Moment or Movement?

U.S. News Coverage of Racial Issues in a Digital Era

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Abstract

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This dissertation examined how reporters cover racial issues at a time when violence by police against African Americans has risen to a new level of salience among journalists. Drawing on Democratic Theory, I created a taxonomy of journalism about race across three paradigms: Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0. I then performed a narrative analysis of coverage across the three paradigms. I employed the lens of Critical Race Theory to analyze coverage of three racial moments: the election of the U.S.'s first African American president, the rise of The Black Lives Matter Movement, and the civil unrest following the killing of an unarmed Black teen by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. Next, I conducted interviews with journalists in each paradigm to assess influences on their reporting and interpreted their responses using theories of new institutionalism. Overall, I found Traditional journalism broke with previous norms to more closely resemble the coverage patterns found in born-digital Journalism 3.0 coverage, which showed racism as systemic, foregrounded the lived experiences of the oppressed, leveraged social media to monitor and interact with the audience, and eschewed the professional norm of objectivity. This work illustrates a fundamental shift in

Traditional journalism at an important time of national reflection on racial issues and it presents a benchmark for studying emerging Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

"If you want to change the world, you have to start with the narrative."
Dr. David Domke

I'm not sure if Dr. David Domke knew at the time the impact that sentence would have on me, but it played a tremendous role in shaping this work and my identity as a scholar. I am sincerely grateful to him as my committee chair for his patient guidance at every step of this project, for his flag-mountain-river metaphors, for challenging me to do my best, and for helping me to find my voice as a scholarly writer. I am also indebted to my committee members, Dr. LeiLani Nishime and Dr. Matthew Powers, for setting high standards and offering me a high level of support not only in this project, but every time I had the honor of learning from them. I come away having gained different knowledge from each of you. I am grateful for the gifts of these things that continue to shape who I am as a scholar and as a professor.

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Chapter One

News Coverage of Race: Past, Present, and Emerging Paradigms

When it comes to selecting the most important news stories of the year, U.S. newspaper editors and broadcast news directors across the country have routinely chosen elections, the economy, natural disasters, foreign affairs, and sometimes even celebrity news in the Associated Press' Top Ten U.S. News Stories of the Year annual poll. Issues of race relations are almost absent from the annual list. In 2014, however, journalists across the country voted police violence against unarmed African American men to be the *top* news story of the year (Crary, 2014, December 22). It was the first time since 1989 that a racial issue had appeared among the top 10 stories.[1] The ranking specifically noted the killings of Michael Brown, 18, in Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner, 43, in New York City, at the hands of police officers. Both prompted large public protests and generated significant news coverage and millions of social media posts, particularly on Twitter. These killings were not newsworthy because they were dramatically deviant: police killed at least 16 unarmed African Americans in 2014 (Quah & Davis, May 1, 2015), at least five in 2013, and at least 10 in 2012 (Desmond-Harris, June 8, 2013; Juzwiak & Chan, December 8, 2014). Therefore, the selection of the 2014 killings as a top news story showed a shift in news judgment that departed sharply from a decades-old pattern of racial issues being among the most underreported issues in U.S. news coverage (Heider, 2000).

The following year, racial issues again appeared in the AP Top Ten U.S. News Stories of the Year poll. In 2015, journalists selected two stories about racialized violence. "Black deaths in

[1] Associated Press, 1992; Associated Press, 1993; Barbour, 1989, Crary, 2001; Crary, 2002; Crary, 2003; Crary, 2004; Crary, 2005; Crary, 2006; Crary, 2007; Crary, 2008; Crary, 2009; Crary, 2010; Crary, 2011; Crary, 2012; Crary, 2013; Crary, 2014; Crary, 2015; Crary, 2016; Evans, 2000; Levinson, 1994; Levinson, 1995; Levinson, 1998; Levinson, 1999; Lythgoe, 1990; O'Neil, 1996; O'Neil, 1997; Schwartz, 1991.

encounters with police" in Baltimore, Chicago, Tulsa, and North Charleston, South Carolina ranked as the fifth most important story of the year (Crary, 2015, December 22). Ranked ninth was the murder of nine African Americans in a Charleston, South Carolina church, a crime that was notably deviant but ranked less importantly than the police killings. A White suspect who claimed affinity for white supremacist groups now faces trial in those murders. The trend continued in 2016, when journalists ranked "Black men killed by police" as the third most-important story after the election of U.S. President Donald Trump and the Brexit vote in the U.K. (Crary, 2016, December 21). The Associated Press description of the third-place vote read:

> One day apart, police in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, fatally shot Alton Sterling after pinning him to the ground, and a white police officer shot and killed Philando Castile during a traffic stop in a suburb of Minneapolis. Coming after several similar cases in recent years, the killings rekindled debate over policing practices and the Black Lives Matter movement.

The 2016 poll was the first to mention the Black Lives Matter Movement in conjunction with the killings.

As coverage of racialized violence has risen in salience in the minds of journalists, it becomes ever more important to examine how U.S. journalists cover issues of race in a changing journalism environment. This research draws on narrative analysis of news coverage to explore significant recent moments of news coverage about racial issues: the election of President Barack Obama as the nation's first African American president and the questions it prompted about whether the U.S. was now "post-racial," the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement as a new Civil Rights movement, and the events that prompted the 2014 story of the year — the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson — and the protests that followed. In this dissertation, I examined not only what content was produced, but I also employed in-depth interviews to investigate the work routines and values of the journalists who produced it. My goal was to

capture the changing journalism ecology by providing insights into traditional and new, digitally enabled paradigms of journalism about race. The two new paradigms are Interactive Race Beat journalism (which is my term) and Journalism 3.0 (a term that existed in the scholarship, see Whittaker, 2004). I compared these with Traditional news coverage.

Traditional news, sometimes called "legacy media" or "general-market news," is found in print newspapers and their online editions. It fits within a Representative Liberal paradigm of journalism (Ferree, Gamson, Gerhards, & Rucht, 2002) that values elite expertise and stories told with a sense of detachment, a utilitarian approach to news values, and a propensity to report news as singular events. The Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 are both emerging, online-only platforms. The Interactive Race Beat is found in legacy-media outlets' online platforms devoted to coverage of race. These platforms represent a new era in "the race beat" that was first established in the 1960s to provide a dedicated space for coverage of racial issues. These platforms leverage technology to access conversations about racial issues and to engage with audience in discussions about racial issues in the news. The Interactive Race Beat paradigm aligns with a Discursive paradigm of journalism (Ferree, et al., 2002) because it values popular inclusion in sourcing, embraces civil deliberation above disseminating facts, and draws on the audience to build consensus in thinking about events. The third paradigm, Journalism 3.0. is a heterogeneous paradigm characterized by an intentional focus on providing content that readers want versus what editors think readers need, by interactivity in engaging with and through the audience, by a focus on a combination of coverage of high and low culture, and sometimes by a mix of original and curated content (Whittaker, 2004). It leverages technology to pay attention to audience desires, values, and contributions. It also appeals to a younger, tech-savvy public. Journalism 3.0 maps on to a Constructionist paradigm of journalism paradigm that privileges the

voices of marginalized people, values an empowerment narrative, and seeks to avoid too quickly drawing conclusions about issues in the news (Ferree, et al., 2002). Because each type of journalism is subject to distinct structural contexts, this study examined coverage of race in each of these three paradigms to explore how the field might be adapting coverage — or resisting change to the way it covers — race, one of the most polarizing and deeply personal issues to an increasingly diverse U.S. population.

Decades worth of scholarship has shown that when Traditional news covers racial issues, it does so with identifiable patterns to the coverage, patterns that largely reproduce hegemonic narratives and racial stereotypes. But coverage of race in the two types of emergent platforms has yet to be subject to scholarly examination. These new platforms, in which the audience plays a role in shaping what is talked about and how it is discussed, challenge long-held journalism norms of objectivity, control over content, and decisions over who is allowed to participate in shaping narratives. How Traditional journalism about race is produced in this context when the field is on the "hinge" between Traditional and change (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009; Ryfe, 2006) is a key question. Thus, this study seeks to explore both the kind of journalism that is produced about racial issues and provide insight into the minds of those producing it at this critical moment when race has become more salient to journalists, the news ecology has become more diverse, and technology has increased potential to influence journalists.

Old Traditions, New Technologies, and Coverage of Race

At the heart of this study of how racial issues are covered in a new-media context are two areas of examination: an analysis of the coverage across different news paradigms and analysis of the work routines and values of the journalists covering racial issues within those paradigms.

