it is important to frame this research through this lens, and consider the transformation of journalism as part of a larger evolution of media.

Carlos Scolari (2013) builds on this concept by McLuhan and proposes a network model for media evolution (Figure 1.1). In Scolari's model, each medium is in constant interaction with other media's content, interface, production, as well as consumption practice. In this networked model Scolari (2013) describes three stages for each medium:

1. **Emergence:** When a new medium appears, it is gradually adopted without any well defined function.
2. **Dominance:** When a medium dominates the ecosystem, and imposes its dynamics on other media.
3. **Survival/Extinction:** Challenged by new media, the medium struggles to maintain its function and place in the ecosystem or adapt and redefine its purpose in the new ecosystem. If it fails to adapt it may become extinct.

Scolari (2013) also describes an interaction between old and new media called “Simulation”. This is where the emergence of a new medium is concurrent with Survival/extinction phase of an old medium. In this dynamic, the new medium tries to create its meaning and purpose by assuming some of the functions of the old medium, while the old medium tries to survive by mimicking the new media surrounding it (Figure 1.2).

According to Scolari (2013) there are also four dimensions to each medium:
1. **The interface (technology):** through which the content is delivered
2. **Content:** that which is delivered
3. **Production Practice (Process):** how content is produced
4. **Reception Practice (includes distribution):** how the content is received as well as consumed.

It can be argued that these dimensions, although highly dependent on, and influenced by one another, do not necessarily evolve at the same rate. In other words, they move through the different stages of media evolution (emergence, dominance, survival/extinction) at a different pace. Therefore at any given time, not only do we have the constant interplay of different media with one another, but also each of their four dimensions – with one another, and with those of other media.

**Process is the Message**

As illustrated in Figure 1.3, this research is guided by the conceptual proposal that while new media journalism has dominated the ecology in terms of content, interface, and reception practice, the new production practices (processes) are only starting to emerge. In contrast, legacy media while reaching the survival/extinction phase in content, interface, and reception, still manage to dominate the ecology in terms of process.

There has been a considerable amount of energy spent in observing, analyzing, and deciphering the complex challenges facing journalism given the paradigm shift in media ecology. Many believe that the crisis is the result of this paradigm shift, and therefore try to seek the solution where the problem seems to be originating from, the most visible part of the system: the interface. The online presence was at
first a ‘no brainer’ for newspapers. It was nearly free to place the content, already produced for print, online, and guaranteed more readership, therefore more advertising (Rosen, 2008). It quickly became much more complicated.

Once news somewhat found its place online, then the obsession was shifted towards reception practices and distribution. News was then about being present in as many devices as possible: mobile, desktop, tablet, TV, etc. Many newspapers heavily invested in expensive technologies that were intended to innovate modes of distribution. Some were successful and some faced failure (Rendell, 2017). The distribution innovation boost coincided with new ways of thinking about the content. The word “story” gradually became “content.” Newsrooms were converging and centralizing content production.

Journalism has seen a lot of changes in the past two decades, in the forms of organizational restructuring (e.g. newsroom convergence), business model restructuring, shifting distribution models, and introducing new forms of content. The shifts in the media ecology has affected the process of journalism as well, but at its core it has not seen a fundamental change the same way that other areas (interface, distribution, content) have.

Process here refers to different practices involved in reporting a story that does not necessarily relate to its distribution. The procedures involved in editorial decisions, in collecting information, uncovering facts, and analyzing the information, in seeking audience feedback, and in connecting with communities. The process of determining what stories matter, how they should be investigated, and evaluated.

Process has been seen as means towards the product. However, now that the news has become more interactive, the process continues after the publication. In other words, in the fast moving online news sphere, the process is the product, and the audience interaction is just as much part of the story as the published article itself. Innovation in process can help transition news perceived as a discreet product towards news as shared, multi-authored process that redefines the institution-audience relationship (Robinson, 2011).

This may explain why for example twitter, a tool created for communication, has been far more effective in building trust compared to the comment section of the news websites. On twitter the conversation is directly with the journalist, and often
ongoing, where in comments section, the conversation is attached to a news article (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012). One (twitter) facilitates process, where the other (comments section) adds value to the product (article).

New media has eased the access to technology, means of production, and distribution. While news giants such as CBC or New York Times still dominate the market, the new media has enabled many journalists to operate independently. What separates CBC or New York Times from an average citizen journalist is the power of their brand—a brand that is attached to an idea of a rigorous and trustworthy process. However, when that process is no longer visible, or the credibility can be easily questioned, or when it fails to be relevant or address the needs of a society, it leaves very little advantage compared to all other producers. In this climate, process becomes, if not more, as important as the message.

This research begins with this proposition:

*There is a significant need for innovation in production practices. The process of journalism is where innovation will have the most impact as it directly affects its functions and purpose.*
Functions of Journalism

According to Stephens

According to Stephens (2014) describes the following functions for wisdom journalism. It should be highlighted that almost all these functions are described with a point of view that draws a line between the audience and journalism.

1. **Making facts sensible**: providing insight (information with a purpose) to the audience on an issue with which they are already familiar with.
2. **Revealing hidden truth**: digging up truth that has been buried, through journalistic investigation
3. **Providing perspective**: enabling the audience to see the issue from a different angle, often involving evaluation and therefore opinion/judgement.
4. **Expanding views of the world**: a story as close as it may be to home, can expose the audience to new ideas and knowledge about the world
5. **Expressing what the public is feeling**: sometimes rather than informing, surprising, challenging, or expanding the view of the audience, journalism clarifies what the audience already believes/knows.
6. **Looking for larger principal**: wisdom journalism when necessary should be able to see the bigger picture, and address important moral questions.

According to Rosenstiel

Joy Mayer (Mayer & View All Posts by, 2011) recounts some of the functions of the journalism as it was described by author Tom Rosenstiel at the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies in 2011:

1. **Witness bearer**: to be present, to observe, witness and monitor people in power.
2. **Authenticator**: fact checking, but also indicating that which is not true. Learning about what people know, and stepping in when they are misinformed.
3. **Sensemaker**: providing a depth and analysis that enables the public to gain perspective on an issue, ultimately creating or advancing knowledge.
4. **Watchdog**: pushing for transparency in the affairs of powerful people and institutions.
5. **Empower the audience**: enabling and empowering the audience to use information and translate it into action. This means being more involved with the community.
6. **Forum organizer**: organizing and facilitating dialogue. Designing necessary platforms that would enable discourse.
7. **Role model**: showing the process so people can learn about how it is done, and ultimately play a more active role in telling their own stories.
8. **Smart aggregation**: curating content, when there is abundance of information, so the public can navigate it easier.
9. **Community building**: engaging and fostering communities of interest, inviting and inspiring people to play a more active role in their community, and cultivating a sense of belonging.
Why do people read news

**The J.S. Mill thesis**
Reading news is a responsibility of anyone participating in democracy, in order to fulfil their voting privilege the best way they can (Melleri, 2014; Novendstern, 2011).

**The Gawker Thesis**
We read news because it is entertaining. News can share many of the characteristics of cinema or theater: surprise, suspense, tragedy, joy, etc. (Novendstern, 2011).

**The Habermas Thesis**
We read news because to be informed so we can participate in public discourse. News helps us position ourselves in relation to other, and helps us navigate our membership in communities based on our values (Habermas, 1989; Novendstern, 2011).

**The Tarbell thesis**
We read news because it affects our lives and informs our future (Novendstern, 2011; Tarbell, 1939).

**The Chomsky thesis**
We read news to be able to hold power accountable (Herman & Chomsky, 2010; Novendstern, 2011).

**Research Questions**
How might we accelerate an effective journalism that is more **responsive to societal needs** and the demand for **credibility**, and capable of **holding power accountable**?
Methodology

Overview

This research was divided into four different stages. While there was overlap between different methods and they were not precisely sequential, each stage was predominantly influenced by a particular method.

1. Problem Framing

In order to set the stage and identify an appropriate frame to initiate the inquiry. Through a literature review, different aspects of the topic were studied and then used to establish the framework for expert interviews. This included the recruitment process.

2. Problem Defining

In this phase, the goal was to examine the problem space, map the system in its current state, and identify key intervention points. Expert interviews not only helped in understanding the problem space, but also in identifying further literature that would help in better interpreting the ecosystem.

3. Proposal generation

After establishing the problem space and the three key focus areas, the research moved to the proposal generation phase where the goal was to generate a diverse range of proposals for change in response to the three “how might we” questions that were concluded from the three key focus areas. Through a modified dialogic design (MDD) workshop, many proposals were generated, grouped, and then structured in separate logic models. The results from the workshop were then plugged into a pol.is survey to gain further insight.

4. Synthesis

Using the collected information from different expert interviews, as well as the literature review, a system map was produced that helped outline the relationships in the ecosystem. The four logic models that were produced in the workshop along with all the proposals were synthesized through an Interpretive Structural Modeling algorithm that produced an influence map. The system map and the influence map where then compared to identify key leverage points.
Figure 2.1 Methodology Overview

Proposed Generation

Modified Dialogic Design Workshop

Pre-Workshop Mail Out

Proposal Generation

NGT

Clustering

Structuring

Pol.is

+ Interpretive Structured Modeling (Influence Diagram)

Causal System Map

Leverage Points

Figure 2.1 Methodology Overview
One of the challenges of this research was the original breadth of topics that could be considered and studied, and a relatively short timeline of the project. In order to maximize the value of the research over the available time, strategies were used to make sure that this research meets the requisite variety necessary for studying this vast topic.

In order to ensure a variety of perspectives, and approaches, as well as coverage, two sets of variables were chosen:

1. **Coverage**

In order to ensure sufficient coverage of the topic, methods were chosen to strike a right balance between depth and range– to be able to dive deep into each aspect of the problem space, but also to be able to include a wide range of topics, including participants views.

2. **Perspective/Approach**

The second criteria was to help create a balance between different approaches to generating and collecting data. Design-led approaches were more generative, where research-led approaches were more informative. Participatory methods rely heavily on the collective knowledge of the participants, where expert oriented relies on the opinion and analysis of those heavily engaged with the topic.
Due to time constraints and limited resources, it was imperative for this research to have a robust strategy around recruiting experts for expert interviews as well as participants for the modified dialogic design workshop.

One of the principles of cybernetics applied to systemic design is the law of requisite variety. The law of requisite variety argues that the diversity of a control system must match or be greater than the variety of the system that is being regulated (Jones, 2014). In order to respond to a diversity of complex problems, we need to produce responses that either match or exceed in diversity compared to the problems. One approach that helps us in producing diverse responses, is to ensure a diversity of thought and perspective behind those responses – a diversity that reflects the variety and complexity of the problem space.

Criteria

The ecosystem observed in this study has a variety of actors, complex relationships, and a diverse range of issues. It was critical to choose a framing that allowed for the right inquiry, and an efficient use of time and resources.

In order to identify the necessary variety and criteria for selection of participants, first different stakeholders were mapped onto a power/interest (for change) matrix (Figure 2.4). The players were determined inferring from Shattered Mirror report (Public Policy Forum, 2017). Public was placed at the centre and the position of other players was determined in relation to the public. The position on the power (y) axis was determined based on how much influence those stakeholders had over the ecosystem, and the position on the interest (x) axis was based on how much incentive those stakeholders had for change.

This framing is based on the assumption that those who benefit from the current situation are likely to have the least interest in change. As shown in the diagram, there are almost no key players in this map, and the stakeholders in blue and green boxes are at odds with each other. One holds the power, and has very little interest in change, and the other is pushing for change with very little power.

Many studies have been conducted researching topics that are related to the most powerful stakeholders including role of social media and aggregators, possible government interventions and policy recommendations, and the effects of advertising on journalism (Gasher et al., 2016; Gill, 2016; Public Policy Forum, 2017).
As those in a position of power already control the conversation around the topic, and as this research is intended to offer proposals for change, a framing was chosen that included those stakeholders that do not necessarily hold the power, but have the higher propensity for change:

1. Legacy Media
2. Public
3. Startup Media
4. Independent Journalists

This framing was then used to determine the criteria for selection. In order to ensure the variety of perspective, three sets of qualities were used: demographic, role, and affiliation. Participants were positioned in each demographic category based on researchers judgment, influenced by gathered background information. Participants were also considered for each role and affiliation based on current and previous experience.

As indicated in the table, this research almost managed to include voices from each different demographics and at different capacities. It can be considered natural that there is no representation of a below 40 year old publisher. The research failed to include anyone from the black community, as well as an Indigenous public's voice. This is a gap that would have to be addressed in next steps after this research.

| Caucasian | 4 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| PoC | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Indigenous | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Black | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Male | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Female | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Below 40 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Above 40 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |

Table 2.1 Participant Selection Criteria Matrix distribution.
At the onset of the project, a broad literature review helped establish the initial research question as well as the framework for next steps. The literature review included different perspectives from social science, philosophy, and news articles either directly on journalism or relating to notions that were relevant to the current discourse on journalism. The topics that were reviewed included, but were not limited to:

1. Media Ecology
2. Public Sphere
3. Institutionalism and Organizational Theory
4. Functions of Journalism
5. Canadian News Ecosystem
6. Emergent and New Media
7. Truth, Knowledge, and Power

The first phase of the research was predominantly dedicated to secondary research, however in order to validate much of the insights collected through other methods, different literature was studied through the length of the research. For example, many of the topics that were highlighted by experts during the interviews, were then investigated more in depth through review of the related literature.

Specifically the literature review helped the next phase of the research by informing the recruitment selection criteria, the invitation for interviews, as well as the structured questions for the interview.

In order to gain a better understanding of the current journalism ecosystem, and discern different challenges, opportunities, and emerging models, nine expert semi-structured one-on-one interviews were conducted. Applying the recruitment strategy mentioned above, these interviews included demographic, geographic, and opinion diversity.

Similar to the literature review, although the bulk of the interviews took place in the second phase of the research, some of the interviews were deliberately spread out throughout the timeline. This was done in order to use the interviews also as a sounding board for collecting feedback about the data gathered from other methods.

To ensure consistency of information, and allow for possibility of comparison, certain questions were asked of every participant. There was also spaces left for the conversation to open up to topics that the interviewee felt important to discuss. In reality, about half of each interview was improvised, and focused on the topic that the interviewee identified worthy of significant attention.