Delving into those areas requires an understanding of 1) how professional norms have shaped coverage about race in Traditional journalism, 2) how technology has pushed on the field, allowing new paradigms of journalism and new voices into the conversation, and how the field has adapted or pushed back, and 3) a focus on three key moments for journalism about race: the election of the nation's first African American president, the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the protests in Ferguson, Missouri following the killing of Michael Brown. To examine these areas, this work moves from past to present context, and from Traditional journalism to new paradigms, exploring contemporary influences of technology as a precursor to these key events.

Objectivity and New Institutionalism

Objectivity in Traditional news has been a central professional norm of U.S. journalists since the 1920s and persists today in Traditional journalism. This is particularly important in the context of news coverage of race, something entirely socially constructed and experienced at an individual level. Objectivity was embraced as a directive for journalists after World War I, a conflict in which "yellow journalism" or emphasis on propaganda and sensationalism rather than facts has been credited with influencing political and public opinion (Schudson, 1978). The mandate that journalists be objective was written into the profession's first governing code, the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics, in 1926. It stated, "News reports should be free from opinion or bias of any kind." The term "objectivity" appeared nearly 50 years later in a revised code that noted, "Objectivity in reporting the news is another goal which serves as the mark of an experienced professional. It is a standard of performance toward which we strive. We honor those who achieve it" (SPJ, 1973). In other words, a journalist who could be objective was a true professional and objectivity was achievable. "Objectivity" disappeared from the SPJ Code

of Ethics during a 1996 revision that called on journalists to instead "Boldly tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience. Seek sources whose voices we seldom hear," and "Avoid stereotyping. Journalists should examine the ways their values and experiences may shape their reporting." The governing code has evolved to begin to acknowledge the social construction of news, but that does not mean that practitioners are ready to accept that true neutrality is not achievable.

The persistence of the journalistic norm of objectivity is found in both journalists' own senses of purpose and the ideals of the institution in which they work. This is because journalists see themselves as belonging to a trustworthy institution of democracy, because they want to protect their profession as one with consistent standards that demonstrate non-partisanship, because they desire to lay claim to a professional standard, and because they view themselves as acting on the part of the people as independent watchdogs of the government (Deuze, 2005; Schudson, 1978; Schudson, 2003; Usher, 2014). Journalists also rely on this ideal of objectivity as a professional norm to emphasize their expertise (Lewis, 2012). Objectivity legitimates journalists' claim that they are a "mirror of society" (McQuail, 2013, p. 15), reporting the news, as *The New York Times* founder Adolf Ochs put it, "without fear or favor" (New York Times, Aug. 19, 1996). Objectivity is what separates journalists from pundits and rabble-rousers, rumormongers, and other special interests. However, Shoemaker and Reese (2013) observed, "Thus, journalists have been understood to be objective when they let prominent sources dictate the news, but they were considered biased when they used their own expertise to draw conclusions." That sense of objectivity, then, is not based on impartiality, but on privileging elite and detached opinions rather than the reporter's own experiences.

As far back as 1955, sociologist Warren Breed's newsroom ethnography articulated how the learned behaviors and practices of journalism taught reporters to absorb unarticulated rules about news production. Breed's account noted how those rules shifted if the reporter was covering an issue about White people or Black people (1955). Two decades later, sociologists Herb Gans and Gaye Tuchman both concluded that journalists considered themselves to be objective, yet were subject to the influences of their sources, bosses, and own lived experience; that journalists defined news values in similar ways, with political stories driven mostly by elite sourcing representing the most important news; and that institutionalized news values resulted in coverage that represented middle-class values and reproduced the status quo (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978). The result was news coverage that reflected a White middle class yet asserted positioning as neutral. A reliance on the unspoken, assumed, informal rules about news values and practices that were relatively consistent across different newsrooms showed the prevalence of journalism as an institution reasserting its values in the face of change. This new institutionalism, defined as the ways in which institutions interact and create meaning for individuals and influence society, can help explain how organizations change or stay the same. (Benson, 2004; Benson, 2006; Cook, 2006; Lewis, 2012; Ryfe, 2006; Sparrow, 2006). New institutionalism in journalism helps explain why and how news values are reproduced today in ways that are largely similar to what Breed, Tuchman, Gans, and Heider observed in studies done four decades apart. In the newsroom, patterns are repeated in decision making, reporting, and writing (Breed, 1955; Gans, 1979; Schudson, 1978; Shoemaker & Reese, 1991). That is not to say that journalists always agree on news value, but that there are institutional pressures to conform to a particular sense of what constitutes news.

While most of the Traditional news profession still subscribes to an ideal of objectivity, mass communication scholarship began decades ago to explore the subjective role of journalists in constructing the news. Professional norms and newsroom "rules" are important influences on journalists at the micro level, but there are also important influences as the macro level of culture. Reporters are individuals shaped by their own beliefs and lived experiences, as professionals working within the contexts and confines of a field. In one of the most cited works of media sociology research, Shoemaker & Reese (1991, 1996, 2014) asserted that journalists are subject to influences at five levels in a Hierarchy of Influences Model: individual-level lived experience, media routines, the news organization for which one works, social institutions as influences from outside of the news organization, and social systems, defined by Shoemaker and Reese (2014) in terms of political economy and forces of hegemony that are less likely to appear in news narratives that are more likely to reinforce outgroup stereotypes. Journalists are largely unaware of these influences because they become part of their normal, everyday routines. As members of these "interpretive communities" (Zelizer, 1993, p. 219) journalists adhere to shared ideals not just within an organization, but also within the field. Journalists, as human beings with lived experiences that influence their sense of what is news, operate at a purely cultural level (Schudson, 1978). For example, journalists follow the topics being debated by political elites and then drop those issues when elites drop them (Bennett, 1990). Thus, journalists are not simply chroniclers of events nor are they neutral brokers of values-free information, they privilege power and reinforce dominant group experiences.

Journalists play a primary role in the production and interpretation of difference, especially in regard to race. News narratives reproduce prejudiced discourse because they report on what is being said, then offer that material to be debated by the public (Gandy, 1998; VanDijk,

1987). Gandy argued, "There is also little doubt that it is through communication that the structural influence of racism is maintained. It is through language and communication that we develop and share the multidimensional impressions of ourselves and others that become part of the structures of meaning we rely upon to guide us through our day-to-day routines" (1998, pp. 4-5). News media are a site of meaning production and interpretation in regard to understanding difference; and these meanings are contingent, subjective, and part of a process, not something concrete or universal (Hall, 1997). As part of this meaning production, news narratives rely on myths, described as "an essential social narrative, a rich and enduring aspect of human existence, which draws from archetypal figures and forms to offer exemplary models for social life (Lule, 2002, p. 277). For example, the myths of Victim, Hero, and Scapegoat are converted to oversimplified narratives that largely erase a complicated and changing understanding of race. As Lule (2001) wrote, "the news tells us not only what happened yesterday—but also what has always happened" (pp. 19–20). Schudson asserted that these myths "do not tell a culture's simple truths so much as they explore its central dilemmas" (1995, p. 164). Journalists' work is subtly obscured but a powerful structuring force for how people come to understand and communicate about race because it provides background for individuals to develop and/or maintain racial prejudice and it reproduces elite discourse that is vested in maintaining the status quo.

Coverage of Racial Issues

The role of new institutionalism in maintaining professional norms and an understanding of cultural influences on journalists helps explain why a substantial body of research over several decades shows that news coverage has largely ignored racial issues and that when race has been covered, coverage has reproduced stereotypes. This has held true as legal systems have changed from Jim Crow-era legal segregation to a more *de facto* segregation. Traditional journalists still

work in newsrooms that are largely White and their work continues to rely primarily on elite sources. When racial topics are covered, the coverage has overwhelmingly framed them as events rather than issues. Journalists have been shown to have done a poor job of identifying the underlying systemic issues that contribute to oppression and in many cases, framing people of color as responsible for the events that affect them (Alsultany, 2012; Apollon, Keheler, Medeiros, Ortega, Sebastian, & Sen, 2014; Campbell, 1995; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Heider, 2000; Hill Collins, 2010; Hunt, 1997; Iyengar, 1989; Lind, 2009; Rhodes, 2007; Santa Ana, 2002; Stabile, 2006; Squires, 2014; VanDijk, 1991). Thus, research has consistently shown that Traditional news coverage of racial issues has been sparse and what has been covered has often reproduced stereotypes and attributed blame to marginalized groups. Little has changed in Traditional news coverage of race over the past 40 years.

To understand how race is covered today, it is important to examine how racial issues were covered in the past. Until the mid-1950s, news about race was almost absent from Traditional newspapers. News involving African Americans was largely relegated to the pages of the Black Press, which thrived — and continues to publish today — in cities such as New York, home to *The New York Beacon* and *The New Amsterdam News,* and Chicago, home to *The Defender.* The Black Press in the South struggled against Jim Crow-era violence, lack of advertising, and more rural landscapes that made distribution difficult (Jacobs, 2000; Nelson, Jr., 1999). But in the 1950s, that began to change. The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education,* which ruled *de jure* segregation of schools by race to be unconstitutional, awakened a new era of coverage of racial issues that brought issues of structural inequality and race-based violence to the front pages of Traditional newspapers for the first time (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006). The Black Press was at the forefront of documenting lynchings and race-based

violence in the wake of school desegregation until liberal, White Southern editors began paying attention to documenting historic events such as the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till and the Montgomery Bus Boycott (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006). It was the work of White journalists who, in some cases, risked their lives to tell these stories of mob violence and police with batons and water cannons that served as the catalyst to bring national attention to the Civil Rights struggles of the South (Roberts & Klibanoff, 2006). So, although the Black Press was covering key issues, it was the coverage of journalists working for Traditional news media that brought the issues to the fore in terms of a national conversation.

In 1967, following weeks of race-based clashes from Tampa to Detroit, Cincinnati to Newark, President Lyndon B. Johnson created The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, commonly known as the Kerner Commission after chairman and former Ohio Gov. Otto Kerner, Jr. Racial violence was not new in a country with a history of enslavement, but the riots during 1967 were "the nation's worst domestic crisis since the Civil War" (Hrach, 2011, p. 163), making them the largest racial uprisings to have been televised. When it came time to reflect on the causes of these violent clashes, news media were called to account for their roles. The commission absolved journalists of contributing to civil unrest by simply reporting on it, thus countering a public accusation still popular today that news coverage somehow fans the flames of dissention; but at the same time, the Kerner Commission deeply condemned reporters for misrepresenting the violence in the streets, and, more importantly, for failing to explore its symptoms. The report was the first to set a standard for journalistic coverage of race (Martindale, 1990). It admonished newspapers to better reflect the fabric of society by ensuring people of all races appeared in news items that had nothing to do with race (the society pages, events, comic strips, etc.) and to show that African American families "read the newspapers, watch television,

give birth, marry, die, and go to PTA meetings." Further, the commission exhorted journalists who covered African Americans living in poor, urban neighborhoods to humanize rather than demonize their sources. It called for coverage to get beyond the recounting of events to explore their potential causes and even possible solutions, something at odds with Traditional journalism norms. The commission called for changes not only in content, but also in newsroom structure, asking for reporters to cover beats in those neighborhoods. In sum, the commission asked for reporters to pay attention to impoverished communities of color even when there were not violent events to televise and it asked journalists to make visible the everyday lived experience of people of color who had been symbolically annihilated from news coverage for decades.

The Kerner Commission also noted a lack of newsroom diversity as contributing to unfair reportage. The commission's report noted that only 5 percent of Traditional journalists in 1968 were racial and/or ethnic "minorities" and stated, "Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls 'the white press' — a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America. This may be understandable, but it is not excusable in an institution that has the mission to inform and educate the whole of our society." It took 10 years for the industry to respond. In 1978, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, citing a 3 percent minority[2] population in newspaper newsrooms, adopted a goal of "parity" by 2000 (Bailon, n.d.). ASNE wanted the percentage of journalists of color to mirror they communities they served. As the U.S. population became increasingly diverse at a faster rate than expected, ASNE changed the deadline to 2025. But in 1999, the percentage of journalists of color in U.S. newsrooms fell for the first time in 23 years, dropping to 11.64 while the nation's minority population had reached

[2] The term "minority" is used to refer to people of color. It is used here to mirror the terms in the statistical data.

30 percent. ASNE's data showed that 44 percent of its 950 newspapers employed no journalists of color (Roy, April 22, 2001). The parity gap widened with the faltering economy of the early 2000 when newspaper jobs declined 5.7 percent and reporters of color lost more than twice as many jobs as White reporters (Gold, 2013, July 9). The goal for newsroom parity has become farther out of reach.

The body of scholarship on news and race is rich with examples showing how news media play a role in othering people of color by their absence from the news, in reproducing racial stereotypes, and by using imbalanced coverage, biased word choices, and skewed framing that fails to acknowledge systemic barriers faced by people of color. From coverage of sports to crime, to poverty, to activism, these patterns have held true over decades (Campbell, 1995; Gandy, 1998; Gilens, 1999; Hall, 1974; Hartigan, 2010; Rhodes, 1994; Rhodes, 2007; Shah & Thorton, 2004; Stabile, 2006; Squires & Jackson, 2010). For example, homicide coverage has statistically misrepresented Whites as victims, African Americans as perpetrators, and Latina/os absent when compared to the figures in police reports (Dixon and Linz, 2000). Whites accounted for 13 percent of homicide victims in police statistics, but 43 percent of homicide victims in news coverage; Latina/os comprised 54 percent of homicide victims, but were only shown as victims in 15 percent of news stories; African American victims made up 28 percent of the homicides, but 23 percent of the victims in news accounts (Dixon and Linz, 2000). These representations follow the model of Victim/Villain myths in reproducing representations that are statistically inaccurate, but align with racial stereotypes.

Journalists also racialize issues that are not inherently racial, which contributes to the maintenance of negative stereotypes. For example, an examination of 43 years' worth of newsmagazines — *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report* — between 1950 and

1992 found that fewer than 5 percent of the articles about poverty contained statistical information about the racial demographics of people living in poverty, yet in the images accompanying the articles, the face of poverty was overwhelmingly Black (Gilens, 1999). Statistically, African Americans accounted for about 27 percent of the poor over the study period, but accounted for as much as 75 percent of the images of poverty in newsmagazines. Additionally, although the poverty rate was steadily declining, the number of stories about poverty as a problem sharply increased, peaking in the 1970s. Thus, over a period of more than four decades, three major news magazines showcased poverty as an increasing problem and the face of that problem was African American.

Deeper analyses show that when racism itself has been addressed in Traditional coverage, there has been a distinct pattern of skewed coverage. Racism is a systemic issue, but Traditional journalists have tended to write about race at the level of the individual or cover it a singular event. Only 20 percent of Traditional news content about racial issues over five years addressed systemic aspects of racism (Apollon, et al., 2014). Covering news about race in ways that are episodic and "focused largely on exploding controversies and breaking news stories" conditions audiences "to see race as a hot-button topic only worthy of the most blockbuster stories, making it tougher for journalists to tell subtler, more complex tales" (Deggans, 2015, p. 30). Apollon et al. (2014) described individual-level racism and systemic-level racism. In their work, individual-level racism was divided into two categories: internalized racism, or one's own belief that their own race makes them superior, and interpersonal racism, in which one's one beliefs are expressed in ways that affect others, such as making a racial slur. Systemic-level racism was also divided into two categories. Institutional racism was defined as occurring within places such as schools and workplaces where systems produce inequitable outcomes, such as students of color

who live in economically depressed neighborhoods attending schools with less funding and less-qualified teachers. Structural racism was defined as racism across institutions and within society and is strongly affected by history, culture, ideology, and other systems that work together to privilege White people. This study drew on that matrix created by Apollon et al. (2014) to examine whether news coverage included context that would show instances of racism as occurring at the systemic-level.

Scholarship has shown Traditional journalists are conditioned to follow established patterns of coverage, to cover news as something unexpected and obvious, and to rely on elite sources rather than everyday voices. However, new paradigms of journalism that allow non-elite voices to speak out about the everydayness of racism in their own lives may have the potential to produce different narratives, ones that explore subtleties and systemic issues by telling them from the standpoint of the people who experience them. These paradigms allow for audience-centric coverage that shows the ways in which contemporary racism manifest are subtle, complex, and permeating, not isolated, episodic, and unexpected. This study compared contemporary coverage in Traditional and emerging paradigms. While journalists' treatment of racism casts it is surprising and infrequent, Critical Race Theory, which operates at the ideological level of influence, tells us otherwise. It explains that racism is a regular part of U.S. life and not something aberrant or questionable (Bell, 1995). It shows that Traditional news narratives have long supported Whiteness as normative and have served to "reinforce the view of minorities as the exotic other" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 760). Traditional news norms of relying on elite sources often obscure this, but CRT emphasizes how telling the stories of people who have experienced oppression, rather than privileging voices who talk about it in theory, can "cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority"

(Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 144). Thus, sourcing has the power to disrupt the myth or master narrative.