The following experts were interviewed for this research:

**Peggy Holman**
Author, consultant, co-founder of Journalism That Matters
Seattle, WA
November 24, 2017

**Omar Mouallem**
Independent writer, journalist, editor
Edmonton, AB
December 18, 2017
Questions

With the goal of ensuring variety and depth, a combination of Iterative Process of Inquiry (IPI) (Gharajedaghi, 2011), and Causal Layered Analysis (Inayatullah, 1998) was used as a framework to guide the interview questions. IPI is an approach for defining boundaries of a system, that attempts to understand structure, function, and process at the same time – rather than studying the outcomes and the functions in a cause and effect relationship. IPI is an iterative process, where each iteration considers the relationship between function, structure and process in a specific context. The next iteration examines the exact same elements but from a further enlarged view. Each iteration provides a bigger picture of the system. Since each level of inquiry is about the depth of analysis, this framework was then overlaid onto Sohail Inayatullah’s (1998) Causal Layered Analysis (CLA). CLA is an analysis framework that synthesizes information based on four layers of depth. As we move down in layers, we also move back in time, as well as from visible towards more hidden. These four layers are:

1. **Litany**: The commonly accepted account of how things are
2. **Systemic Causes**: The social, economic, political causes behind events, and phenomena
3. **Worldview**: The culture and the big picture paradigm that informs every individual’s reality
4. **Myths/Metaphors**: The deep unconscious view.

Myth level question aims at deepest levels of inquiry, with a focus on long term implications. (Inayatullah, 2008)

Using these two frameworks, and based on the literature review, a set of questions were formulated (table 2.4). The IPI framework helped with covering different dimensions of the topic. In order to better address the content and the intended focus, “process” was narrowed down to the notion of credibility, and “context” was also replaced with power and capital to capture that aspect of the content. The CLA framework helped with providing a structure to ensure that each dimension of the IPI was explored in depth.

There were also other questions added outside of this framework, sometimes specifically to address the unique expertise of the interview, and at times influenced by previous interviews. For example:

- What is the main challenge facing journalism today? What is the issue?
- What kind of stories do you like to do? What prevents you from doing that?
- What kind of stories do you think are important to do?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Systemic Cause</th>
<th>Worldview</th>
<th>Myth/Metaphors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Litany</td>
<td>In your personal experience, how has your role and responsibility as a [profession] changed in the past 15 years?</td>
<td>What do you think has caused that change?</td>
<td>Which functions are disappearing and which functions are emerging?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>In what way have newsrooms changed in the past 15 years?</td>
<td>Why do you think those changes are enforced?</td>
<td>How have organizational changes affected different functions of journalism?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Context (Power &amp; Capital)</td>
<td>Who holds the power? How is power distributed?</td>
<td>What causes the power imbalance/balance?</td>
<td>Who benefits from/is harmed by current state of journalism?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2 Expert Interview Questions

Each interview ended with a final question that was asked to inform the triggering question (Laouris & Christakis, 2007) that were to be posed at the Modified Dialogic Design Workshop:

What would be a powerful question to ask that would result in a meaningful inquiry?
Affinity Mapping

The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and mapped. Considering topical relationships, each interview was scanned for key insights, and then grouped based on different themes. This allowed for quick comparison between collected insights from all interviews, allowing for patterns and systemic relationships to be more visible within and among all nine interviews.

System Mapping

All the collected data and insights from the literature review, expert interviews, as well as the modified dialogic design workshop were then used to create a causal system map (Ackoff & Gharajedaghi, 1996; Gharajedaghi, 2011; Dana Meadows, 1975). Visually mapping the system, helps to understand relationships among different parts, as well as how the system operates as a whole. As mentioned above techniques such as affinity mapping helped in highlighting some of the patterns and relationships. By mapping those relationships, this map explored various dynamics between different elements and variables in the journalism ecosystem. It helped identify balancing as well as reinforcing loops, various pathways to certain elements, highlighting alternatives, as well as key arterial channels.

The system map ultimately helped to identify and explore the various leverage points. These are points or places within a system where a small shift can produce big changes in the whole system (Donella Meadows, 1999).
Structured Dialogic Design (SDD) (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) is a democratic decision making approach developed by the Institute for 21st Century Agoras for organized dialogue. SDD is designed to encourage listening as well as speaking on issues of common interest, in order to find deep drivers of change. SDD honors individual autonomy, and is developed with the goal of democratizing discourse and decision making, minimizing hierarchies of power, expertise, and personality (Resources, 2008).

A typical SDD workshop often takes about three days to complete. This portion of the research used SDD as a workshop model, and was based on its essential methods, but modified it to fit the time constraint, as well as the purpose of the workshop. Facilitated with a modified dialogic design method, the workshop was aimed to co-create a generative conversation on futures of journalism. In multidisciplinary teams of news media experts, journalists, systemic and service designers, and policy analysts, the participants worked together to generate and discuss ideas and possible innovations, and to compose structured narratives to codify and represent the idea proposals selected.

There were several key divergences from the authentic SDD process. Some of the modifications were applied in the interest of time, and some were applied to allow for better mechanics and flow. For example, instead of executing the Interpretive Structural Modeling (ISM) mapping in structured voting with the whole group, the participants were divided into four groups where they produced an influence structure using a manual process instructed by the facilitators, applying a progressive logic model to the proposals generated earlier.

Unlike the expert interviews that were about examining the problem space, this workshop was designed to elicit proposals for change. With a framing that would invite a future outlook, the focus at this stage of the research was shifted towards the solution space.

The workshop consisted of several stages:

1. **Invitation & Recruitment**

Participants were drawn from a “theoretical” or purposeful sample, that is a sample from across journalism and media communities from people expected to be interested in the topic. Individuals were identified from recommendations from experts interviews and the journalism community. Others (innovators and people interested in new journalism) were recruited through an Eventbrite notice and email. The invitation included information on the research as well as the three critical future focused innovation questions that were concluded from the expert interviews:

   **A. How might we create insightful, enterprising, and investigative local journalism?**

   **B. How might we create a more diverse, relevant, and trustworthy journalism?**

   **C. Who holds the power and how can we distribute it evenly and democratize journalism so it can speak truth to power?**
2. Pre-Workshop Preparation

In order to preserve as much time as possible, participants were sent a digital package two days before the workshop that included an infographic poster (Figure 2.7) that summarized the problem space, discerned from expert interviews, as well as the three “how might we” questions. They were asked to contemplate on these question and bring possible proposals to the workshop.

3. Proposal Generation

At the beginning of the workshop as an icebreaker participants were asked to introduce themselves and share what brought them there. They were then given about 15 minutes to generate responses to the posed questions. They were also given the opportunity to pose their own question if they felt that none of the three questions addressed their concerns. The responses were the outcomes that the participants wanted to see and were framed as proposals for change.

4. Proposal Clarification

By incorporating techniques from Nominal Group Technique (NGT) (Delbecq & Van de Ven, 1971), participants took turns sharing a proposal one by one. Each person was given time to share one proposal, clarify, and essentially own that proposal. Others could ask further clarifying questions in order to better understand the author’s point, but they could not argue, paraphrase, and change another person’s proposal. In the available time, two rounds of clarification were achieved resulting in two proposals per person, and forty two overall proposals. Proposals were simultaneously noted, confirmed with the author, and printed.

5. Clustering

All printed proposals were placed on the wall. During the break all six facilitators with the help of some of the participants went through the proposals and grouped proposals that followed a similar theme. There were six categories at the end: news culture, new methods, diversity and power, community participation, truth, and monitoring and legislation.
Image 2.1 A documentation of all the proposals after being grouped and placed on the wall

Image 2.2 & 2.3 Participants creating the structured influence diagram

Image 2.4 Graphic recording of the debrief session
8. Post-Workshop Structuring

The collected proposals, as well as influence diagrams were then examined and tested based on insights that were gathered through other methods. Duplicates were eliminated, and some proposals were reworded for better clarity. The result was 23 proposals that were then inserted into logosofia, a software that performs ISM (Attri, Dev, & Sharma, 2013).

The ISM algorithm takes complex and messy mental models and turns them into a visible and well defined visual model. By exploring the relationship between each two elements one by one, it determines the level of influence of each element on another and helps in outputting an influence diagram (Attri et al., 2013)).

A structuring session was convened after the workshop with some of the facilitators, where the new refined set of proposals were put through the ISM process. In this process, the software would ask “if addressing proposal A, would significantly help address proposal B” and vice versa. The questions were answered taking into account,

1. Insights from expert interviews
2. Insights from literature
3. Influence diagrams created by each group at the workshop as well as discussions that followed
4. Knowledge that each facilitator brought to the table

After all relational questions were answered, logosofia generated an eight level deep influence diagram. Each relationship in the diagram was then examined one by one, and the result was verified and slightly corrected after consulting one of the participants from the workshop.
In order to test the proposals with a wider audience, and receive more diverse input, all 42 proposals were also shared through a pol.is survey. Pol.is is an online surveying platform that allows each participant to not only express their agreement or disagreement with an statement, but also to add their own. Using pol.is at this stage was to expand the number of proposals, and include voices that may not have been represented in the workshop.

Due to time constraints, and limited resources, the survey did not see a considerable participation, and therefore its results were not used in this study.

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**Figure 2.8 A screenshot of the polis survey**

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![Pol.is Survey](image)
Problem Space

As mentioned in the previous chapter, expert interviews helped in refining the framing of the different challenges that face journalism today. Different themes started repeating in most interviews, and patterns emerged, pointing to key areas of investigation. Each interview was mapped, and then different maps were compared in order to discover patterns of affinity. In this process three main areas of inquiry were identified: Local Journalism, Relevance and Diversity, and Power. Each of these areas were then researched further through another round of literature review. Simultaneously a system map was also developed that helped further understand the problem space. In this chapter, the problem space is explored in detail.

It is tempting to focus on financial dimensions of journalism as the culprit for the current crisis. However, a closer look reveals a much more complex interconnected system of challenges that includes, but is not limited to, financial viability.

A historical look at distinct communities around the world reveals a shared need and understanding of news. Even the characteristics that qualified a messenger worthy of their duty holds many similarities among different communities. Awareness of events we cannot see for ourselves begets a sense of security, control, and confidence (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014).

Journalism from its early years was in the business of attention, satisfying what Mitchell Stephens (Stephens, 2007) called “a hunger for awareness.” Journalism as an industry understood the value of flow of information on one hand and economy of attention on the other. It built a business model where people could receive accurate, and trustworthy information in exchange for their attention, which in return it would sell a portion of to advertisers. For the most part of the 20th century that business model proved news media to be one of the most profitable industries (Goodhand, 2016).

Today, there are a myriad of channels and an abundance of information, and attention is the real currency of most businesses and individuals. There is more factual information in a Sunday edition of New York Times, than all the written material available to a reader in the fifteenth century (Davenport & Beck, 2002). Given the ease of sharing and accessing information, journalism is faced with new players who have totally disrupted the rules of the game. It is also competing on another level with all other entertainment media who are fighting for audience’s eyeballs and ears. According to Thomas Davenport (2002):

“understanding and managing attention is now the single most important determinant of business success.”

In the wake of journalism’s evident financial crisis, and an urgency in generating revenues, a quest for attention became the industry’s calling. Newspapers became obsessed with pageviews and different distribution models. For example, with a hopeful digital strategy, Toronto Star invested 40 million dollars to design a tablet-centred publishing, foreseeing the ipad as the future of newspapers. Two years later that application was abandoned, and about 30 people were given layoff notices (Rendell, 2017).

Declining revenues on one hand and the focus on business models and distribution on the other, deprived some of the important functions of the journalism from resources and attention necessary for their excellence.
Local Journalism

The Role of Local Journalism

Civic journalism at its core shares many functions with other kinds of journalism. It is seen as the fourth estate, and expected to speak truth to power and hold authority accountable. But beyond this function, local journalism serves many other roles that are crucial to social cohesion and cultural health of a community.

In a qualitative research done in the Netherlands, Costera Meijer (2010) identified seven different functions that people often expect from local journalism:

1. Supplying fast, reliable, relevant, multiperspectival background information relating to local affairs
2. Advancing social integration and fostering acumen by helping people understand the mechanics of their community
3. Providing inspiration and motivating citizens to develop a more active role in their community
4. Representing different views and ensuring that everyone’s voice is reflected in the conversation
5. Increasing understanding of one another among disparate groups in the community
6. To provide a source for collective civic memory in order to create a sense of unity— to be able to situate your personal history within the collective history of the community
7. Contribute to a sense of belonging and social cohesion

(Meijer, 2010)

Why Local Matters

As described above, local journalism plays different roles within local societies. When we overlay these expected functions on the previously mentioned functions of journalism at large, four particular aspects of local journalism are highlighted. These are four imperative functions that separate local journalism from a global one.

Meeting Immediate Information Needs

Local media plays an important role in providing information that is critical to people's understanding of local, national and international issues, in a way that directly touches people's lives. Local affairs touch people's lives in a more immediate and tangible way, therefore creating a much more urgent and felt need for information. Critical information that is necessary in order to navigate everyday life, including emergencies and risks, local health information, education and quality of schools, transportation, economic opportunities, weather and environment, civic institutions and politics (Friedland, Napoli, Ognyanova, Weil, & Wilson, 2012).

By having bodies on the ground, local media is capable of covering the local news – by attending city council meetings, covering school meeting, visiting local businesses, and navigating local stories. These are time consuming activities that require consistent dedicated attention. In covering civic politics alone, apart from the city council reporter that has to attend meetings often occurring daily, more time and bodies are needed in investigating and researching policies, and also measuring the public's reaction to them. Civic journalism plays a crucial role in telling local information and softer stories that are no less significant, and important towards creating social unity.
Local media also plays an important role in framing national and global information in a way that is relevant and relatable to its community. Using their understanding of the local community and by placing non-local issues within the local context, local media is also capable of connecting the community to the outside.

Holding Local Authorities Accountable

A lack of watchdogs at the local level can lead to an environment with great potential for corruption and misdeed. Having bodies on the ground on a local level not only enables journalists to collect information, but also to investigate local affairs and follow any leads that point to corruption and misdeed.

“There’s just no shortage of people to tell us what to think about what’s happening in DC. But we really are seeing communities where there aren’t journalists where there used to be. There really are elected public officials doing business in the dark because there’s no one to hold them accountable” (Mayer, 2018).

For example, the city of Brampton has the lowest Herfindahl-Hirschman Index, used to measure media concentration (Lindgren, View All by, Corbett, & Hodson, n.d.). Brampton has the lowest ratio of news outlets to registered voters in the country. One local news organization covered three key ridings and published only 43 stories (about 1 story every other day) about the local race for member of the parliament. This information set against a recent spending scandal of city councillors paints a darker picture when it comes to level of oversight in holding power accountable. In the past two decades, most faces in the Brampton City Council have remained the same: an average of 22 years per counselor. In 2011, this council approved an expense policy eliminating oversight, leading to spending scandal (Bascaramurty, 2014).

Help Build And Support Community

One of the key roles of the local media is to connect residents with where they live and one another, reflecting their experience, and encouraging their participation in civic life. By being present in communities, regularly interacting with residents, local reporters are not only capable of engendering stronger community links, but they also receive a unique opportunity to listen to residents and gain a much more intimate perspective into local issues.

In Bowling Alone, Putnam (Putnam, 2001) notes an aggregate loss in membership and volunteerism in civic organizations, and argues that will result in a decline of social interaction and civic discussion. He also concludes that when people are active locally, they are more likely to be involved nationally as well, aware of and participating in civic life at all scales. Local media can play a significant role in bringing people from different layers of the community together, to create a sense of belonging and social cohesion.