Journalistic narratives feed everyday conversations in a way that can mask the presence of racism as an everyday experience or portray racial conflict in terms of something that is always obvious. Essed (1991) described it this way: "When racism is transmitted in routine practices that seem 'normal,' at least for the dominant group, this can only mean that racism is often not recognized, not acknowledged —let alone problematized — by the dominant group" (p. 10). For example, we can know empirically that intelligence is not racially based, yet we can read news accounts about how Black children have lower test scores than White children, making it appear as though race is the causal factor. Because our laws "ensure" "equal access" to quality education this feeds a narrative that somehow the problem is rooted in the individual. When the issue is generalized to Black children, the test scores are tied to race without exploring other factors such as socio-economics or cultural biases in the tests. The coverage lacks systemic awareness and relies on commonly held stereotypes.

Technology and New Paradigms

A robust body of research stretching from the 1970s over the next forty-plus years shows that Traditional journalism's coverage of racial issues has followed consistent patterns. However, this scholarship has not yet examined the evolving journalism paradigms enabled by new technology. This study seeks to provide insights into new journalism paradigms in the context of racial coverage and to explore whether and how Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 paradigms cover racial issues differently from Traditional outlets. There are three technological affordances important to news coverage of racial issues: 1) the ability for Traditional news to be published online and for digital-only startups to enter the market without incurring the costs of

infrastructure, 2) the advent of social media, in particular Twitter, and 3) cell phone technology that has enabled a new generation to receive and participate in news wherever they are. I am interested in how these technologies are mattering for race-focused news coverage.

The new era in online journalism began in the late 1990s and early 2000s, allowing Traditional paradigms of journalism to publish and be distributed digitally, globally, and instantaneously, but maintaining the one-to-many approach to news. By the second decade of the 2000s, Traditional journalism was experimenting with online journalism in ways that allowed unprecedented opportunities for audience engagement. The Internet also removed barriers to entry for new types of digital-only journalism startups. No longer did one need to own a printing press to be in the news business. This coupled with emergence of social media technologies and new mobile phone technology has challenged long-held ideals in Traditional journalism, pushed new practices into the newsroom, and opened paths for new paradigms of journalism (Boczkowski, 2010; Usher, 2014; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2011). The Internet has brought unprecedented change to the practice of journalism because it has allowed for new and broader participation, challenged who can publish news outside of Traditional outlets, and empowered amateurs to critique professionals (Russell, 2013). It has also allowed a wider range of professionals to produce journalism in new ways.

It's helpful to look at this phenomenon chronologically, beginning with Traditional journalism and how it has navigated the changes, then moving to the new paradigms enabled by technology. One major change has been the removal of a geographic concept of audience. Prior to the 2000s, journalists conceptualized their primary audience as "everyone" in a given circulation area or geographic region (Atton, 2008; Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Lewis, 2012). With the advent of the Internet, newspapers and radio and television stations became able

to put their content online, making it accessible to anyone with an Internet connection. Most Traditional newspapers have had a web presence since 2006 (Ash, Halpern, & Hettinga, 2009) marking the relative infancy of the online news platform in a field that is hundreds of years old and making once-geographically limited content available instantly and globally. In 2010, for the first time in history, more people turned to online news of all types than to Traditional print newspapers (O'Dell, March 14, 2011). The breaking of geographic barriers is important because it allowed for events that were once only local stories to be viewed in the context of other "local" stories. For example, the death of an unarmed African American man in one city may now be viewed in the context of another similar incident. It also allowed for journalists to monitor the work of other journalists. Thus, a journalist covering a story in one city might now be influenced by coverage of a similar story in another city and may choose to write a story that provides context of the other incident — or may decide it was an isolated incident.

A second key change facilitated by the Internet is the ability for audiences to engage with journalists and with one another on news websites. Online news began as an electronic version of the Traditional newspaper, but has evolved to allow readers ways to contribute — although in the Traditional paradigm, the value of those contributions is debatable. In previous decades, audience comments were limited to writing signed letters to the editor that were subject to a vetting process. Now, people have the ability to comment instantly, globally, and anonymously on news articles via online commenting technologies. However, while the audience may contribute, it does not mean audience members are now engaging in conversations with journalists as journalists rarely, if ever, read online comments on their articles (Nielsen, 2012). Additionally, 2014 saw many newspapers beginning to shut down their online comment functions because they had become places dominated by "trolls" and bigots (Gross, 2014,

November 21). Other newsrooms have left comments available, but closed them for particular stories, particularly those involving race (Thornton, 2009, July 23). In those cases, it appears that Traditional journalism's experiment in engaging with more popular voices has ended. This aligns with Traditional journalism's value of elite voices.

Scholars interested more in the transformative power of the Internet to influence Traditional journalism have made different cases about interactivity and participation. This scholarship is not contradictory; it shows that Traditional newspapers have reacted differently to the influences of technology. For example, Usher's (2014) newsroom ethnography of *The New York Times* showed how journalists at this venerated newspaper spanned a spectrum from ignoring technology and performing their jobs the same ways they always had (i.e. write an article, send it to an editor) to incorporating it into their daily routines (i.e. using Twitter to link to link to their work or to find sources, posting regular updates on the newspaper's website). There is an important distinction to be made here, however. Journalists who use Twitter to post a link to their articles are not really interacting with audiences or ceding any type of professional control, which aligns with "the professional impulse toward one-way publishing control" (Lewis, 2012, p. 836). Therefore, technology can be seen as yet another publishing platform, or a means of interactivity. Overall, the field has responded to the question of what new technology would mean to journalism in three ways: no influence, or ranging from "possibilities for journalistic reinvention" to a "threat to be subordinated" (Powers, 2012, p. 24). Many Traditional journalists have understood audience participation as a threat to their independence and professionalism (Deuze, 2005; Lewis, 2012) or something that should be ignored (Singer, 2014). Thus, while Traditional news organizations have followed similar patterns in using technology to publish online and have adopted the premise of a new, 24/7 news cycle to meet the more frequent

demands for updated content, the idea of audience participation, or interactivity, stands out starkly as a place where news organizations have adapted in distinct ways.

Interactivity in journalism means that the public has two capacities: an ability to contribute and the power to customize their online experience. Interactivity can mean anything from a customizable database that allows readers to search city employee salaries, to a forum for reader opinions on teaching science in elementary school, to a page for readers to upload their photographs of a hail storm, post an online comment on a sports story, search for an archived article about a prior election, click a link to email the editor, or tweet to a reporter or news organization. The commonality among these options is that they are all digitally enabled and largely unfiltered by those within the newsroom (King, 2010). In a field where control over information and filtering of information is a well-established professional norm, audience participation represents a strong challenge to the journalists' ideals.

In Traditional newsrooms, putting news online did not begin as an attempt at interacting with or empowering the audience. It began with a desire to capture eyeballs to drive ad revenues. When news organizations first began putting content online, the organization's website was considered another "we write, you read" publishing platform rather than a site of interaction with the audience (King, 2010). Although online news allowed for an instant global audience, that audience was considered primarily one of consumers rather than participants (Deuze et al., 2005). News organizations considered the audience as passive and journalists retained their Traditional sense of expertise and authority to determine what was news and whose voices should be represented in coverage. In some Traditional journalism outlets, journalists have begun grudgingly sharing the platform (Singer, 2014), while often in newer startups citizen reporters are creating the platform (Deuze et al., 2007). Thus, the audience members are determining their

own user experience, but are not necessarily playing a role in production because outlets differ in their views on letting the audience in.

In 1995, a Census Bureau study showed that Internet users were predominantly White and affluent, but over the next two decades, cell phone technology bridged that gap, allowing users to access the Internet and a host of new social media applications. African Americans own Smartphones (Smith, 2014) and use Twitter at higher rates than other racial groups (Krogstad, February 3, 2015). In 2012, African Americans comprised 25 percent of U.S. Twitter users, and about 13 percent of the U.S. population (Brock, 2012; U.S. Census, 2012). Since its birth in 2006, Twitter has become a powerful tool in the political arena from hashtag activism to creating new communities, notably Black Twitter. Black Twitter was first referenced in the news in 2009 and understood to mean tweets that were referencing common racial experiences, such as #YouKnowYouAreBlackWhen or #SolidarityIsForWhiteWomen (Brock, 2012). Mobile technology has also been important to the formation of a new civil rights movement. When asked by talk show host Stephen Colbert in a January 2016 interview about how the civil rights movement has changed since the 1960s, civil rights activist DeRay Mckesson held up his cell phone and answered, "When we think about what's different about the civil rights movement now, it's really about technology. The issues are the same and we didn't invent resistance, we didn't discover injustice, but technology has allowed us to amplify these messages in ways that we couldn't before and has accelerated the pace of organizing in ways that are really powerful." Technology has enabled a new sense of community that acts as both "a site of affirmation, identification, and political expression" (Hill Collins, 2010, p. 10) that can speak to elites and overcome geographical boundaries as well as help organize social movements. "Whether by choice or by force, people belong to primary communities, and such communities are typically

ranked. Institutional practices concerning families and communities, as well as elite and everyday knowledge about family and community, form building blocks of social inequalities of class, gender, ethnicity, race, age, sexuality, and religion" (Hill Collins, 2010, p. 9). Over the past decade, communication scholars have argued that the advent of new media technologies may serve as a democratizing force that allows for more grassroots participation online (Benkler, 2006; Castells, 2013). It follows, then, that if technologies have the power to redefine community, they have the power to influence news coverage about community, including communities created around shared concerns about racism.