Karen Unland (2017) notes the importance of the social scene page where there are often pictures of locals attending social events:

“Those kinds of things have a really important community connection piece. If you don’t have one or two or six or seven big outlets to do that, you end up disconnecting people more. I think people are reconnecting in different ways, but it remains the case that if you were in the Edmonton Journal tomorrow, people would call you and somebody in your family would cut that out and send it to you. It’s a big deal” (Unland, 2017)
Local media is also the most capable of engaging communities in more participatory approaches to journalism. By being locally present they can attend town halls, listen to residents, and build a better network in order to understand issues more profoundly. Engaging communities in a meaningful way requires a level of trust that can be cultivated much more effectively through local presence and philanthropic care.

What is happening

The Crisis (the Canadian context)

In early 2016, Postmedia, Canada’s largest newspaper conglomerate, announced major layoffs and mergers in Ottawa, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver (“Postmedia cuts 90 editorial jobs, merges newsrooms in 4 cities,” 2016). According to the crowdsourced Local News Research Project (2008), since 2008, 199 local news organizations have shutdown, 40 have closed due to a merger, and 61 have decreased service. The number of closures in early 2017 was 171, out of which 120 of them were community newspapers (papers published fewer than 5 times a week) (Lindgren et al., n.d.). These numbers placed against new organizations and services demonstrate a sharp contrast of vanishing services without any replacement. In a study submitted to the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) by the advocacy group Friends of Canadian Broadcasting, it is noted that conventional private TV stations have seen revenues decline by 25 percent since 2010, and half of all stations could close by 2020 (The Canadian Press, 2016).

The Local News Research Project also found that proximity to larger centers has a negative effect on the diversity of sources and number of stories. In other words, the municipalities like Brampton that are closer to Metropolitan cities like Toronto are more likely to experience information and news poverty (Lindgren et al., n.d.).

Globalization

Since early 1990s the wider changes in communication, immigration, economy, politics, and more importantly the way people live their lives have forced local journalism to redefine itself to fit a more globalized context. Although our lives still unfold locally, our choices are more global. People today may live in one location but work for a company that operates in a completely different part of the world. We consume what is produced far away, and the decisions that impact our lives the most are often taken elsewhere (Nielsen, 2015). We live more global lives, while locality and community still hold a great deal of importance. According to Christopher Ali, recent scholarship in different critical studies all point to that the local being “understood and analyzed as a space for experimentation and innovation rather than in opposition to the global” (Gasher et al., 2016).

Many news giants, like Postmedia who owns a large number of local newspapers across the country, have responded to this phenomena with centralizing power and production (“Postmedia cuts 90 editorial jobs, merges newsrooms in 4 cities,” 2016). A strategy incorporated to save costs in the first place, that oversimplifies the local-global duality. This approach misses the perspective that the same global news can change meaning in different local contexts. A news about oil pipelines will sit very differently with audiences in Toronto versus Fort McMurray.

“So when you see us talking about centralising their desks and all that stuff, that’s all about trying to do everything we can to preserve the amount of bodies on the ground to make sure that we have enough working journalists who are reporting and doing investigative work and digging to do real journalism” (Nagler, 2018).

Economy of Scale

At a time when information had to be physically transported, newspapers favored local. News about local matters, reported by local journalists, printed locally, was much more viable than global news which involved a myriad network of costly communication.
While Newspaper favoured local, the digital economy is dependant on scale. With a cost of distribution close to zero, they are the clicks that generate profit. More readers equal more profit. In this business model local issues, especially at smaller communities translate into very little revenue. When page views become a measure of success, some of the values that are essential to producing quality journalism become overshadowed by priorities of the market. In this economy for smaller cities and communities where local affairs would only attract a small audience, the shortest route to profit becomes delivering stories that are popular and cheap to produce: crime, accidents, weather, new local attractions. Leaving a crucial gap in the role journalism plays in local context: encouraging participation in the political process, fostering debates on public issues, holding power accountable (Meijer, 2010).

**Lack of Local Ownership**

Torstar(Toronto), Postmedia(Toronto), Black Press(Victoria), Quebecor (Montreal), and Transcontinental(Montreal), together own over 500 dailies, weeklies and community papers across the country.

When the leadership does not stem from the local community, at times when the interests of the community is at odds with that of the company, the leadership will likely focus its energy in the latter. In 2015 federal elections in an unprecedented move Postmedia CEO Paul Godfrey ordered all 13 major newspapers under its umbrella to endorse the incumbent prime minister Stephen Harper, who at the time suffered from low ratings and eventually lost the election. Postmedia's stance on 2015 election saw major criticism and discontent on social media, and also resulted in resignation of Andrew Coyne, a reputable Canadian journalist, from the editorial board of its flagship paper (Dickson, 2015; Honderich, 2015). Margo Goodhand in her account of describing the changes at Edmonton Journal, notes that most publishers whose loyalty was to the community and the staff, rather than the health of the company were let go and replaced by regional leaders (Goodhand, 2016).

This dissonance in the alignment of interests can result in a disconnect with the local community in the long term. Engaging communities, attending town halls, and investigating local matters are all expensive practices that can decrease in priority for an organization that is highly in debt, accountable to shareholders, and desperate to make revenue in an industry that shows little indication of a lucrative future.

When a local news organization loses its local edge, and becomes out of touch with the community it is supposed to serve, it also loses its local integrity and ultimately readership. Thus, a local news organizations that fails to be a community partner, can also lose credibility with the business community, all pointing to further decline in revenue (Goodhand, 2016).
Trust

While blind faith in journalism is not necessarily what a healthy democratic society promotes, trusting journalism and journalistic institutions is key in having an empowered journalism that can speak truth to power. Trust is that which connects the audience to the journalist, and is vital almost to every function of the journalism: as a witness bearer, authenticator, sensemaker, watchdog, forum organizer, community builder, etc. (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014; Usher, 2017). Lack of trust can result in migration of readers to other sources, which may or may not be trustworthy. An untrusted news organization that may even perform all due diligence, shares the same level of credibility with one that fabricates news.

Trust is relational, and inherently an unequal relationship. Trust in the context of journalism assumes that the trustee (journalist) has something of value (e.g. information) that the truster (public) does not, and depends on it (Usher, 2017).

In other words trust is related directly to risk. As (Blöbaum, 2016) notes:

> “Whenever there exists a potential lack of information in a certain situation someone has to take a risk. As no one has total information and everything could be contingent there is frequently a need for trust. In this respect, the importance of trust in journalism becomes obvious. Because journalism conveys information recipients usually do not know, it basically depends on trust. Consequently, trust becomes more important in societies and circumstances that are perceived as risky” (15).

A recent analysis done by The Economist (Economist, 2018), based on a research by Pew Research Centre, a direct relationship between the level of trust in the government and the media is evident (Figure 3.3). Based on this chart, it can be concluded that in places where people say they are satisfied with the news media, they are also more likely to trust the leaders of that country. Based on Blobaum’s notion of trust this can also be interpreted as: the riskier the circumstances are, the higher the stakes and the dependence on trust, leading to dissatisfaction where trust is low.

Since the conflict in Ukraine, trust in the media has become a focus of scholarship (Otto & Köhler, 2018). A 2016 Gallup poll indicated that only 32% of Americans have trust and confidence in the mass media “to report the news fully, accurately and fairly,” its lowest level in Gallup polling history. Among republicans, only 14% said that they trust the media. Although the trust in Canadian media has been healthier than the United States, Canadian media on average still score low in Edelman Trust Barometer (Ries, Bersoff, Adkins, Armstrong, & Bruening, 2018).

One of the dangers of a low trust climate is that blaming becomes a fruitful strategy. When there is low trust in media, politicians can use that to their advantage and discredit any news that damage their reputation. US president Donald Trump has seized the opportunity given the low trust in media, and repeatedly reframed news harming his stature as “fake.”
A question that is worth exploring here is whether the distrust in media institutions extend to the individual journalists affiliated or independent. Karen Unland (2017) believes that audience are more likely to trust an individual journalist if they personally know them:

“If somebody knows a journalist or if they really love a media source, they trust those guys. It's almost like they say, “Oh, but you’re not media, you’re Elise.” I think that is why it is really important for journalists to engage with their community, fully, instead of being the bystander, because it builds trust” (Unland, 2017).

Many news consumers now get their news directly from the journalist (rather than institution they work for) mainly through twitter. A recent analysis of tweets by journalists have revealed that journalists tend to show a different behaviour in their twitter content compared to what they publish through an institution. Journalist are more likely to express their opinion on twitter (a contrast to objectivity norm), provide accountability and transparency regarding their process, and share public generated content (Lasorsa et al., 2012).
How do we measure trust?

Measuring trust in reality is an exceptionally difficult feat, specially when we exclude direct public inquiry on their level of trust which may not result in the most accurate insights (Sanders & Stappers, 2012). Sally Lehrman, through her Trust Project, using user-centred design process, has created a set of standards of transparency in journalism with the goal of engendering more trustworthy press.

### Best Practices

| What are your standards? Who funds the news outlet? What is the outlet’s mission? Plus commitments to ethics, diverse voices, accuracy, making corrections and other standards. |

### Author/Reporter Expertise

| Who made this? Details about the journalist, including their expertise and other stories they have worked on. |

### Type of Work

| What is this? Labels to distinguish opinion, analysis and advertiser (or sponsored) content from news reports. |

### Citations and References

| For investigative or in-depth stories, access to the sources behind the facts and assertions. |

### Methods

| Also for in-depth stories, information about why reporters chose to pursue a story and how they went about the process. |

### Locally Sourced

| Lets you know when the story has local origin or expertise. Was the reporting done on the scene, with deep knowledge about the local situation or community? |

### Diverse Voices

| A newsroom’s efforts and commitment to bringing in diverse perspectives. Readers noticed when certain voices, ethnicities, or political persuasions were missing. |

### Actionable Feedback

| A newsroom’s efforts to engage the public’s help in setting coverage priorities, contributing to the reporting process, ensuring accuracy and other areas. Readers want to participate and provide feedback that might alter or expand a story. |

Table 3.1 Trust indicators Via https://thetrustproject.org
Diversity

There may be numerous causes contributing to the distrust in media including lack of meaningful engagement with the audience, diminishing locality of the news, and increase in branded content and the influence of advertisers, lack of accountability and admittance of wrongdoing. In addition, a closer look at the press reveals a troubling lack of diversity in both content as well as its producers. It is evident that a portion of the audience often find the news neither relevant nor resonating with their reality.

“Communities are places of rich, diverse activity with people in them acting on behalf of community well being. The baseline perspective is that traditional journalism misses much of that activity. Perspectives from people who don’t fit the dominant cultural narratives are often unheard and unseen or treated as odd and covered by “parachuting in” when covered at all. As a consequence, journalism has little relevance and less trust, particularly in communities of color” (Fancher, Holman, & Ferrier, 2016).

Canadian population has been rapidly changing and becoming more diverse. According to Stats Canada from 1996 to 2016 the percentage of population who identify as Indigenous or a visible minority has increased from 14% to 27.2%. It is projected that by 2031 28% of the population will be foreign born and the number of visible minorities will double (“Parties prepare to battle for Immigrant votes,” 2010).

A recent event involving Jagmeet Singh, the newly elected sikh leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP) illustrates this point better. On his first interview on CBC, host Terry Milewski grilled him on his views on the 1985 Air India bombings. Many considered Milewski’s question racist, arguing that a white politician would never be questioned about their support of an act of terrorism that took place over 20 years ago without any particular context. With Singh’s increased media exposure, came more questions about Sikh separatism and self-determination (i.e., Khalistan). Canadian media rushed to jump on an anti-Sikh bandwagon. What was unwrapping in Canadian media was ignorance around the issue and close to no Sikh perspective. Here we have a non-white second generation immigrant party leader who could be
the prime minister of the country, and a news media absolutely ill-equipped and incapable of navigating his history and nuances of his religious affiliation (Garossino, 2018; Sandhu, 2018).

The last inquiry into diversity of newsrooms in Canada was done in 2005 by John Miller. In John Miller’s research (John Miller, 2005) there is a great contrast between the diversity of the newsroom versus that of the population.

The lack of diversity is not limited to the newsroom. It is also reflected in the content. A study of content diversity in US has found that online citizen journalism articles are more likely to have a greater diversity of topic, information from outside sources, and multimedia features (Carpenter, 2010). While focusing on niche audiences in journalism can be dangerous and divide different segments of the society, by focusing on uniting the masses, media can alienate those who do not share the same narrative as the majority. In other words, in identifying the audience, traditional media tends to confuse masses with the mass majority.

A recent rise in the number the Indigenous media can be considered a reaction to this missing representation. Although in recent years, news networks such as CBC have made efforts to diversify their content and include Indigenous voices, the imagined audience still remains the same. Rick Harp started MEDIA INDIGENA, a weekly podcast focused on Indigenous current affairs, in 2016 and has so far produced more than 100 episodes. He explains his motivation for doing so:

“The audience that was assumed in the mind’s eye of most of the senior producers and the managers was an audience that was reflective of the population. Well, most of the population is white or non-Indigenous.

There’s a real pressure to be palatable to a mainstream audience and mainstream audiences don’t want to be challenged. So when you go into the mainstream arena, there’s a kind of a dance there that you have to do. I wanted to do a show that went deeper, that dug deeper and could safely assume that people know what Status Indian is, that know what treaties are about, that understand why Indigenous peoples might not want to have other people running their affairs or having a say when it comes to their own lands, their own territories, their own bodies” (Harp, 2018).

When the news lacks the the diversity of topic, perspective, and representation, and becomes more homogenous, it overlooks the reality of some of the population. When news fails to resonate with those not represented it will lose its relevance, and ultimately credibility among that community. In other words, if a community’s reality, needs, and struggles are not reflected in a media, that media not only fails to provide a complete picture, but also to resonate with that community, thus losing its relevance to them, ultimately forcing them to seek that information elsewhere.

“I think that a lot of harm is done by journalists who cover communities without really understanding them. Sometimes they just have complaints that even though all the facts listed out in coverage are accurate, the journalists clearly just don’t get it. people have a low tolerance, as they should, for journalism that they don’t think accurately reflects the community” (Mayer, 2018).
**Even when there is representation from visible minorities in the newsroom, they tend to conform to norms and “leave their racial identity at newsrooms doorstep”**

While hiring people from more diverse demographics can certainly improve the disparity, there are still other obstacles. Research shows that even when there is representation from visible minorities in the newsroom, they tend to conform to norms and “leave their racial identity at newsrooms doorstep” (Nishikawa, Towner, Clawson, & Waltenburg, 2009). Nishikawa (2009) notes, in studying black and latino journalists' behaviour in newsrooms, that they tend to avoid championing for their community. This is partly due to their training, as well as the pressure in the newsroom in the case of Desmond Cole leaving Toronto Star (English, 2017; John Miller, 2017).