Reporters use Twitter, too, although not all of them and not in consistent ways. Journalists may use Twitter to break news, to link to their stories, to seek sources, and to see what other journalists are saying, seeing, and working on (Moon & Hadley, 2104; Usher, 2014). Some journalists also have come to draw upon social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook to see what potential sources and the "people formerly known as the audience" are saying about news events (Usher, 2014). In Traditional U.S. newsrooms, journalists have been more likely to use Twitter as a source for elected officials and unlikely to quote tweets from any non-elite sources, even those with large followings; thus, "Journalists still throw their news nets to the same spots as they did in the pre-Internet age" (Moon & Hadley, 2014, p. 302). Journalists in the Traditional paradigm by and large have not leveraged Twitter to widen the conversation or rethink the role of audience.

Smartphone use also correlates with new patterns of news consumption among a younger demographic, one that has Traditionally not shown as much interest in civic affairs (Media Insight Project, 2015). Ninety percent of U.S. adults now own mobile phones; 85 percent of young adults own Smartphones (Pew, 2014). The 18-to-24-year-old audience is using mobile

devices to consume and share news as one of their top three priorities, marking an increased attention to civic affairs (Media Insight Project, 2015). That age demographic also represents a more racially diverse audience (Pew, 2014). Thus, technology has made news more readily available and there is a new drive among the younger, more diverse audience to access news about current events.

Paradigms of Journalism about Race

Because journalism is essentially a conversation between journalists and audience, normative concepts in Democratic Theory can help explain the values that underpin each paradigm (Ferree, et al., 2002) and how those might interact with new technological affordances. Broadly, the evaluative criteria speak to who may speak, how they may speak, and the goal of the coverage, which ranges from answering or "closing" a question, widening the conversation to build consensus slowly over time, or holding a question open to allow more voices to speak and more questions and influences to emerge. Because new technology allows the audience an unprecedented role in the conversation, these distinctions are magnified in a new media environment and inform paradigmatic expectations. Just because the audience has been allowed a voice, doesn't mean journalists have to listen to it.

In terms of Democratic Theory, the Representative Liberal tradition best describes the values that have been manifest in U.S. Traditional news coverage of racial issues. The Representative Liberal tradition views citizens as ill-informed, passive recipients of information upon which they are not expected to act. This mirrors the one-to-many dissemination strategy of Traditional news in which journalists decide what is covered, whom to source, and which facts to be used, then report that information to audiences. Traditional journalists operate under the understanding that their training and professional skills enable them to understand and convey

what the key issues are and what the key players are saying about them. The Representative Liberal paradigm privileges the voices of elites and values detachment, meaning those who speak about issues should not be stakeholders in the controversy, but rather experts who are outside of the issue looking in. This mirrors Traditional journalism's reliance on elite sources rather than those with lived experience. The Representative Liberal paradigm also values proportionality, which reflects Traditional journalism's understanding of newsworthiness, in other words, the most people affected, the bigger the story, or the bigger the effect on people, the bigger the story. This last facet is important in coverage of race because those affected by racial issues are typically numerically in the minority and the effects on them may not be obvious on the surface or may not be provably linked to race. Central to this paradigm is a desire for what Ferree, et al. call "closure" (2002, p. 210), which they describe as news that informs the public and moves on. This describes Traditional journalism's tendency toward episodic coverage in which events are treated as discrete rather than linked systemically.

The Discursive tradition best describes the Interactive Race Beat paradigm that emphasizes popular inclusion in news coverage. This paradigm recognizes that most decisions are made at the elite level, but asserts that contributions such as the voices of those with everyday, lived experience are important to the debate. The quality of the ideas, rather than the power/prestige of the speaker is the most important factor. The goal of this tradition is "gradual consensus over time" (Ferree, et al., 2002, p. 221) that will eventually reach closure and serve the overall public good. This Discursive paradigm mirrors the Interactive Race Beat because rather than a one-to-many distribution of news, it seeks to provide a conversation between journalists and the audience and among audience members. Rather than simply providing a space

where readers can post comments at the end of an article, this emerging paradigm uses comments and discussion as primary to the coverage.

The Constructionist tradition best describes the values of Journalism 3.0 in seeking to empower the audience and privileging voices of the marginalized. Ferree et al. wrote, "With regard to content and style, Constructionists do not devalue deliberation and formal argument in discourse, but they are concerned that unexamined assumptions about how discourse should be conducted may, intentionally or inadvertently, limit who participates" (2002, p. 225). Constructionists believe that voices from the grassroots have the power to disrupt media routines. Journalism 3.0 not only privileges audience voices, but leverages technology to determine the audience's agenda or what the audience is talking about. While Interactive Race Beat journalism allows the audience to speak back to what elites are saying, Journalism 3.0 seeks to empower the narratives produced by those experiencing racism. Whether and how the topics raised by elites are different from those being discussed by the oppressed is an open question this study seeks to explore. The Constructionist tradition believes there is not one public sphere, but multiple spheres. This is at odds with Traditional journalism's conception of a "general market" that is shaped primarily by geography. Because technological advances erase the constraints of geography, this poses interesting questions about how community might be redefined.

Inflection Moments of Race

Several key events that represented "firsts" or renewed attention to racial issues since the advent of online news, Twitter, and the peak use of Smartphones presented compelling questions about how racial issues were reported across these three paradigms of journalism in this new media environment. This study examined the coverage and drew on interviews with journalists

who write about race to ask whether and how news about racial issues might be differently produced and conceptualized across Traditional journalism, Interactive Race Beat journalism, and Journalism 3.0. I focused on three important moments: the election of Barack Obama as the nation's first African American president and the questions it prompted about whether the United States was now "post-racial"; the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, a renewed, technologically enabled civil rights movement that was born digitally, but manifested in in-the-streets protests; and the killing of unarmed African American teen Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri and the months of activism that followed it as well as turned the new media's attention to the issue of African Americans killed by law enforcement officers.

The post-racial question

A new national conversation about race reached one zenith with the 2008 election of Barack Obama as the nation's first African American president. That historic event fueled a wave of "post-racial" questioning that asked, "If we have a Black president, then how can racism still be a problem?" The term "post-racial" appeared in only 12 headlines or first sentences of Traditional news stories in U.S. newspapers between 1990 and 2007, but in 2008 it appeared in Traditional news coverage 226 times in one year (Squires, 2014). A *New York* magazine article published seven months before Obama announced his candidacy asked, "The junior senator from Illinois might take the country to a place it's never been, past the baby boom, beyond race. To many Democrats, and even a lot of Republicans, the prospect is thrilling—but is it for real?" (Senior, 2006, October 2). The effect of this post-racial questioning discourse was to erase the U.S. history of enslavement and discrimination from the public and news media narrative (Temple, 2010). Examples of this type of discourse are not difficult to find in Traditional

journalism; they span from the emergence of Obama's first hint of candidacy through much of his two terms as president.

The racial narrative underlying this question had been set long before most people had ever heard of the junior senator from Illinois. The post-racial question is part of a new type of racism that began in the late 1970s (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). In his book on "color-blind racism," Bonilla-Silva (2014) described how those seeds of thought planted decades before came to bear fruit with Obama's election. He wrote, "In the 2008 election cycle, Americans did not see what was in front of their noses; they saw what they wanted and longed to see. Whereas black and other people of color saw in Obama the impossible dream come true, white saw the confirmation of their belief that America is indeed a color-blind nation" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014, pp. 256-257). This "new racism" has supplanted what existed formerly in legally sanctioned ways, and it is more difficult to recognize, easier to excuse, and more difficult to challenge in formal or informal ways (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). That intangibility and the lack of formal structures such as overtly racist policies make it difficult for journalists to declare racism exists while remaining objective, so the response has typically been to turn racism into something that is always situational and questionable.