That being said, minority journalists still bring in a new perspective, engage in advocacy, and act as watchdogs towards stories that are not sufficiently reflective of cultural nuances. “Minority journalists go to places their White colleagues would not think to go; they bring a unique perspective to the table. But we must not forget that the table sits in the middle of a main stream newsroom” (Nishikawa et al., 2009). If the leadership and the editorial board is predominantly white, it will be likely that the newsroom culture would also reflect their point of view. In other words the diversity of decision makers in power has a bigger impact on the kinds of news that are reported.

**Information Complexity**

Near the 2016 US presidential election “fake news” became a hot topic. On one hand, media was accusing politicians of generating fake news to advance their political agenda, and on the other hand politicians were using the same term to accuse press for fabricating news to undermine them. Soon it became so widespread referring to so many different things, that it started losing any semantic significance. The term is now used so widely, that has become almost harmful in the way it is ought to describe a phenomena. Firstly, “fake news” is an oxymoron. If it is fake, it is not news (Mayer, 2018). Secondly, it fails to describe the complexity of the information ecosystem which is much more than just news (Wardle, 2017a).

In describing the information ecosystem Claire Wardle (2017b), introduces a framework for understanding the information disorder. She examines the information disorder through two dimensions of falseness and harm, and suggests three categories (Figure 3.4).

Wardle (2017) describes 7 types of mis and dis-information, and sets that framework against different motivations behind creation of this type of content. These motivations can describe why misinformation is produced, but the other significant question is why it manages to disseminate so effectively. In other words why does it work?

The answer to that question must be as complex as the information ecosystem itself. “Fake news” is not a new phenomena (Uberti, 2016). Different types of misinformation have always existed, the difference now is that it is amplified much more effectively. When clicks are a measurement of success, manipulating emotions become the best way to get there. When sensational news is much more financially viable, it is no surprise that even legacy media publishes news that is more likely to entice emotions rather than inform.

*When clicks are a measurement of success, manipulating emotions become the best way to get there.*
### 7 Types of Mis- and Disinformation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satire or Parody</th>
<th>Misleading Content</th>
<th>Imposter Content</th>
<th>Fabricated Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No intentional to cause harm but has potential to fool</td>
<td>Misleading use of information to frame an issue or individual</td>
<td>When genuine sources are impersonated</td>
<td>New content, that is 100% false, designed to deceive and do harm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### False Connection
When headlines, visuals or captions don’t support the content

#### False Context
When genuine content is shared with false contextual information

#### Manipulated Content
When genuine information or imagery is manipulated to deceive

#### Figure 3.5 First Draft’s: Types of Mis and Disinformation (Wardle, 2017b)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poor Journalism</th>
<th>False Connection</th>
<th>Misleading Context</th>
<th>False Context</th>
<th>Imposter Content</th>
<th>Manipulated Content</th>
<th>Fabricated Content</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>To Parody</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Provoke or to Punk</td>
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<td>●</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passion</td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
<td></td>
<td>●</td>
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<td>●</td>
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<tr>
<td>Partisanship</td>
<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
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<tr>
<td>Profit</td>
<td>●</td>
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<td>●</td>
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<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Influence</td>
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<td>●</td>
<td>●</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propaganda</td>
<td>●</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Figure 3.6 First Draft’s: Information Matrix (Wardle, 2017b)
“The problem is not fake news but a digital capitalism that makes it profitable to produce false but click-worthy stories” (Morozov, 2017).

Due to reasons mentioned earlier (lack of trust in traditional media, decline of local news, economy of scale), media is proving more vulnerable than before, providing opportunities for manipulation. Local media is strong at building community unity. What gives traditional media a competitive advantage is the strength of their brand often directly linked to their credibility. If the legacy media fails at reporting stories that resonate with the reader, or loses its credibility due to low levels of trust, it forces readers to seek their information elsewhere. Lack of media literacy can lead those readers to sources that take advantage of the vulnerability of the media and the reader.

A response to lack of sufficient media literacy has been to create curriculums for educating public about how to verify news themselves (“First Draft News,” n.d.). The problem is over the past two decades we have essentially trained the readers to get their news free and in the most accessible and digestible form. Are they going to take extra steps to verify every headline they see now?

The industry’s immediate reaction to “fake news” has been to promote truth and fact checking. In many instances, the knee jerk reaction has been to authenticate different news and shutdown sources that generate fabricated news. Fabricated content is so effortlessly produced that the rate of its production always surpasses the time needed to authenticate it, making it close to impossible to stop (Borel, 2017).

There has also been pressure placed on social media platforms such as google to filter out “fake news”. That strategy also has major blind spots since it is based on a very oversimplified notion of information disorder. It disregards the complex spectrum of misinformation (Figure 3.5) and assumes that it can be easily identified whether a story shared is simply fake or not.

**Poor Journalism**

The perception that legacy media stands at the opposite end of the information disorder is rather a false one. Many of the motivations that Wardle (2017) notes in the misinformation matrix can be evident among traditional media as well.

In an effort to reduce costs in the face of declining revenues, news organizations can skip some of the necessary steps in producing a story, resulting in incomplete stories that can at times cause harm. In a report, Quebec network TVA, claimed that at a construction site near a mosque in Montreal, female construction workers were asked to stay off the site on Fridays at the request of the mosque. In response, members of some of the far-right groups planned to organize a protest in front of the mosque. Later it became clear that the report was completely baseless and created based on rumours. TVA issued an apology (CBC News, 2017). This example is particularly interesting as it not only shows that the newsroom failed to perform its duty fully in developing the story, but also reported on an story that even if true bore very little significance. Mouallem (2017) using this example to illustrate incomplete journalism notes:

“I don't think it’s that important to the public even if it were true. Obviously something like that gets reported because it's sensational, it taps into our concerns about the other: xenophobia. Would these mistakes have been made even 10 years ago? Sure, they could have been made, but I think a lot less likely” (Mouallem, 2017).

In a similar comment, Joy Mayer (2018) notes:

“There is a lot of bad journalism done. There are lot of people who say what they’re doing is journalism, and yet they don't share the ethics that I have, their process isn't careful, they really are just out for quick clicks.”

Legacy media can also participate in political partisanship, undermining some of their journalistic value. Postmedia’s executive order to endorse Stephen Harper in 2015 federal election is an example of a media organization incapacitating the autonomy of its editors in order to advance a partisan political agenda. Mitchell Stephens (2014) criticises MSNBC and Fox News for being so consumed by party
warfare, that “they deny themselves the opportunity to learn from the opposition.” His criticism is not targeted at journalists holding an opinion, rather incomplete opinions that are not tested and bolstered by exposure to alternative views.

**Accountability**

One of the most harmful “fake news” stories was published long before 2015 US presidential elections when the term became fashionable. In the build up to US invasion of Iraq by the Bush administration, New York Times played an important role by relying on information from loose sources. On April 21st, 2003 Judith Miller published an article in New York Times (Judith Miller, 2003) that confirmed Iraq's hold of WMDs, justifying US presence in Iraq. That news was not only false but it justified a war that resulted in about 200,000 documented violent civilian deaths up to date (“Iraq Body Count,” n.d.).

It was only on September 29, 2003 that the Times admitted that informations connected to Chalabi (Miller's source) “was of little or no value.” When asked why it took them so long, senior editor at the paper said that “some reporters at the paper had relied heavily on Chalabi as a source and so were not going to write too critically about him” (Massing, 2004).

**Objectivity: the white man’s undeclared bias**

Truth is an entangled concept. Since we are all subjective beings, it can be argued that truth does not exist, or rather there are as many different truths as individuals. According to Foucault (2000): “Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth — that is, the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true.” For Foucault truth is directly connected to power:

“Truth’ is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which induce and which extend it — a ‘regime’ of truth” (Foucault, 2000).

If journalism's first obligation is to truth, the important question to ask is whose truth. If truth regimes are produced and sustained by systems of power, it can be safe to assume that marginalized groups are less likely to dictate the politics of truth in newsrooms. In fact when they do, it is discredited as advocacy, when in reality all journalism is advocacy. The difference is legacy media holds the power, can afford to dictate the politics of truth, and often advocates for the status quo. Desmond Cole a toronto based journalist, was told that he cannot participate in both journalism and activism, after Cole protested a Toronto Police Services Board meeting. Cole resigned from his column on Toronto star, noting: “If I must choose between a newspaper column and the actions I must take to liberate myself and my community, I choose activism” (English, 2017; John Miller, 2017).

Objectivity in journalism can mean a lot of things and serve many purposes. It can be a goal, a standard, or an excuse or fear. It is both “overrated and underrated sometimes by the same person” (“The View from Nowhere: Questions and Answers - PressThink,” 2010). Jay Rosen (JULY 7, 2010), whose “view from nowhere” theory is a widely cited perspective on this topic, believes that it is almost impossible to present pure facts, as no act of journalism can be completely uncontaminated with judgment. Therefore he describes objectivity more as a standard about how a content is perceived rather than how it is produced.

The american reader is trained to equate an opinion to corruption (Stephens, 2014). But if objectivity is thought of as a form of persuasion, it would be just as susceptible to corruption as opinion. John Hersey noted “much as one may try to disappear from the work, there is a kind of mediation that takes place in journalism, no matter what. By selecting 999 out of a 1,000 so called facts, you are bringing your own bias to bear” (Dee, 1986). In the example of TVA, the editorial choice of considering the issue with women construction workers newsworthy, is heavily influenced by that newsroom’s bias towards muslims.
Objectivity can be used as an excuse for poor or incomplete journalism (Stephens, 2014). Transparency and disclosure of bias on the other hand can set the bar for fairness much higher. Rosen (JULY 7, 2010) points out that neutrality can actually damage trust, as it masks “the hard work of proving you can be fair despite the fact that you have your views.”

The quest for objectivity has forced the newsrooms to believe that the truth always rests halfway between two opposing views. The problem with this approach is that almost never the two perspectives share the same weight of the truth. There is nothing fair or neutral about having a global warming denier on a panel on global warming when almost every scientist in the world attests to it. It is simply lazy.

“The reluctance to appear biased by actually evaluating a statement or policy leaves journalists—taken to seeing themselves as “watchdogs”—with a very limited repertoire of barks; it often seems as if the only aggressive sound they can emit while maintaining their treasured objectivity is ‘gotcha!’” (Stephens, 2014).

That being said, objectivity should not be rejected all together, rather better defined. As abstract as truth is, it cannot be replaced with fairness or balance. ‘Fairness’ is an even more abstract notion, and ‘balance’ presents two sides of a story when both sides almost never have equal weight in truth (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Jay Rosen argues that objectivity can be defined as a source of strength rather than an epistemological limitation:

“If objectivity means trying to ground truth claims in verifiable facts, I am definitely for that. If it means there’s a “hard” reality out there that exists beyond any of our descriptions of it, then sign me up. If objectivity is the requirement to acknowledge what is, regardless of whether we want it to be that way, then I want journalists who can be objective in that sense. Don’t you? If it means trying to see things [from a] fuller perspective...pulling the camera back, revealing our previous position as only one of many—I second the motion. If it means the struggle to get beyond the limited perspective that our experience and upbringing afford us...yeah, we need more of that, not less. I think there is value in acts of description that do not attempt to say whether the thing described is good or bad. Is that objectivity?

If so, I’m all for it” (“The View from Nowhere: Questions and Answers” 2010).
One of the fundamental functions of journalism is speaking truth to power. In order to do so, on one hand journalists need to hold a healthy distance from power, while on the other hand being well protected and empowered enough to be able to challenge power. It is a challenging position.

Concentration Of Ownership

As shown in Figure 3.7, in Canada about 71 percent of the media (including newspapers, magazines, dailies, TV networks, telcom, wireless internet, etc) market share is controlled by 5 giant companies: BCE (Bell), Rogers, Telus, Shaw, and Quebecor. Most Canadians also get their news from 7 news networks shown in Figure 3.7 (CMCRP, 2016).

In the USA, six giant conglomerates own the entirety of the mass media: Time Warner, Walt Disney, Viacom, News Corp., CBS Corporation and NBC Universal. In the UK, 71% of UK national newspapers are owned by just three giant corporations, while 80% of local newspapers are owned by a mere five companies. Google is considered the largest media owner, slightly ahead of Walt Disney, Comcast, 21st Century Fox and Facebook. Google and Facebook earn about 89% of the ad revenue in Canada, and 20% of the global ad revenue (Ahmed & Markell, 2017; CMCRP, 2016).

The bulk of our media consumption is produced, and ultimately controlled by few companies owned by a small number of people with a narrow view of the world.
“Freedom of press is guaranteed only to those who own one”
-A.j. Liebling

Despite the promise of the free internet and unlimited access to data, the reality is that the bulk of our media consumption is produced, and ultimately controlled by these few companies owned by a small number of people with a narrow view of the world. This gives them an unbalanced power which they can use to:

1. Act as the gatekeeper of content, having total control over which content makes it to our home
2. Act as cultural engineers, preventing viewers from accessing certain content
3. Have access to our consumption data and discourage the use of virtual private networks
4. Set the terms for owning, controlling, syndicating and selling advertising around user created content
5. Use the media outlets they own in one area to promote their interests in another
6. Control the labour market in media and set the bar for income of musicians, journalists and other media workers
7. Set de facto corporate policy norms governing the collection, retention and disclosure of personal information to commercial and government third parties.

(Winseck, 2015)

Conflicts of Interest

A closer look at ownership of news media companies reveals a repeating pattern of either “salvation via a wealthy white knight” (Public Policy Forum, 2017), or involvement of influential figures (Ahmed & Markell, 2017). Figure 3.8 shows different billionaires who have also been interested in owning a news media outlet. The acquisition of one of the USA’s most influential press, The Washington Post, by Amazon founder and billionaire Jeff Bezos raises many questions both on...
his motivations for doing so, as well as its ethics. If newspapers all show declining revenues, why are these billionaire interested in investing? If they are not interested in financial return, what are they hoping to get out of these huge investments?

Even if we consider their motives for their involvement solely philanthropic and not to serve their own interest, depending on the super-rich to care for society’s need of information is at best precarious (Public Policy Forum, 2017).

Consider William Kennard. He served on the board of the New York Times, then became US Federal Communications Commission chairman. He then joined the Carlyle Group as Managing Director. Carlyle majority-owns Booz Allen Hamilton, the defense contractor managing NSA mass surveillance. After Kennard joined the Obama administration as US Ambassador to the EU, he pushed for the secretive, pro-corporate Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP).

Consider John Bryson, Obama’s Secretary of Commerce until 2012. In the preceding decade he sat on the board of the Walt Disney Company, which owns the American Broadcasting Corporation (ABC). He was simultaneously on the board of US defense contractor Boeing. Despite resigning from those positions after joining government, he held lucrative stock, option assets, and deferred-compensation plans with both Disney and Boeing.

Consider Aylwin Lewis, another Walt Disney Company director and simultaneous longtime director at Halliburton, one of the largest transnational oil services firms, formerly run by Dick Cheney. A Halliburton subsidiary, Houston-based KBR Inc., received $39.5 billion in Iraq related contracts over the last decade—many of which were no-bid deals.