The newer forms of racism are even less apparent at the structural level, the level least often explored in Traditional news coverage. Laws mandating things such as "colorblindness" in hiring practices, for example, have served to institutionalize it as a concept — as something not only achievable, but required. "Colorblindness" has perpetuated "a myth: the idea that race has all but disappeared as a factor in shaping the life chances of all Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, p. 178). For example, Bonilla-Silva argued that if race is not a factor, then the only explanation for the reason so many African American men are incarcerated must be because they are

individually flawed. Because colorblindness is a central tenet of the current U.S. criminal-justice system, the explanation for the disparity becomes individual defect. When so many people in one group carry the same "defect" then that becomes generalized to race (Bonilla-Silva, 2006, p. 178). Bonilla-Silva (2006) showed how these beliefs manifest in everyday interactions. "Modern racial ideology does not thrive on the ugliness of the past or on the language and tropes typical of slavery and Jim Crow… Whites believe minorities have the opportunities to succeed and that, if they do not, it is because they do not try hard. And if minorities dare talk about discrimination, they are rebuked with statements such as 'Discrimination ended in the sixties, man' or 'You guys are hypersensitive'" (2006, p. 181). In Traditional news narratives, which rely on facts and privilege detached, elite experts over those living the issue, discrimination is all but impossible to prove because although journalists can read laws, they cannot read minds.

#BlackLivesMatter

The Internet and mobile technology have enabled new ways of organizing, and these tools have been leveraged by civil rights activists to mobilize campaigns that are born digital and manifest in in-the-streets protests. Enabled by technology and unfettered by geographic boundaries, the Black Lives Matter Movement was founded as a Twitter hashtag in 2013, and then became an online platform around which regional grassroots groups gathered all over the United States. The Black Lives Matter Movement began during the murder trial of George Zimmerman, a Florida man accused of shooting unarmed 17-year-old Trayvon Martin. Zimmerman, who is White or Latino depending upon the news account (Nishime, 2013, August 1), was serving as a neighborhood watch volunteer and felt it was suspicious that an African American teen in a hoodie was walking through his neighborhood. Zimmerman shot Martin on Feb. 26, 2012. Zimmerman was acquitted after a jury trial in July 2013. The acquittal sparked

protests both online and in person. Democratic Congressman Bobby Rush of Illinois, for example, made headlines after he was removed from the U.S. House floor because he was wearing a gray, hooded sweatshirt to speak about racial profiling and Martin's death (Graham, 2012, March 8). (House rules prevent the wearing of hats in the chambers and the presiding officer ruled that the hood was like a hat.) A group of African American New York State senators wore hoodies on the Senate floor. As a tribute to Martin and a political statement, the Miami Heat basketball team tweeted a photo of themselves wearing hoodies to obscure their faces. Celebrities, activists, and elected officials flooded Twitter with posts of themselves wearing hoodies. While it is beyond the scope of this study to measure the relative roles of the Black Lives Matter Movement and Twitter in shaping and spreading the protest, it's clear the two worked together to bring attention to the issue of racial profiling.

In *A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement*, co-founder Alicia Garza explained that she and Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi launched the movement as a response to anti-Black racism embedded throughout U.S. society. She wrote, "Black Lives Matter is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression" (Garza, 2014, p. 1). The Black Lives Matter Movement has been called "the most significant political challenge in decades to institutional racism and the status quo" (Miah, 2015). The growth of the Black Lives Matter Movement shows how Twitter, online news, and cell phone technologies converged to speak back to the question of post-racialism and the reality of everyday racism. The movement is relatively new and has not yet received significant scholarly attention, but it has received significant coverage in news media both in the U.S. and abroad. A search for the term "Black

Lives Matter" and "#BlackLivesMatter" in U.S. newspapers indexed by the Nexis database shows that at least 1,450 newspaper articles mentioning the movement were published between Aug. 24, 2014 and Jan. 29, 2016. While the movement was born in 2013, the first reference to the movement in a traditional, national newspaper appeared in *The Washington Post* in a guest column written by Frederick Harris, a professor of political science and director of the Institute for Research in African American Studies at Columbia University, in a column he wrote about Ferguson, Missouri and the role of Twitter and the Black Lives Matter Movement in the protests that followed. The headline of his column asked, "When Does a Moment Become a Movement?"

Ferguson

The killing of African American teen Michael Brown by White police officer Darren Wilson in the afternoon of August 9, 2014 on a Ferguson, Missouri street captured and held the attention of the news media in ways not seen in decades. The circumstances — White cop kills unarmed Black man — were not new. Ferguson represented the first time race had been covered with such attention since the advent of cell phone technology that enabled Twitter, consumption of online news, and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement. *The Washington Post* reporters Mark Fisher and Wesley Lowrey wrote that "Ferguson forces the country out of the fantasy that America had entered a 'post-racial' era" (*The Washington Post*, 2014, November 25). AJ+ producer Shadi Radhimi noted that in the middle of the protests, "Activists were scooping the media on Twitter, photos and raw video were being tweeted in rapid succession to tell a full story on timelines" (Radhimi, 2015, August 13). There were other differences that are also important in the context of journalism about race, namely that journalists of all races were being arrested and harassed by the police as they tried to cover the story.

The story of Ferguson represented key moments in journalism about race, including hashtag activism that was eventually covered in the news: #HandsUpDontShoot, #IfTheyGunnedMeDown, and #CrimingWhileWhite all made news headlines. #IfTheyGunnedMeDown was a direct response to how journalists were portraying Michael Brown as either smiling in his high school graduation regalia or scowling menacingly at the camera. These images play on Lule's (2002) concept of myth and archetype. Twitter users picked up the hashtag to post more than 168,000 pictures of themselves in contrasting images (Vega, 2014, August 12), for example sitting on a curb smoking a cigarette vs. wearing an Army uniform and reading to school kids (see photo on p. 84). In this way, social media gave the audience agency to immediately and publicly provide counternarratives that spoke to Traditional news coverage and were then covered in major news media outlets.

Ferguson coverage also highlighted anew a lack of newsroom diversity. As the protests that ensued over the following weeks quickly made national and international headlines, Traditional newsrooms realized they had a dearth of non-white reporters to cover Ferguson, which we now know they understood to be a major news story — the biggest news story of the year. Public opinion polls about Ferguson coverage showed a strong racial divide between how White respondents and Black respondents viewed the role of race in the death of Michael Brown. An August 2014 Pew Research Center Survey showed that 80 percent of Black respondents agreed that the death and demonstrations in Ferguson raised "important issues about race that need to be discussed" while only 37 percent of White respondents felt that way. Moreover, 47 percent of Whites felt "race is getting more attention than it deserves," but only 18 percent of Black respondents agreed with that statement. The percentage of White respondents who felt race was "getting too much" attention was lower after Ferguson than it was a year prior during

the trial George Zimmerman in the death of Trayvon Martin (Pew, 2014). These poll numbers are important in two ways: one, they show how audiences interpret news at an individual level, and two, they show the ability of the White audience to change its mind.

After the tear gas cleared and the camera crews packed up their equipment, the story of Ferguson did not end. The Ferguson Commission, convened by Missouri Gov. Jay Nixon, issued a report in September 2015 that echoed the Kerner report from 47 years prior. The Ferguson Commission discussed racial oppression, urban poverty in African American communities, a need for anti-bias training — and a recommendation for training for journalists about how to cover race. The report called out journalists for misrepresenting what was happening in the streets, just as the Kerner report had done. The notable difference in the Ferguson Commission report was that rather than calling on journalism as an industry to do a better job, it recommended that all journalists needed diversity training from outside the newsroom if they were to more accurately cover racial issues. The report also singled out news media as in need of "trauma-informed and anti-bias training…with specific focus on impoverished communities, people of color, and boys and men of color" (Ferguson Commission, 2015, p. 153). Unlike Kerner, the Ferguson Commission did not call on newsrooms to push for more diversity or to create "race beats," but after the report was released, National Association of Black Journalists President Sarah Glover said, "My hope is that the Ferguson report causes all media managers, not just those in St. Louis, to take a moment to look around their own newsrooms and ask themselves whether their newsroom staff and content reflects the community they serve" (Becker, 2015, September 15). The Ferguson Commission report differed from the Kerner Commission report because it called on all reporters and others who work for institutions (i.e. government) to

participate in diversity training, whereas Kerner positioned journalists more as government watchdogs and presumed that hiring more reporters and editors of color was the solution.

This recommendation calls back to the table a longstanding debate in journalism about how race should be covered. These questions focus on how best to avoid pigeonholing journalists of color who may want to cover other topics and how to better "mainstream" racial issues into stories across beats. Some of the key questions have been whether news organizations need a "race beat" to ensure issues of race are regularly covered, or whether having one means other reporters ignore racial nuances in their stories; whether having one creates a divide, or whether not having a race beat marginalizes the importance of race in today's society. Deggans (2015) noted that in 2014, most Traditional newspapers have a wine critic, but not a dedicated reporter to write about race. These questions arise at this important time in journalism about race, a time when technology has afforded the ability for new online platforms and new voices to contribute to those platforms. Whether journalism embraces new affordances, maintains the status quo, or finds a middle ground, how it forges a path at a time when race has reached a new level of salience for journalists, and how journalists view their jobs in navigating this new territory are the key questions at the heart of this study across all three paradigms of journalism.

Three key events across three paradigms of journalism.

These three key events — the post-racial notion coming into news discourse, the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the response to the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson — constitute important moments in journalism about racial issues. Examining how they were covered across the three paradigms of journalism — Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0 — provides important insights into whether news coverage of race might be changing or have stayed the same in an era in which technology

affords unprecedented opportunities for non-elite voices to help co-create the stories we tell about race. For example, does Traditional journalism continue to rely on elite voices in an era of Twitter? Do journalists enter into conversations? Has Interactive Race Beat journalism widened the conversation by including more popular voices, or is the conversation, while more inclusive, still centered around what the elites are talking about? Does Journalism 3.0 produce something qualitatively different than the paradigms from which it evolved? Are there differences in the narratives across the three paradigms, for example, in telling what is at stake and identifying the causes of conflict? Is racism viewed as a question or a given?

This study drew on two methods, narrative analysis (Brennen, 2012; Kitch, 2007) of news coverage and in-depth interviews with journalists, to delve into those questions. Narrative analysis of coverage in each of the three paradigms allowed me to explore whether there were differences in terms of sourcing (elite versus non-elite, detached experts vs. involved participants), how issues and their root causes and potential solutions were discussed (or not discussed), and the level to which coverage within each of the three paradigms was systemically aware (Apollon, et al., 2014). Using a mixed-methods approach that then incorporated interviews with journalists to explore the findings from the narrative analysis allowed me to examine whether the coverage matched what journalists described they were trying to achieve with their coverage. For example, I sought to explore whether journalists were thinking about coverage of race in new ways, but producing coverage that followed old, institutional patterns.

In theorizing about the paradigms, it would be expected that Traditional journalism would have followed decades-old patterns of coverage, regardless of it appearing online. It would have relied on elite sources who remained detached, would have ignored contributions from audiences, and would have questioned whether racism existed and/or was a factor in the

given issue. Traditional journalism coverage of these key moments and issues would have handled them as isolated events with scant attention to providing systemically aware content. Traditional journalism's mixed acceptance of/resistance to interactivity and its desire to limit audience participation would have been most likely to have resulted in coverage that relied on elite sources speaking about people rather than the people with lived experience speaking for themselves. Based on the concepts of media paradigms, Traditional news would have covered issues with a sense of objectivity, which would mean quoting "both sides" or those for and those opposed to the group — something that has the power to drive particular narratives that subvert anti-racist efforts (Lacy & Ono, 2011; Temple, 2010). In sum, Traditional journalism would be expected to have treated coverage of racial issues as questions to be answered by elites without audience input, and these detached experts, rather than the people who live the issue, would have provided cases for who was to blame and what, if anything, should be done about the issue. Those same practices would be expected to be reflected in interviews with journalists, who would be expected to talk about the importance of objectivity, covering racism only when it was measurable or "provable," and relying on elite sources.

Interactive Race Beat coverage would have been expected to differ significantly from Traditional journalism coverage because the former paradigm seeks to create a conversation and to leverage audience voices, not to be a one-to-many communication. Thus, while the Interactive Race Beat is tied to Traditional journalism in that it relies on its brand identity, it establishes a separate milieu in which the rules are different and the topic is race. The audience members share a space on the platform and are invited in as important contributors. That means bringing in popular voices, allowing lived experience to speak truth to power, and having a conversation with audiences. For topics as sensitive and often combustible as those involving racial identity,

Interactive Race Beat journalism can offer something Traditional news coverage of race has not: anonymity within the discussion rather than relegated to a separate online comment section. Anonymity afforded users via online communication can be especially helpful when discussing race because it allows for a "reduced social cues" model (Striley & King, 2013) that prevents users from knowing the race/gender/citizenship of the person communicating. That allows the communicator to feel safer speaking freely and it changes the tone of the conversation because others in the conversation cannot use race/gender/citizenship arguments about individuals in the discussion (Striley & King, 2013). Audience participants may feel they can speak up without either being marginalized because of their identities or feeling responsible for speaking for an entire group. This valence keeps the focus on the ideas rather than the identity of the person writing them and has the power to create a more civil dialogue. Inviting non-elite voices to speak anonymously in coverage of race is a radical departure from Traditional journalism. What doesn't change, however, is that the debate is hosted by journalists who retain control by choosing the topics and by closely monitoring and moderating the debate on the platform. While this paradigm leverages technology to bring in popular voices, those voices are responding to the prompts produced by the journalists, which are often in response to what is being discussed by elites. The goal of this paradigm is to leverage technology to build a conversation around issues of race. Interactive Race Beat journalism begins with the understanding that racism exists. Therefore, it would be expected to create a space where popular voices would speak back to elites debating the issue with the goal of the debate being to reach consensus.

Journalism 3.0 coverage would be expected to produce audience-centered coverage and privilege the perspectives of people of color. Journalism 3.0 coverage would be expected to be more systemically aware and to go beyond what was happening in the streets that day to explore

systemic issues of poverty, oppression, and police violence in Black communities. It would also be expected to connect the death of Michael Brown to other deaths of African Americans at the hands of police, such as Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and Freddie Gray. And it would be expected to look beyond police violence against African Americans to interrogate racism as a key factor. In Journalism 3.0, technology is not just an influence on coverage of race; it is something leveraged to determine what should be covered. In a radical departure from the previous two paradigms, in which journalists determine the conversation, in Journalism 3.0, audiences help shape the topics and how they are covered. Racial coverage in this paradigm leverages technology to bring in the voices of the people most affected by racism, not just to respond to what elites are saying, but to help set the news agenda about racial issues. Journalism 3.0 also leverages technology to carry the conversation outside of the confines of its platform. It may link to or aggregate coverage of race produced by other news organizations, amateurs, or citizen journalists and add its own take on that coverage, or encourage the audience to weigh in. While Traditional journalism and the Interactive Race Beat take a serious approach to covering racial issues, Journalism 3.0 may do that or it may engage in humor about racism, using the mix of high and low culture (Whittaker, 2004). All of those affordances are leveraged to serve Journalism 3.0's goal of keeping a conversation about a racial issue from being closed prematurely before a variety of perspectives have been examined.

Chapter Two

Dissertation Design and Methodology

This study employed two methods: narrative analysis of news discourse about racial issues and semi-structured, in-depth interviews with journalists who cover racial issues in each paradigm — Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0. This allowed me to compare what was produced with what journalists said about how they approach coverage of racial issues and how they think racial issues should be covered. My narrative analysis centered on three key moments: the post-racial question, the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the events following the killing of Michael Brown, Jr. in Ferguson, Missouri. The interviews drew on data from the narrative analysis and examined broader questions about how journalists work and how they think journalism should approach coverage of racial issues.

It is important to acknowledge my positionality in this work. I am a White woman, and for this research I interviewed reporters who cover racial issues, a job I used to do. Some participants were White, some were African American. They were selected based on their job descriptions and beats rather than their racial identities. As a former journalist, I had experience in Traditional newsrooms, but not in the emergent paradigms, so it was important for me to explore my own biases and experience in regard to how journalists work. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that my racial identity may have affected how participants talked to me, what they were comfortable disclosing, and whether they believed I, as a White woman, would understand and/or accurately interpret what they told me. The interviews examined influences on journalists from the level of the individual level to social systems. I anticipated more disclosure at the most abstract level because it would be more in line with journalistic norms to present strong opinions about the field rather than one's own opinions and approaches;

however, I also anticipated that this might differ across paradigms, with Journalism 3.0 reporters being more willing to share their personal views. I found, however, that journalists across paradigms were candid about their opinions and how their journalism was informed by their own racial identities. This was acknowledged by both African American and White reporters.