Consider Douglas McCorkindale, a director of giant media conglomerate Gannett for decades, and head of various Gannet subsidiary spin-offs. Gannett is the largest US newspaper publisher measured by daily circulation, and owns major US TV stations, regional cable news networks, and radio stations. Yet for about a decade, McCorkindale also served as a director at the US defence giant, Lockheed Martin, resigning in April 2014 (Ahmed & Markell, 2017).

If one of the duties of journalism is to speak truth to power, this proximity to power certainly complicates that responsibility. There are major issues here regarding conflicts of interest. A journalism that wants to hold power accountable needs to be independent from that power, not be governed by it. Given how much is at stake for these individuals in their defense industry interest (Figure 3.8) it would be hard to deny that they may use their influence in media in order to advance their own propaganda.

A journalism that wants to hold power accountable needs to be independent from that power, not be governed by it.

Power of Gatekeepers

Social media and search engines are now fully integrated into our digital lives. They have a great influence over the news ecosystem in several ways. About two thirds (67%) of Americans get their news through social media (Shearer & Gottfried, 2017). On one hand by being predominant distribution channels of news content, they reap massive unproportionate ad revenues, adding to their unlimited resources. On the other hand so much of news websites traffic is through these services that the news industry has become greatly dependent on their service.

News websites have become so reliant on Facebook traffic that in October 2017, journalists from countries such as Guatemala and Slovakia were criticising Facebook’s experimentation on its newsfeed for potential impact it would have on democracy in these countries (Hern, 2017).

The other concern over social media and search engine companies, is around collection of user data and the power that access to that information grants them. On one hand, access to information of powerful individuals, and on the other hand access to the information of masses that in aggregate can reveal insights that would place these companies at
an unprecedented position of power (and at the same
time vulnerable to penetration). On March 17, 2018, a
whistleblower working for Cambridge Analytica, a data
science company in UK, admitted that their company
harvested over 50 million user profiles on facebook
to build a powerful software program to predict
and influence choices during the Brexit vote and at
the ballot box of US presidential election in favor of
the candidate Donald Trump (Graham-Harrison &
Cadwalladr, 2018).
Chapter 4
As part of this research, in conversations with expert interviewees, as well as during the literature review, many examples stood out as signs of what might the future offer. Some examples point to possible interventions, some perhaps point to the needs, and some indicate the direction the industry might be heading towards. Many of these innovative models address the challenges and problems identified in the previous chapter. For example, different models for engagement speak to the problems identified relating to trust and relevance, collaborative journalism is a response to the competitive culture of newsrooms, and second order journalism is about accountability.

1. Engagement

Overall, the topic that was highlighted repeatedly, was the need and the push towards better engagement with different communities. While the need has become ever more evident, there does not exist a clear strategy on how to move from comments towards deeper and more profound conversations. However, many start up organizations and smaller enterprises are showcasing innovative interventions that at least offer insight about the path toward authentic discourse.

Reader as the Editor

Reddit was one of the first platforms that incorporated what is now called “social navigation” (Dieberger, Dourish, Höök, Resnick, & Wexelblat, 2000), allowing the aggregate wisdom of the users to dictate different editorial decisions. Amazon relies on customer feedback on comments to determine which comments are more useful. Reddit allows users to up-vote content turning users into its content curators as well as the consumer. It is no surprise that many communities on Reddit today use the platform for news. r/Canada, where Canadian news and politics is regularly discussed, has about 350,000 subscribers.1

Hearken has brought the same dynamic to the journalism context. While positioned as an engagement consultant, Hearken offers what it calls Engagement Management System, a tool to leverage the aggregate wisdom, tailored for journalism. It provides multiple interaction points between public and the newsroom, where they can be involved in posing questions, voting for stories they would want to see developed, as well as helping with the reporting.

Taproot, an Edmonton based media company employs the same model to engage and produce stories with a focus on local affairs. Membership grants access to the seed garden, where members

1 Although it is important to mention that on Reddit moderators also have a noticeable power. Canadaland recently published an episode on white nationalist tendency among r/Canada moderators (Graham & Brown, 2018).
can seed stories, or vote for seeded stories they would want to see developed. Once a story reaches a certain number of votes, Taproot dedicates a budget to that story and assigns a journalist to work on it. Once a story is developed, it is then published and can be accessed by everyone.

Local Engagement

**Taproot** focus is primarily local journalism. Identified as one of the gaps in the Edmonton news ecosystem, Taproot has chosen the mentioned model to engage with the public to produce stories that resonate with them, and relates directly to the well being of their communities. Local arenas are where engagement is most needed, and where engagement has the most visible impact.

With a dedication to civic dialogue, **Spaceship Media** works with media companies to bring people from communities in conflict together into a “journalism-supported dialogue.” Through their methodology, Dialogue Journalism, they collaborate with new partners, to deepen their relationship with communities they serve. Their process consists of following seven stages:

1. **The Build:** Identifying communities in conflict
2. **The Gather:** Exploring with each of those communities; what they think of one another; and what they would want to know
3. **The Welcome:** Bringing these communities together in an environment designed to welcome them as individuals, rather than representatives
4. **The Experience:** Facilitating an experience that revolves around the participants, and is about engaging with those whom they disagree with
5. **The Carry:** Moderating conversations using tested techniques to ensure a respectful, and productive discourse
6. **The Nourish:** Supporting the conversation with reporting and research that helps inform the participants, so gradually there is a set of agreed upon facts.
7. **The Share:** With the help of news partners, the stories generated in conversations is shared.

Digital Tools

The need for engagement has also led to the invention of several digital tools that help news organizations facilitate further participation of the audience in the process.

**Groundsource** uses mobile messaging as a voice, to build a two way relationship between communities and journalists. It provides its users (journalists) a phone number that they can share with the community they are hoping to engage with. Once the sources from the community get in touch, Groundsource creates a two way channel that helps the journalist collect stories and insights directly from them. As people from the community engage, Groundsource then creates profiles of them, tags, and organizes them.

With a mission to raise public trust in journalism, **Coral Project** develops open source tools and practices...
that help news organizations engage better with their audience. Their software is currently used in more than 30 newsrooms. They offer three core products: Ask which is a form builder and submission manager; Talk which improves online engagement by redefining the comment section; and Guides which is a package of articles by industry experts helping newsrooms improve their practice in community engagement.

**Readefined**, uses AI to collect better insight on online engagement. It measures how intensely people interact and engage with the online content. It manages readers’ access to different privileges based on their attention. It rewards those who read most of the content and blocks bots and trolls.

### 2. Trust as the Value Proposition

At a time when trust in journalism is at a historic low (Ries et al., 2018), any organization that can foster a trustworthy relationship with its audience and the communities it serves, would certainly gain market advantage over other media. Journalism that sells advertising and influence, will suffer as time places those commodities at odds with the interest of communities. Information is also no longer a rare offering. As emphasized before, when information becomes abundant, just mere distribution of the information is not enough. The value proposition has to transcend information.

Often mentioned as a success story (a rarity), Netherland’s **De Correspondent** has managed to build a successful business model based on membership. Started with a successful crowdfunding campaign in April 2013, today De Correspondent has over 60,000 paying members and is completely ad-free. De Correspondent positions itself at the opposite of daily news, valuing instead in-depth beat journalism. They involve the reader in different stages of reporting, and provide a platform for their members’ voices. Through their transparent process they share their story ideas and benefit from insights shared by the community. De Correspondent operates based on 12 founding principles, most of which resonate very strongly with the findings of this research around fostering trust:

1. The Correspondent is an antidote to the daily news grind
2. The Correspondent challenges oversimplification and stereotyping
3. The Correspondent does not strive to maximize profits
4. The Correspondent is openly subjective
5. The Correspondent practices constructive journalism
6. The Correspondent actively involves members in the journalism itself
7. The Correspondent is entirely free of ads
8. The Correspondent protects the privacy of our members
9. The Correspondent is committed to an enduring relationship with members
10. The Correspondent seeks to include members and journalists from all walks of life
11. The Correspondent thinks in terms of curious individuals, not target groups
12. The Correspondent believes in collaboration and continued self-improvement

(“De Correspondent,” n.d.)
The Discourse has adopted a very similar business model to De Correspondent, focusing on ad-free beat journalism relying mostly on membership. Discourse defines its market advantage:
1. High quality trustworthy journalism
2. Audience as members and creators not just customers
3. Media that builds bridges between communities, promoting solutions over conflict
4. A focus on impact and engagement over clicks
(FrontFundr, n.d.)

When visiting the investigative process that reporters at both organizations follow, their commitment to engagement is not only evident, but rather fundamental to their success. In the case of Shell tape, De Correspondent’s Jelmer Mommers first shared his intention to cover this story and asked readers, and specifically Shell employees to share their experiences. Mommers then interviewed 19 Shell employees who came forward, and published the transcripts of these interviews. These updates strengthened his reach and trust, leading to new readers and new sources, which ultimately resulted in the hand over of a box full of internal documents including the 1991 tape that proves Shell’s awareness of climate change 15 years before Al Gore’s “an inconvenient truth”.

In both cases, membership should not be confused with a paywall. While these organizations rely on memberships, their output is available to everyone. According to Membership Puzzle Project, most people who subscribe to journalistic outlets do not expect exclusive access to the content (Goligoski & del Peon, 2017).

“If you believe that local journalism is really central to a functioning democracy, and then you say, ‘but you can’t see it unless you pay for it,’ there’s a contradiction there” (Unland, 2017).

3. Collaborative Journalism

The significance of ‘breaking news’, shows the value that journalism has traditionally placed on competition in news. For a while, being first was the competitive advantage. It is remarkable then that one of the most important stories of the past decade was a result of collaboration among a very large group of journalists. The historic and groundbreaking Panama Papers project, has become one of the most significant examples of collaborative journalism (La Fountain, 2017).

Through the collaboration of International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (ICIJ), a global network of over 185 investigative reporters, this project was able to uncover extensively the abuse of offshore financial accounts in order to evade taxes by many well known figures. Frederik Obermaier and Bastian Obermayer note the value of the Panama Papers Project:

“The Panama Papers has showed that a formerly unthinkable project of collaboration can work. When we shared the data of the papers with a team of 400 reporters worldwide, we brought together a vast number of investigative reporters who typically compete which each other. The main reason why our newspaper, the German newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung, shared the story with competitors was simply that it was too big and too important to do alone” (Obermaier & Obermayer, 2017).
4. Constructive Journalism

Constructive Journalism also known as Solutions Journalism, is a new approach to reporting that shifts the focus from problem towards possibility. Through solution-based reporting, constructive journalism focuses on not just what may be working, but how and why a solution may be effective (Curry & Hammonds, 2014). Constructive journalism is based on the assumption that every human system has strength, positive attributes, and untapped potential that can serve as the starting point for positive change.

There is also compelling evidence in social science that supports the focus on the positive. According to Cooperrider (1987), focusing on a problem is more likely to produce more of the same problem. Positive change is most attainable when all stakeholders study and discuss the best of what is, in order to imagine the best of what could be. The five philosophical principles of appreciative inquiry, a participatory methodology that fosters change by focusing on the positive, reflects very much the values that constructive journalism can offer:

1. **The Constructionist Principle:** Through daily interactions and relationships, people co-construct the reality of communities they inhabit. What we know about social constructs of a community determines what we do, and how we will affect its destiny.

2. **The Principle of Simultaneity:** Inquiry and Change are not separate moments—They happen simultaneously, and the questions we ask during inquiry affects the direction of change. People often talk about and think about what they passionately discuss. Posing the right question sets the stage for what we will discover, and the way we will project the future.

3. **The Poetic Principle:** The story of a community is constantly co-authored by the people, and through the stories they tell one another. In the same way that a good poem can have many interpretive possibilities, the sources of understanding, learning and interpretation in a community are also numerous. What we choose to write about affects the direction we set forth.

4. **Anticipatory Principle:** The way we think about the future – Our hopes, expectations, and projections, guide our actions in the present. Human systems are constantly projecting ahead of themselves a collective image of the future,
which drives and motivates what they do in the present.

5. **The Positive Principle**: Momentum and sustainable change requires positive affect and social bonding. It is through sentiments such as hope, inspiration, and joy that we can have openness to new ideas, and cognitive flexibility.

(Bushe, 2011)

*Solutions Journalism Network (SJN)*, trains and connects journalists to cover how people are responding to problems rather than focusing on the problem. SJN works with journalists to help them develop rigorous approaches to reporting on responses to problems through shared learning. They also collaborate with journalism schools to build solutions approaches into their curricula. Some other organizations that also heavily use solutions journalism include *Yes! Magazine, Axiom News* based out of Peterborough, Ontario, and *Images and Voices of Hope*.

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## 5. Second Order Journalism

Second order journalism or journalism reporting on journalism, is not a new phenomena but given the late changes in the news ecosystem, some of the organizations that focus on other media have gained substantial popularity. Second order journalism offers the audience a unique opportunity to not only learn about the current events, but also increase their media literacy through understanding how that story is covered by the media, and how the way it is covered can affect the event itself. This approach exposes the audience to the backstage of journalism, where important editorial decisions are made. By analyzing different framings, and criticizing some of the commonly accepted narratives, it engages the audience to ask questions about the process of news, and be interested in the ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the news as much as the ‘what’.

*Canadaland*, a Canadian weekly podcast that looks at Canadian media’s coverage of the current events has over 400,000 average weekly downloads, and has managed to self sustain by only relying on membership and donations. *Citations Needed*, is an American example that explores the intersection of media, PR, and power.
Many of the startup news organizations have abandoned advertising as a source of revenue or started completely ad-free.

On one hand, advertising imposes many ethical complications that journalism has always struggled with, and on the other hand, advertising is becoming less effective. Ad Blockers are becoming more effective than before, and despite different strategies against them, they will always remain a step ahead. Most of the revenue from advertising goes to platforms such as Facebook as the gatekeepers of content. Furthermore, if the future is mobile, then Facebook and Google already dominate that market in terms of advertising.

Taproot media depends solely on its membership as it believes that advertising contradicts their local focus and commitment to local communities. According to Anita Li (2018), The Discourse also does not see much value in Advertising:

“Our perspective is that the advertising model is just dying. It’s not effective, not only just for legacy publications, but you can also see with digital publications like Vice and Buzzfeed. They are having layoffs too because Facebook and Google are cannibalising ad dollars” (Li, 2018).
Chapter 5
Proposals For Change

Proposals

There were over 42 proposals generated from the modified dialogic design workshop. Based on the insights that were gathered through other methods, these proposals were examined, and duplicates were eliminated. The result was the following 23 proposals, which are organized based on their level of influence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Monitor Conflicts of Interest</th>
<th>An investigative external body that regularly monitors journalists, publishers, and the board of directors of news organizations, and their interests in other affairs, and warns against conflicts of interest.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Collaborative Journalism</td>
<td>A journalism community that rather than competing to break the news first, works together to empower one another in order to hold power accountable (e.g. Panama Papers) (Amditis, 2017).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Declaration of Bias</td>
<td>Practicing what Jay Rosen (JULY 7, 2010) calls “here’s where I’m coming from.” Journalists declaring their background, the reason for their interest in topic, their priority and relevant ties, and where they stand on the topic, rather than claiming objectivity.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Increase Newsroom Diversity

Making sure that the diversity (demographic, political, epistemological) of the newsroom reflects that of the communities it reports on.

5. Constructive (Solutions) Journalism

A rigorous evidence based approach to journalism that focuses on responses to social issues, as well as the problems themselves. By focusing on impact, and whether responses are working or not, solutions journalism helps in better understanding complex systems.

6. (Participatory Journalism) Engage Public in Journalism

Listening to communities and empowering people in communities to tell their own stories. Participatory journalism is about cultivating trusting relationships, valuing diverse points of view, and recognizing and inviting the collective wisdom.

7. Journalism as community Builder

Journalism as a facilitator that brings disparate parts of society together, acting as a venue for discourse and understanding.

8. Macroscopic View

A systemic view that explores the micro and the macro at the same time and from different perspectives. Helping people see themselves in the context, by providing the personal individual perspective and placing it in the holistic context. So that the “I” becomes “We”, and the other becomes another facet of the whole system (Holman, 2010).

9. Rival Reporting

Linking to alternative stories that are offering a different position (not necessarily debunking it). In medical journals there are rebuttals to original research articles called editorials. Bringing an independent journalist to increase value of internal reporting.

10. (Build) Cultivate Trust

Increasing credibility by building trust and cultivating an environment where the reader finds the news trustworthy.

11. Increase Editorial Diversity

Making sure that the diversity (demographic, political, epistemological) of the editorial board reflects that of the communities it serves, and the issues it covers.

12. Protect Digital Freedoms and Privacy

A strong neutral web that ensures privacy of individuals against government and corporations surveillance, and literacy around data encryption and security.

13. Redefine Transactional Relationship with Audience

If we believe journalism and access to information is central to a functioning democracy, putting a price tag on the information prescribes the wrong kind of relationship. Offering a value proposition that is about advancing civil society through partnership, recognizing that “people need experiences, connections and relationships, not just information” (Mayer, 2017).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14. Increase Diversity of Topic and Perspective (Knowledge)</th>
<th>Including other points of view, and the voices that are normally not included. Telling the stories of minorities, without oversimplifying them, and making sure that everyone’s reality is reflected in media.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15. Transparency of Process</td>
<td>Declaring where the information comes from, what you know and what you don’t know, how the story is produced, what it costs to do this work, who has influence over it, and what is at stake, all of course without compromising vulnerable sources and relationships. (Rosen, 2017) (e.g. Propublica’s report on New York City Nuisance Abatement Cases (Ryley, 2016))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Decentralize Power</td>
<td>Preventing concentration of ownership and allowing small organizations with alternative models to flourish. Disrupting the power structures and dismantling the influence of those connected to power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Media Literacy</td>
<td>A better understanding of how news is produced, how to verify information, what to ask from journalism, how to hold it accountable, and how to have your story told.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. More Protection for Journalists</td>
<td>Supporting journalists by providing them with the necessary protection (legal, financial, emotional, physical) in order to be able to challenge power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Changing the Competitive Culture of Newsrooms</td>
<td>Moving towards less hierarchical, more innovative, flexible and collaborative newsrooms, that are able to respond to the fast moving and complex demands of the modern society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Qualifying Precedents for Journalists</td>
<td>Means of measuring precedent for journalism. Holding journalists accountable by highlighting their mistakes, and whether they took action to correct it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Commitment to Freedom of Expression</td>
<td>Making sure that journalists are not censored or intimidated, and that they have access to information necessary to hold the government and corporations accountable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Fight Misinformation</td>
<td>Producing news that is more reliable, relevant, and trustworthy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Welcome Typesetters’ Voices (Flatter Organizational Hierarchy)</td>
<td>Trusting the collective organizational wisdom and making sure that everyone’s voice in the organization is heard and that their value is maximized.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned in the methodology chapter, a structuring session was assembled after the dialogic design workshop where the influence of each proposal was explored in relation to one another. These 23 proposals were inserted into the ISM algorithm to produce the following influence map (Figure 5.1).

The ISM influence diagram, as a visual model helps translate complex and messy mental models into an organized map that illustrates the influence structure of all proposals entered. It explores the relationship between each two proposals one by one by asking "whether addressing proposal A, would significantly help address proposal B" and vice versa.

The ISM influence diagram can highlight a proposal's leverage or influence in the network of all propositions. It can turn a complex and entangled network of relationships into a script or a story of the system that the group can then agree on in order to achieve success. The diagram visualizes what the group has agreed upon, while also serving as a tool to go forward in unison. Through applying a "uniform logic of influence" in connecting different proposals, ISM creates a structure that makes it easier to create narratives in navigating diverse propositions (Flanagan, 2010).

An ISM influence diagram is often read from bottom up, starting from "deep drivers" of influence at the bottom of the map. This directionality is what helps different narratives to be more visible. The connection between each proposal can be read as "addressing proposal A will significantly improve the prospects of success in addressing proposal B" (Flanagan, 2010.)

The number of levels in an influence diagram shows the level of complexity in a system of influence. The 8 level depth of the influence diagram here (Figure 5.1) shows the high degree of complexity among the influence of different proposals on one another. The higher level numbers are positioned lower in the map and have more leverage over proposals that come above them. In other words, proposals that are at the bottom of the map have a stronger influence over the ones above them. Here (Figure 5.1) at levels 5, 7, and 8 we see eight deep influential propositions that have significant impact on the advancement of proposals at the upper levels. These are the "deep drivers".

Case Study

For instance we can see in the following example how engagement can often also help advance constructive journalism which in return also helps transactional relationship of the media with the audience.

In March of 2015 Claudia Rowe published a front page story in The Seattle Times that begins with the following statement: “Rainier Beach, once considered the worst high school in Seattle, now has graduation rates that top the district’s” (Rowe, 2015). The article described how a school in one of Seattle’s poorest communities managed to install a successful college-prep curriculum.

This article was the result of Rowe’s three years of intensive research and engagement with the community through Education Lab – a partnership between the Solutions Journalism Network and the Seattle Times. The piece focuses on a “potential solution to a lagging achievement” and explores the story in the context of larger issues relating to advanced learning and equity. It doesn’t ignore the problem, rather frames the challenge as “you have a possible solution right in front of you and you are failing to recognize it” (Solutions Journalism, 2017). The story received a startling reaction from the public, both in volume and in tone. This piece ignited a constructive and inclusive conversation
around an issue that had historically been divisive in Seattle. It also resulted in an unprecedented volume of donations made to the Rainier Beach high school. Through engagement and rigorous research, Rowe was able to show pockets of innovation that had the potential for improving higher education, ultimately redefining the transactional nature of journalism with its audience, moving towards empowering communities to succeed.

In another example, through engagement with different communities, The Discourse has been able to not only build trust with those communities, but also to establish internally an organizational culture that is unlike the competitive culture of most newsrooms (Li, 2018).
Figure 5.2 within the influence diagram there were several trajectories identified that also correspond to the leverage points identified in the system map discussed below.
Figure 5.3 System Causal Diagram
Leverage Points

Analyzing the system map, there are two focal points that are significant to the function of the system: trust and capital.

As shown in the system map (Figure 5.3), capital that does not come through advertising or external funding has a strong correlation with levels of trust, and the perceived value of journalism. Many journalists in this research noted the ineffectiveness of the advertising model. As shown in Figure 5.4 reliance on advertising not only affects the independence of journalism, but also creates a paradoxical relationship with social media and news aggregators. On one hand, access to news websites through social media and news aggregators increase the readership, but on the other hand it also means the majority of the advertising revenue is shared with those gatekeepers.

In this research, the focus has been particularly on trust. Overlapping the system map and the influence map points us to several leverage points that are crucial in advancing trust in journalism. There are six different contributing streams to the “trust” variable: participation, relevance, transparency of process, speak truth to power, misinformation, and distance from audience, the last two being a reverse relationship. Four out of the six streams are related to participatory journalism and accountability reinforcing causal loops. A major contributor to the participatory journalism loop is engagement, which will be explored further below. The accountability loop is another important influential factor that will be discussed further.
Engagement

Engagement both directly and indirectly affects news’s credibility. The proposition here is this: The more the audience is engaged and involved in the process, the more likely they are to trust the result of that process, subsequently trusting the organization that administers that process.

After interviewing several journalist and non-journalists, Joy Mayer (2011) notes three different categories of engagement. These categories also resonate strongly with the types of engagements that the participants of this research described:

1. **Outreach**: finding the audience and bringing the content to them rather than waiting for them to find it. Participating in the community, and allowing the community to become more familiar with the people as well as the process that produces the content.

2. **Conversation**: engaging the community in the topics that matter to them, and most importantly listening. Using different technologies and tools at our disposal to hear the community’s voice, listen humbly, learn, and pursue a dialogue that can improve both the community and journalism.

3. **Collaboration**: involving the community and fostering participation in different steps of the process. Understanding the issue through the collective wisdom, training people to tell their own stories, working with the community to share the story, and relying on the community to decide what stories are worth telling. Moving the relationship from a transaction towards a partnership means having shared investment in journalism.

Journalism As A Process

Engagement is about acknowledging that journalism is a process. A story does not end with an article or a news cast. It is a relationship and an ongoing conversation that is strongest when it is multidirectional – when it listens as much as it tells.

“We consider those town halls and workshops forms of journalism. A lot of traditional media outlets just don’t see that. They see journalism as an article or a photo or a video, it’s very concrete” (Li, 2018).

Robust engagement can move journalism beyond its role as an information provider, strengthening its other function as a community builder. By valuing people and their experiences, journalism can provide a venue for authentic connections, mutual exchange, and dialogue (rather than debate) (Holman, 2016).

Because authentic relationships are built on mutual trust, building meaningful connections with the community ensures that those who are often misunderstood are better protected from harm. In other words, the stronger relationship journalism has with a community, the more likely it will understand the risks facing that community, and the better equipped it will be in safeguarding it. An authentic relationship is balanced and moves beyond a transactional accord only when there is shared investment. When the success of the community aligns with that of journalism.

When asked why Indigenous communities engage with and trust Indigenous media as opposed to other news broadcasters, Jean La Rose CEO of APTN replied:

“They wouldn’t call another network unless they felt that that network was better at presenting their stories, and at this point in time, they feel that we are the best people to present their stories. We are one of them. We come from the community. We are in First Nations. We would have an understanding of issues and of the community that often the other broadcasters don’t have... The reality of it is that when you are part of a community, you have a greater sense of who and how issues play out, and how to approach those” (La Rose, 2017).

It is important to note that sometimes the distance with a community is rather necessary. The proposal for better engagement does not necessarily reject the value journalism as an external observer can bring forward. Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff illustrate an important example in The Race Beat, where during the Civil Rights Movement a minority of publishers and
editors did not support the white readership defence of the “southern way of life”, risking financial and personal safety (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2008).

Diversity

Hiring from underrepresented communities is a step towards producing news that resonates more with the audience. However, it is important to note that this still cannot replace the value of engagement, as communities are not homogenous and one or two individuals from the community cannot necessarily represent the diversity of thought that exists within the community.

When journalists engage in a meaningful way, they gain access to a variety of epistemologies, which in return influences the questions they ask, and therefore the type of journalism that they do. The more journalists reach beyond people who think alike, and get in touch with diverse communities, the more potential there is for innovation and creative outcomes (Holman, 2017).

“We found that when journalism is at or near the center of focus, it gets in the way of reinventing thriving local communications ecosystems. Innovations are more likely to come not by looking narrowly through the lens of journalism but by imagining this emerging ecosystem through a broader perspective, one that considers digital, cultural, demographic, and technological shifts while also drawing from traditional elements of journalism” (Holman, 2017).

Jack Nagler (2018) the director of journalistic public accountability and engagement at the CBC, highlights that the audience is not just diverse in demographics, but also in their interest.

“[the audiences] have more freedom, autonomy and ability to access the things that they're interested in. We don't watch the same television shows. We don't watch the same movies. We don't read the same books or the same newspapers.”

Given the level of diversity and the range of interests in different communities, as well as access to knowledge facilitated by technology, journalism is no longer the sole guardian of information. The collective wisdom of a community is always going to be richer than that of an outsider journalist. Engagement enables journalism to tap into the collective wisdom, and rise above any one individual's perspective.

Since the interests of communities vary, an increased level of participation from different segments of the community is likely to result in a more nuanced and diverse range of topics. In order to be able to respond to this diversity of topic, newsrooms also need to be more reflective of the communities they serve. In
theory, demand for more diverse perspectives should give rise to diversity of newsrooms, and in the long term diversity of the editorial board.

Which means simply, by hiring from underrepresented groups, and promoting them, and retaining them we can create a much more trusting news. However, in reality those in position of power, while expressing the desire to hire from underrepresented groups, tend to be more comfortable hiring and promoting people who think like them. Nikole Hannah-Jones, racial injustice reporter for New York Times Magazine, believes that most organizations respond much more effectively to external pressure when it comes to diversity (Women's Media Center, 2018) Internal pressure, due to hierarchical power dynamics is often non-existent or not effective. According to Hannah-Jones the external pressure currently is really low. However, through stronger engagement and participation of audience in the process of journalism, with a better awareness of the process, we may see an increase in external pressure for change towards newsrooms that are not only diverse, but have much greater cultural sensitivity (Figure 5.5).

Community Lead

An authentic engagement is one that starts with the community and allows the community to lead. Engagement is about distributing power, and turning “subjects” or “participants” into partners. It is about empowering the community to tell its own story. Following the lead of the community means being comfortable with uncertainty. Authentic engagement is by nature unpredictable, and can be costly. It requires adaptable expectations around timeline and output. However, with curiosity and a desire for storytelling, community engagement can result in powerful stories that not only resonate with the community itself, but can also touch others who are not part of that community.

Anita Li (2018) describes engagement as one of the main strategies of The Discourse. She notes that often The Discourse journalists arrive in communities with the sole purpose of listening. There is no editorial angle to pursue, or a desired article. Their job is to listen, and the identify what matters to that community, and then write about their experience. “We
recognise that because we lead with community, that our outputs and our timeline may adjust depending on the kind of response we get” notes Li.

Local media is the most capable of engaging communities using participatory approaches. By being locally present they can attend town halls, listen to residents, and build a better network in order to understand issues more profoundly. Engaging communities in a meaningful way requires a level of trust that can be cultivated much more effectively through local presence and philanthropic care for the community.

“People name things in ways that situate themselves as actors. You talk to police they’ll talk about crime prevention, well that’s not something ordinary people can necessarily do something about, it’s something you turn to an expert for. But safe neighbourhoods is something that ordinary people can do. And so if you’re talking to people in a community, they may be pointing to the same phenomenon but they name it in a way that enables them to find their way and to doing something about it” (Holman, 2017).

In a recent evaluation, Peggy Holman found the following possible outcomes of stronger community engagement in journalism:

1. **Public engagement, reframes problems from the perspective of the community, redraws racial and topic boundaries, and helps underrepresented to tell their story** (Holman, 2018).

2. **Citizen journalists who are involved in the process practice journalism on a professional level, subsequently increasing community’s media literacy** (Holman, 2018).

3. **Rather than focusing solely on an issue, engaged community groups tend to focus more on actions that respond to the issue** (Holman, 2018).

**Accountability**

Another important leverage point that has a direct effect on the level of trust in journalism is how accountable that journalism is to the people it serves. From this research, the following propositions are put forth:

**Transparency of Process**

When information becomes abundant, the how becomes more important than the what. Information is delivered to the modern person from a myriad of channels, even if they are not pursuing it. If journalism was once in the business of providing information, today it can play an important role in what Benjamin Franklin calls, improving knowledge on current events (Stephens, 2014). Assuming this role, at a time when access gives us a plethora of information, how that information is obtained, whether it is the right information, who has obtained the information, and why they believe it is newsworthy, are all just as important as the information itself.

Jay Rosen (JULY 7, 2010) in criticizing what he calls “the view from nowhere” offers an alternative: “Here’s where we are coming from.” He notes when you declare where you are coming from, you have to do the hard work of proving that you can be fair, despite the fact that you hold an opinion. Since you are showing your work (and not just the result of it), you are more likely to do journalism that is grounded in rigorous reporting. Declaring your bias forces you to really consider your stance.

**If journalism was once in the business of providing information, today it can play an important role in improving knowledge.**

Transparency is about moving beyond the neutrality-polarity dichotomy, and really being creative in reporting an experience. Joe Sacco’s use of the graphic novel for reporting is a great example of how a journalist can express their bias, and use a creative medium to navigate complex politics, and tell a story that connects with the audience on a very human level.
Qualifying Precedent

Rosen (JULY 7, 2010; Staff, 2017) also believes that in declaring where you are coming from, you place yourself in a humble position of acknowledging the possibility of being wrong. So it is important to show your work, but also genuinely listen, and admit when you were wrong.

If journalists regularly shared their position, their track record could attest to their quality and how faithful they are to their ethics and values. It can also expose those who use media to advance their propaganda, exploiting it for their own interest. If declaring where you come from is an industry norm, those who hide their conflicts of interest behind the mask of objectivity will have a much harder time.

Rival Reporting

Showing the work as well as the results also allows for other journalists to challenge the position by offering alternative perspective. This affects the quality of journalism in several ways: firstly, if a journalist knows that their position is going to be challenged, they are more likely to do the necessary work to consider all the angles. Secondly, the audience is provided with a diverse set of perspectives, rather than a single set of facts.

The Link

When newspapers first started appearing online, it took a while for them to understand what Rosen (Rosen, 2008) calls the “ethics of the link.” Online newspapers were stuck on this idea that once you have a reader on your domain, you do not send them away. However, this belief negated the core philosophy and the backbone of the world wide web, which was the hyperlink – the ability to link knowledge. Today, most news website use hyperlinks somewhat effectively, however there is still much room for improvement when it comes to referencing sources of knowledge.

Journalism that sees itself not as guardian of information, but rather a facilitator of knowledge, would use any tools and technology at its disposal to connect people and different pieces of information together. The link is significant not just as a way to recognize credit, but rather more importantly as a way to show the process. It gives the reader the opportunity to trace back the steps of the reporter. Linking makes journalism more credible by leading the reader towards the background information, more context, facts and sources. It also allows for more diversity of thought, as every story can also be linked to other points of view on the subject (De Maeyer, 2012).
Many of the proposals mentioned above, seen in isolation, can be considered to promote echo chambers. It can be argued that declaration of bias would make it easier for readers to identify stories that agree with their worldview, and stop from interacting with opposing views. It can be argued that in engaging with different communities a journalist can become so aligned with that community that lose sight of the larger context.

It is critical that each proposals be considered in the larger context of the bigger system and in relation to other proposal. As illustrated in the system diagram (Figure 5.3) the systemic dynamic between the two identified leverage points (accountability and engagement) is key in ensuring the right balance of journalism.

For example, empowering a community to tell its own story does not diminish a journalist's responsibility to provide a more systemic and holistic view of the issue. It makes it more necessary. Engagement ought not to replace the role of journalism as an external observer. It should complement it. As mentioned in the example of Race Beat, some publishers and editors in the southern states did not support their communities' defence of the “southern way of life” during the Civil Rights Movement. They were able to see the issue in the larger context and consider points of views other than their community's.

Engagement also means bringing disparate communities in conflict together, and facilitating conversations among people with opposing views. For example Spaceship Media, introduced in Chapter Four, has been able to facilitate many conversations around controversial topics among communities in conflict. In one case study they brought conservative women from Alabama and progressive women from California together to discuss race and other challenges. (Hay & Pearlman, 2017)
Through generating potential interventions and proposals for change, the second half of this research adopted a foresight lens. By using a resolutique approach to dialogic design, the workshop and post-workshop sessions, were designed to facilitate future oriented discourse among multiple perspectives. The second half of the research helped generate a shared narrative in the form of the influence diagram that can assist decision makers and news organizations evaluate their future strategic options.

It is important to note that the influence diagram is not static, can transform due to internal and external factors, and should be understood in the context of complex future world scenarios that depend on decisions of a multiplicity of diverse actors.

Various emerging models that were discussed in the previous chapter, as well as other external trends can provide the appropriate context to examine trajectories identified in the influence diagram (Figure 5.2) according to possible futures. External trends that include machine learning artificial intelligence and its potential implications on journalism, blockchain and crypto-economy (e.g. PressCoin) which can highly affect business models in journalism, Universal Basic Income and its implications on public spending habits.

Depending on the success of the emerging models, the pace of adoption of external trends, as well as the urgency placed on each of the values proposed in the influence diagram (Figure 5.1) the following short term and long term implications are expected.

As the number of independent journalists grow either due to major layoffs in legacy media, or lack of value alignment with major news organizations, we can expect to see stronger collaborative journalism. Collaborative journalism makes it possible for smaller players to mitigate risk and share resources, resulting in better protection, increased diversity of topic, and a change in the competitive culture of news process.
This research began with the goal of gaining better insight about the journalism ecosystem, and identifying leverage points and potential interventions that would help advance not just journalism but civil society at large.

The shift in media ecology has disrupted the journalism ecosystem, exposing many of the challenges it faces today. Challenges that are due somewhat to the paradigm shift and reconfiguration of the whole industry, and some that have always existed and are only more visible today.

In the economy of scale, local news faces great financial adversity that challenges its ability to do insightful investigative journalism. Local news organizations are owned by large conglomerates who are unable to engage local communities. With a focus on profit, they are leaving a gap in the important role journalism plays in the local context: encouraging participation in the community and the political process, and facilitating conversation on public issues. Moreover, the concentration of power, the alarming influence of powerful individuals over journalism, lack of transparency, the concealment of poor journalism under the disguise of objectivity, and the lack of diversity have all contributed to alienating the public, ultimately resulting in a loss of trust.

The gap between the interests of communities and the news is growing. Communities are resilient and capable of finding innovative ways to meet their civic communications needs— with or without journalism. If the legacy media wishes to survive, it needs to find new ways to gain the trust of the communities it reports on. It became evident in this research that trust is at the core of the issue. Trust is the link between the journalist and the audience, as well as the community, and fundamental to almost every function: as a witness bearer, authenticator, sensemaker, watchdog, forum organizer, community builder, etc.

By mapping the system, and generating an influence diagram of potential interventions, this research identified two key leverage point that would help journalism build trust with communities: Engagement and Accountability.

Authentic engagement is about recognizing that journalism is a process and does not end with a product such as an article. It is about rethinking the role journalism plays in communities—to be able to move beyond its function as information provider, instead playing an active role in advancing the health of communities. Engagement is about involving the audience in the process of journalism: learning about what matters to them, asking for their expertise, facilitating conversations, bridging communities with conflicting views, engendering hope, generating visions of the future, empowering them to take action, to get involved, and to improve their community.

Through effective engagement, journalism can tap into the collective wisdom, approaching issues from a more humble stance that would allow for a
diversity of voices to be reflected, ultimately resulting in stories that resonate with the realities of different communities. It will also increase media literacy among the average audience. The more active role people play in the process of journalism, and the more transparent that process is, the more likely they are to understand and value decisions made in the newsroom. Engagement can help a community generate stories of itself that focus on possibilities rather than just issues. As engaged communities tend to see themselves in an issue as actors, focus more on action, meaningful engagement can also lead to more constructive journalism.

The other important leverage point is accountability and transparency of process. A successful engagement also requires an honest and transparent process. Journalism cannot engage authentically if it is holding its cards close to its chest. Sharing knowledge is essential to participatory processes. This means radically changing the competitive culture of journalism and moving towards collaborative practices.

In order to gain the communities trust journalism needs to declare “where it is coming from,” and that it can be fair despite its bias. Transparency allows for a track record that can demonstrate the sensitivity of the journalist towards the community, while also acknowledging the possibility of wrong doing. It allows for others to criticize the process, ultimately resulting in a more media literate society.

The powerful question that most interviewees posed at the end of their interview was: what is the purpose of journalism? Why do we do this? The crisis in journalism may manifest itself in terms of technological complication, financial bankruptcy, or overwhelming misinformation, but at the heart of it is a crisis of purpose.

At this important juncture journalism needs to redefine its purpose: moving away from the business of providing information towards improving knowledge. Journalism is at a powerful position where it can influence cultural narratives. By distributing this power responsibly it can help foster communities that are more involved in shaping their future. Journalism can play an important role in bringing conflicting communities together, promoting discourse, and lifting communities to be able to imagine hopeful futures, and take action.

Next Steps

Sharing & Collecting Feedback

The result of this research will be produced in a concise and visual format and shared with all those involved in different stages of the project: advisors, expert interviewees, workshop participants. The result will also be sent to those who may not have necessarily participated in the study, but identified as individuals with interest in the subject. This piece will be used as tool to start the conversation and collect different opinions on the findings of this research. Here the goal is to collect constructive feedback that can help improve the research, by adding that which is missing, or correcting any false assumptions.

Filling Gaps & Extending Reach

This research failed to include certain communities due to limitations in time and resources. In the next steps, there will be an effort to include voices that were not included. Any gaps in representation that is also identified in feedback collected after the sharing of the results will also be explored in this stage.

There was no representation of the black community at any level in this research. While there were representation from the Indigenous community among media experts, there were a lack of representation from an Indigenous audience. There will be resources dedicated in the next step to engage with individuals who identify with groups that were not represented in this research.

There will also be resources dedicated to extending the reach of the project through a new Pol.is survey. Since the survey failed to collect adequate and considerable amount of data, its results were not included in this research. The survey will be redesigned, taking into account the result of this research as well as any collected feedback.
This research identified engagement as one of the main ways of increasing trust in journalism, and found many examples of approaches to engagement among different news organizations. However, given the novelty of the practice, further research can help investigate different ways in which journalists can involve communities in the process of news.

When asked about the methodology around engagement, most interviewees in this research did not point out any particular approach other than simply listening and being present in communities. While significant, and highly effective, journalism can certainly go beyond listening towards developing best practices that can help access deeper levels of knowledge in communities.

Different methodologies, techniques, and practices in other fields such as participatory design, user experience research, service design, participatory action research, community engagement, conflict resolution, can help journalism in advancing engagement with communities. According to Elizabeth Sanders (Sanders & Stappers, 2012), what people say or think, will only expose us to explicit and observative aspect of their knowledge, and in order to access more tacit and latent levels of knowledge we would need to incorporate more creative and generative engagement methods. Developing best practices in community engagement, specific to journalism is a topic worthy of exploration.


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Appendices

Appendix A

Modified Dialogic Design Workshop Proposals

1. **Has social media become an agora:** Agora in a sense of place where public is exposed to ideas developed to a certain extent and sort of vote on those ideas. Do we need to have journalists at all when we are actually voting by liking social media posts in an agora, not even going into a debate. If we have social media in absolute form and pure agora, do we even need journalism?

2. **Commitment to freedom of expression for journalists:** Specifically around access to information requests. The prime source of information that we get from the government agencies and corporations, but there’s much you can do when what you get in mostly retracted. A legislation in favor of journalist who have a right to report on these information.

3. **Stronger legislation protecting citizen and journalists digital freedom:** We are still in position to influence government policy in Canada. This can include: whistleblower protections, privacy for individuals from government surveillance so they can think freely, encryption being strong foundation of communication, strong neutral web.

4. **Build diversity and trust into journalism:** Journalist being accessible and trustworthy. Given Toronto’s diverse make up, it would be interesting to explore a different journalism in Canada reflecting that make up.

5. **Re-engage the public in journalism:** How do we re-engage the public and safeguard facts and truth from being undermined?

6. **Build trust in digital space:** Digital influence of space - is that a form of decentralization, democracy?

7. **Keeping micro history of macro history:** Micro seeks to tell story through the eyes of people. Macro seeks to group everything into one. In investigative journalism, we treat events at macro level, talking about community and society itself, and forget talking about events people are living through their eyes. Balance between establishing appropriate info and keeping personal level to it to gain that trust.

8. **Constructive Journalism:** Identifying solutions as well as reporting on problems. That is something that must be integrated in good investigative journalism especially at the local level.

9. **Understand the power and limitations of journalism:** We need to educate way more people, to understand why it is important. To understand the power of journalism, its limitations, and weaknesses.

10. **The value of lean in journalism:** 90% of teachings of LEAN is about respecting people. LEAN can affect the top down, hierarchical, and old thinking of the established media, and reduced the waste. That can free up resources for issues like investigative journalism.

11. **Listen to the audience:** History weighs heavy in particular on established media companies. We often told people what they should know, and for the most part we didn't care whether we were telling what they wanted to know, because we thought we are experts in news delivery. There is value in listening to people that are consuming the information and responding to it in a way that is significant, and delivering what they want to know,
and satisfying their curiosity.

12. **Fight negative negative entropy (false information) in journalism:** Negative entropy being actual information. The Struggle to figure out what is noise and what is information in material that we consume. This holds an assumption that there is information that is backed by evidence.

13. **Push vs. pull. balance information instead of media:** How to balance between going and getting the stuff I want to hear about, versus being presented what I should know about. How reliable are those sources?

14. **More researched data on journalism**

15. **Disrupt power structures with more participatory media:** I am concerned by lack of diversity, and imbalance in the power distribution. Participatory media can engage and train local residents in media/journalism skills to help them tell their own stories. Participatory projects that are created for the purpose of disrupting power structures and our understandings of who is able to create and share knowledge.

16. **Build resiliency to echo chambers:** Being surrounded by articles and information that is curated for just for you based on your online behaviour.

17. **Your journalism costs me money and relationships:** Good journalism demands time, hard-work, and money. The challenge is how to fund good journalism.

18. **What is truth:** Truth has to be from the source, first hand, raw data, and first experience, shadowing, asking, not saying.

19. **Gamification of news:** There is a significant gap between the types of content that newsroom wants to cover versus the content that the audience wants to see. If we can inspire people to consume more news because they are being rewarded for it, not because of the information they get, it can worthwhile. If it is combined with methods such as participatory journalism it can be not only a good way to make sure that the audience engage with it, but also that they would come back.

20. **External accountability tracking for newsroom demographics:** In Canada we don’t have it. In US America Society of News Editors regularly monitors demographic information since 1978 and it is done annually. An external body to release this data regularly, can ensure more diversity especially at top level of journalism.

21. **The idea of local is redundant:** In an interconnected world wide do we need local at all. The idea of local in an interconnected world is redundant.

22. **Qualifying precedents for journalism:** Precedent is important. If a journalist did something wrong, did they took action to correDue to prodomance of brand in news media there always has been star journalists. Means of measuring precedent for journalism. A way to have a track record of journalists. A measure of precedent that would serve as rating for journalists. Measures such as reads, ranks, trustworthy, etc.

23. **Ethnically diverse members of the newsroom and story (who are we talking to):** Diversify beyond one demographic, among people being interviewed as well as people interviewing.

24. **Data profiling causes filter bubbles:** We live in a data bubble where everyone including governments, private companies, are all collecting data. We need to Increase thinking about data and how we use it because we are living in the wild west gold rush of data. Increasing education can inform people about where to opt in their data.

25. **Journalism as a community builder:** Reframe journalism as powerful tool to help people create the world they would like to see. My local journalists are for me and they want to help me create the world that I want. Positioning journalism as a foundation of democracy. Mechanism for journalism to take on persona and identity as community builder; being accessible, meeting people where they are at online and offline.

26. **Engage, hire, and respect the community:** Organizations that are producing journalism are representative of the community in broad spectrum of its makeup.

27. **Relativity, framing, narrative and truth:** Relativity coming from physics concept, more referring to
content, in other words perspectives. Rashamon.

28. **Curate diversification of media towards the public interest:** Huge role that diversification for media takes, both in documentation and visualization. Not everyone gets compelled in the same way. Talking about how we need to educate people to appreciate journalism more; but also curating journalism towards people's interest. Learn and understand your public.

29. **More protection for journalism:** Separating business from journalism. Thinking about ways to protect journalism; give them the space, financial incentive, time, and the protection to ask important questions and engage in important challenging journalism that we all need and expect them to do. No matter how much respect and independence they have they still don't have the necessary protection to be able to be more critical and aggressive.

30. **Need to create civil society to create a home for journalism:** Journalism is not going to recover / gain faith of support it needs until society gives a damn about hearing its own stories again.

31. **Welcoming typesetters voice:** Taking input of workers on the floor who are invested in the process, as opposed to closed door editorial meeting.

32. **To redefine the value proposition:** Figuring out how to convince people that journalism has monetary value. How to put value back on journalism in way that bulk of society consuming it agrees its worth.

33. **Extending copyright and co-op legal fund:** To extend the copyright protection to news, as well as a cooperative joint legal fund to help smaller organization.

34. **End monopoly on cable and internet providers:** Canada has highest internet fees and a mediocre service.

35. **Better monitoring of conflicts of interests:** There are conflicts of interests where many of the people who own or sit on the board of directors news media organizations, are also involved in big corporations that are often the subjects of news articles.

36. **Positioning self; Who's missing:** Our social positions and proximity to powers shape the way in which we view the world / understand world and in return shape the way we tell our stories. Intervention is centering that, making it a practice to make our standpoint clear in stories we tell. The hope is that would in return include the points of views that are missing.

37. **Full transparency and declaration of bias**

38. **Co-create good content:** Partnering with research organizations, university that can collaborate on investigating an issue. Creating a protocol that can bring different forces together to produce content.

39. **Reasons to bend truth:** Mechanisms that enable protection of sources also create a distance between the readers and the source.

40. **Crowd sourced stories:** There is a barrier of trust, and there is a general level of ignorance amongst general population around the rigours journalist are held to to report correctly. On top of that, as a journalist you have an audience not just through your publication, but as an individual too. Most journalists have a twitter account or a presence on social media that gives them access to a public audience. A potential way of bridging that gap and informing people about the process you have to go through would be to crowdsource a story. It can be as simple as coming up with an idea of something to report.

41. **Changing the culture of journalism internally:** Legacy media is extremely hierarchical. Prioritizing a flatter hierarchy can ensure that even an intern's ideas are valuable. Rigid hierarchy stifles innovation. Traditional newsrooms also prioritize competition, even internal competition between reports. Some of the best journalism in this decade (e.g. panama papers) are the result of collaboration between multiple news outlets.

42. **Rival reporting on major stories:** Linking to alternative stories that are not necessarily debunking it but rather offering a different position. In medical journals there are rebuttals to original research articles called editorials and are usually done respectfully. Inviting an alternative journalist. Bringing an independent journalist to increase value of internal reporting. It confirms the quality of the original story, if you knew that you would be rebutted by an independent journalist.
Appendix B

Proposal Clusters

Figure A.1 Proposals after being grouped
Appendix C

Influence Diagrams from Modified Dialogic Design Workshop

Proposal 1

Our themes are about how to make journalism better and how to help society better understand what good journalism is, and how it means. We kind of went back and forth on how do you get there and how do you restructure society through some legislation and some changes in journalism that’s opt-in and some that’s forced. So, I’ll just read through the narrative. It took us a little while, but we ended on this.

So, you start with more data on journalism. Meaning, more data on journalism and journalists, which means an increase in media literacy in the populace. And, that creates data driven decisions, which results in stronger legislation protecting citizen’s and journalist’s visual freedom. Because, when we have more data and more understanding than politicians, electorates are more informed and they vote based on the data, at least in theory. This results in better monitoring of conflicts of interest because now we have stronger legislation. It also results in full transparency and declaration of bias from media institutions, which we hope then leads to things like anti-monopoly on cable and internet providers, as well as institutions forming that are like panel recommendations ... extending copyright common legal fund.

And then, we move into after those things happen, we have more protections for journalists because we have better journalist institutions that are transparent. They’re not monopolies, they’re more respected, and they’re doing better work. And, the populace and the politicians know that. And so, we have more protection for journalists. That leads into a better understanding of the reasons that truth is bent, which results in a fight against- or to fight negative negative entropy or false news in journalism. More protections for journalists also leads to a better understanding of truth. Less watered down, less confusing, and this recreates civil society.

Yeah. It’s a very [inaudible 00:03:41] between data and the legislative work. Right? So, the base of the whole narrative is that eventually the elected people will do something about journalism in general, and the ways to get them to do the work is through giving data, right? Or, having this narrative ... data driven narrative about the state of journalism and how journalists are doing the work and how much they get paid, and the terrible conditions that they’re experiencing, right? But, yes, community is an important intermediary between the two.
Proposal 2

So yeah what we wanted kinda to do, well we took that question of how might we create insightful, relevant, diverse content, and we basically started by thinking what are the sources of this content? So we divided between amateurs and experts, which are kind of like the two extremes. And then from that, how are we able to kind of interact with both of these user groups? And what are the activities that we can develop and practise with them to start gathering the data to create this relevant content?

So in the case of the amateurs, the basis of participatory media, whereas in the experts, it was like, rival reporting. They kind of both mentioned collocation process because both of them need that process. And then by doing this activity, of course there will be a million more, it creates the data that could then be visualised through a specific media.

So that’s when data starts to kind of build up. And that’s when you start to see two types of journalists, and, which one of them is more informative and the other one is more sensible, which also links to each kind of user group. So one of them, that is a much more sensible kind of context is keeping micro history over macro history. So understanding, kind of, the story that you’re telling through the eyes of the person that is living it because it’s sensible.

Whereas, unlike the experienced, on the expert side, that is more informative is data based. Right? You’re supposed to just be very meticulous about it, and not very sensible. Right? We kind of like to … because we had this data, what would be the impacts of this data within the kind of the context of journalism?

So in the more sensible side of things, it was just kind of like to reengage the public and journalists, in which, at the end that also brings that interest for people to journalism.

That builds that, which at the end also disrupts the power structures that are around media itself. This again, more people are involved in that journalism process. And then on the more data based, informative journalism … journalism itself starts to inform the community, so the community itself starts to build a stronger connection within it. There’s full transparency in which, … and there’s no declaration of bias because everything comes back to the experts, the main source of everything. There’s a better monitoring of conflicts, and there’s … of that conflict of interest and basically there’s more transparency in the information that’s being developed, and being just kind of great.

Who collects the data? (Third party?)

We were also kind of seeing the news institutions to instead of … to become more of news facilitators, to
just be able to open their doors towards, this people that want to involve themselves in that journalism process. So in regards to your question it's more of facilitating the sessions for creation. So that, the articles being written are based on the source of the public itself.

Could this approach lead to manipulation?

if you have a diversity of sources that's been across the spectrum, it kind of combats that.

... to think about absolutely neutrality, so the only way to make it work is to invest in diversity or dual morality. So that you can balance all the different biases and opinions, and you can give to the reader or to the audience the chance to form their own opinion. That's the only way. We prefer to work with more sources as a way to balance everything.

Proposal 3

to how we can become better informed in changing the relationship within society at large. And so, we were looking at a lot of the different ideas. I think we only had maybe three or four that came from the group and the rest of them came from the larger group, and we started looking at sort of what are some of the fundamental conditions that need to exist for the rest of this progression to occur. What we derived from them was a commitment to the freedom of expression for journalists because without ... and by extension, everybody else as well, right? It’s because without that commitment to freedom of expression, we can’t do any of this. A big part of that is listening to the audience and actually taking that input and what they’re saying and hearing and doing and experiencing, and incorporating that into the process.

Through that, understanding what the limitations of journalism are and what the power of journalism is as an initial set of conditions. From there, these lead to potentially being able to have greater engagement with a community, which leads to better integration into newsrooms and news organisations from the community. And then, creating a more equitable relationship between the sources of information and those producing the information. Along with that, there’s this notion of collaboration between academia and journalism. I have recently helped to launch a news organisation in Canada called The Conversation, which does context and analysis journalism based on
primary research from academia and standards by professional journalists and made available to news organisations.

And so, again, that goes back to being engaged with and respect in the community at large. It’s a pusher versus pull in the balance of information that exists in the media, and how do you get that information out to people and how do you allow people to get access to the information that they’re looking for?

Moving on to the next stage, which through these initiatives, it enables greater transparency in media and in knowledge and the clarity where biases might exist. It enables solutions to emerge as part of the journalistic process, and it gives people a better sense of through what the reality framing narrative and in truth, however you might choose to define that after you’ve received all this information, emerges. Which again, leads back to re-engaging the public’s journalism where you have these conditions and these inputs, it creates a better relationship between news organisations and the public, so people become more engaged. It builds greater trust, both in sort of the public sphere and in sort of the digital/virtual spaces, and it enables a greater capacity to co-create with the community that you’re serving. Which, as a result, ends up redefining the value proposition for journalism in the public’s mind, which then changes the culture and ends up with greater recreation of civil society.

Proposal 4

Community, in our case, wasn’t just about the broader community, but it is also an internal mechanisms of the journalistic community. There can be a newsroom, a television station, any kind of outfit that actually, kind of, building and creating journalism ... including Facebook.

The place that we actually started in the beginning was listening to the audience. Listening to the audience means a number of different things. We thought about the makeup of that audience. Data profiling, which causes filter bubbles, you have a biassed audience sometimes. That doesn’t mean that the audience is biassed, but maybe internally, your journalistic mechanism is biassed, because it’s looking only at the audience that’s already homogeneous. It’s hard to build community when you’re starting with this filter bubble, that while our audience loves everything that we’re creating, even though we’re really only creating something for a very specific group of people.

Who’s your current audience? Who’s your potential audience? Where is your new audience? ... is really the starting point. That’s, again, internally and externally. You have in-person community events, as a starting point. Sort of that old-school, offline, engagement approach that really is where journalism started. City halls, people who stood up on podiums in public parks and made announcements, right? Halls where communities got together for weddings or other functions ... places where communities gathered. Now, of course, we have social media, which is the cluster fuck of communities that gather to shout at each other.

Again, it’s all about different perspectives. These people shouted at each other in smaller groups, now we shout at each other in really large groups. That
is the audience that we’re dealing with. You not only want to listen to that broader audience, whether it’s in-person and in an experiential form, or through some sort of social media, but you also need to listen to the internal audience. In other words, the people that are actually working within your journalistic community ... they’re creating the work for that broader audience. That’s where the grassroots part really comes in. You have your grassroots community folks, so that’s actually listening to people who are not like you, in addition to the people who are like you. That is people who are leading news organisations, listening to the people that are at the bottom end and the middle end of those new organisations, who have a different perspective ... Not only about the communities that they’re connected to, but about the way that they connect with the community inside the newsroom itself.

Once you’ve figured how to put all those pieces together, you then have two parts within the organisation. A lot of this focus very much externally and then we get a little bit more into the mechanisms internally. The welcome typesetters voices ... Typesetters are people that work within journalistic organisations but were not journalists. I talked about how you might go down to where the typesetters actually worked, and you had the funny guy who worked down there who had all kinds of crazy conspiracy stories. As a journalist is the way you look at them, ‘cause they’re like, “Well, they’re not a journalist, what would they know?”. Meanwhile, these were people that were hanging out in these places, actually talking to people and getting the real stories, and the people who weren’t getting the real stories, caused the systemic issues working another trail because they were part of the filter bubble. It all, kind of, comes back and gets interconnected.

It’s about listening to these people so that you can fix some of the systemic issues and then working your way up from through the bottom of the journalistic organisation, the middle of the journalist organisation, to influence the top end with the organisation. Then, you get in to a position where you’re understanding the power on the limitations. Right? You’re recognising, through all of this, what the problems are internally and trying to fix them. By doing that, you build diversity and trust into the journalism because you’re reflecting the community, and you’re also reflecting everybody within the organisation that’s doing the journalism, and not just listening to the people on top part say, “I want you to go out and do this” and you’re like, “Well, that’s not really what’s going on”. “I don’t care, this is the story I want, go out and get it”, which creates the filter bubbles.

Now, once you’ve built the trust back in, you change the culture. Right? You’ve changed the culture of journalism, which means that you’ve not only changed internally the way things are produced, but you’ve changed the way people perceive you from the outside, and they trust you because you’re actually reflecting what is going on in the broader community, and not just in the filter bubble or a subsetting community.

Then, suddenly, you’ve changed the culture, you’ve gained the trust, and you can redefine the value proposition, because, all of the sudden, what you’re creating is worth more from a funding perspective than it would’ve been worth over here at the beginning.