Narrative Analysis

I employed narrative analysis of news content to answer questions about coverage of the post-racial question, the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson in Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0 paradigms. This type of analysis is especially helpful in examining journalism because it seeks to unpack structural influences on how news is covered, explores storytelling and the role of myth, and is useful in comparisons across media models (Barkin, 1984; Brennen, 2012; Kitch 2007; Kitch & Hume, 2012; Lule, 2002; Schudson, 1978). Narrative analysis operates at the level of ideological influences because it "takes note of the events and anecdotes in stories (what is in them and what is left out) as well as overall plot development (how, in what order and with what language, the story is told; how it opens; how its conflict is established and resolved; and how it ends) and characterization (who, within the story structure, emerges as the most salient players and how they interact)" (Kitch & Hume, 2012, p. 15). This type of analysis looks for commonalities or differences in major themes. It is also best suited to evaluate whether coverage of racial issues is systemically aware, which is important in avoiding reproduction of stereotypes (Apollon et al., 2014). In narrative analysis, the researcher seeks to be an interpreter of connotative and denotative meanings within news articles, paying close attention not only to what is manifest, but what that manifest content also suggests. How this might compare across the three paradigms' coverage of race has the potential to show whether there has been a shift in coverage of racial issues.

To conduct this analysis, I followed several steps. First, I used the search strings specified below to access news articles from three different search engines. For Traditional coverage, I used Nexis; for Interactive Race Beat coverage, I used NPR's online archive at www.npr.org; and for Journalism 3.0, I used Ahrefs.com, which is a tool that combs websites for keywords. NPR and digital-only non-legacy news organizations are not indexed in Nexis, so other tools were necessary for working across paradigms. I read each article and evaluated it using the criteria specified below to decide if it met the parameters I set for inclusion in the research, which is that the content must speak to post-racial questioning tied to the election/presidency of Barack Obama, the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement beyond a simple mention of its name, or events in Ferguson relating to race from the day Michael Brown, Jr. was shot until present. At minimum, the content included a paragraph written by the journalist or a quote given by the source that addressed one of the three topics listed. I used staff-written content only and excluded material produced by journalists working for wire services. In the case of Traditional journalism, I included blog posts, but only those written by staff members, not those contributed by freelance journalists working outside of the newsroom. To ascertain this, I looked up each reporter's byline and compared it to staff lists that gave descriptions of reporters vs. contributors. I excluded editorials, news analysis, commentary, op-eds, and letters to the editor because persuasive journalism has a different purpose and because columns, op-eds, and letters are produced by people working outside of the newsroom. My search strings were as follows:

- For the search of coverage of the post-racial question, I used date parameters from Feb. 1, 2008, just prior to Barack Obama being considered as a Democratic contender for the presidency, through April 21, 2016, the latest date before I began data analysis. I used the Boolean language: Obama AND "post-racial" OR postracial. In the case of Interactive

Race Beat coverage, the date parameters were different because NPR's Code Switch blog did not launch until April 7, 2013, so the dates of that search were April 7, 2013 through April 21, 2106.

- For the search of coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, I used date parameters beginning June 1, 2013 (a month before the Twitter hashtag appeared) and ending April 21, 2016, the latest date before I began data analysis. My Boolean terms were: "#BlackLivesMatter" OR "Black Lives Matter" AND (race OR racial).
- For the search of coverage of Ferguson, I searched using the dates Aug. 9, 2014 (the day Michael Brown, Jr. was shot) to April 21, 2016, the latest date before I began data analysis. My Boolean terms were: Ferguson AND "Michael Brown*" AND (black OR African) AND (race OR racial). The asterisk was necessary to capture content that referenced him as Michael Brown, Jr. These terms allowed me to filter through coverage that specifically highlighted some aspect of race or a racial issue.

Table 2.1
Outlets, Tools, and Dates Used in Search

Topic	Paradi	Outlet	Tool	Dates
Post-racial				
	Trad.	New York Times/NYT blogs	Lexis Nexis	2/1/2008 - 4/21/2016
	Trad.	Washington Post/WaPo blogs	Lexis Nexis	2/1/2008 - 4/21/2016
	IRB	Code Switch	NPR.com	4/7/2013 - 3/11/2016
	J 3.0	BuzzFeed	Ahrefs	2/1/2008 - 4/21/2016
	J 3.0	Mashable	Ahrefs	2/1/2008 - 4/21/2016
Black Lives Matter				
	Trad.	New York Times/NYT blogs	Lexis Nexis	6/1/2013 - 4/21/2016
	Trad.	Washington Post/WaPo blogs	Lexis Nexis	6/1/2013 - 4/21/2016
	IRB	Code Switch	NPR.com	6/1/2013 - 4/21/2016
	J 3.0	BuzzFeed	Ahrefs	6/1/2013 - 4/21/2016
	J 3.0	Mashable	Ahrefs	6/1/2013 - 4/21/2016
Ferguson				
	Trad.	New York Times/NYT blogs	Lexis Nexis	8/9/2014 - 4/21/2016
	Trad.	Washington Post/WaPo blogs	Lexis Nexis	8/9/2014 - 4/21/2016
	IRB	Code Switch	NPR.com	8/9/2014 - 4/21/2016
	J 3.0	BuzzFeed	Ahrefs	8/9/2014 - 4/21/2016
	J 3.0	Mashable	Ahrefs	8/9/2014 - 4/21/2016

I read each piece of content to determine whether they met my criteria and contained at least one paragraph that spoke to the issue at hand. I then took what scholar Stuart Hall described as a "deep soak" by conducting close readings of the articles by topic across all three paradigms. My interest was first in comparing by topic across paradigm, then looking for changes over time within each paradigm. My narrative analysis identified sourcing patterns, narrative of the conflict (Kitch 2007; Kitch & Hume, 2012; Vincent, 2000), and structural awareness of racism (Apollon et al, 2014). I followed the model set forth by Leiblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998) of holistic-content reading, or reading the material and noting recurrent contexts to identify patterns that repeated or did not (Reissman, 1993). I then compared coverage of each racial moment across journalism paradigm.

Narrative analysis is valuable to examine coverage of racial issues for several reasons. First, coverage of racial issues in Traditional journalism has frequently relied on implicit terms or stereotypes to reproduce structurally unaware content (Campbell, 1995; Squires, 2014). The coverage is not explicitly racist, but reinforces negative stereotypes via associations and failure to decode language related to race; for example, the previously mentioned habit of news accounts that inexplicably racialize academic performance or poverty without any context of historic or systemic oppression. Second, research using narrative analysis can show how journalists conduct their work differently under certain circumstances, particularly those that involve political or physical violence or disorder (Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006). All three key moments in this study represented a challenge to a dominant paradigm or order — the first African American president, the rise of a new Civil Rights movement, and unprecedented contemporary media attention to police violence against African Americans. During challenging times, "journalists switch to a cultural narrative that moves the public mind back toward the dominant cultural order" (Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006, p. 691) by using cultural narratives and myths to explain issues and events. Especially during times of social disruption, the news helps the public to "discursively reestablish social order" (Budarick, 2011, p. 37). The more distant the actors in the news event are from the journalist, the more the journalist relies on tropes (Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006). In the case of racial coverage, that means narrative analysis across paradigms of journalism that view sources and audiences differently may show how different journalism paradigms reinforce or question dominant views, rely on or reject myths, repeat or dispel stereotypes, and seek to maintain the status quo or not. In sum, narrative analysis is an appropriate tool for examining coverage of political and social change at several levels and across paradigms.

Research questions for narrative analysis across the three paradigms included:

RQ1: Were there differences in sourcing (elite versus non-elite, detached experts vs. involved participants, sources who spoke of their own lived experience with the issue vs. were spoken for).

RQ2: How did each paradigm narratively portray the conflict and what was at stake?

RQ3: To what extent did the coverage show racism as systemic?

RQ4: Were there changes over time in sourcing, narrative portrayal of the conflict, and level of systemic awareness of racism?

Traditional journalism

I focused on two of the nation's largest and most established news organizations to gain insight into Traditional journalism. *The New York Times and The Washington Post* are daily newspapers that cover national issues, thus were likely to provide significant coverage of the moments central to this study: the question of a post-racial America under President Barack Obama, the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson. Each of these news organizations also has a strong web presence with more digital readers than print readers, which was important because the comparison paradigms of Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 paradigms are digital-only news. That means that journalists across all paradigms are writing, either significantly or solely, for a digital audience.

The New York Times is the largest general-market newspaper in the country. It has an average weekday print circulation of 625,951 and has reached a high of 65.8 million unique page views per month on its website (New York Times, 2015, May 1; Valinsky, 2015, November 13). Founded in 1851, it had won 117 Pulitzer Prizes as of 2015 — the most of any news organization. *The Times* had a "race beat" with one reporter, Tanzina Vega, who created the beat for herself,

but eliminated that beat in January 2015 (Ip, 2015, January 28). Vega later left to work for CNNMoney covering race and inequality as a digital correspondent. As of 2016, *The New York Times* did not have a section devoted to coverage of racial issues, but did have a newsletter called "Race Related" that it sends to those who have filled out a form on nytimes.com to request it.

The Washington Post is the country's sixth-largest general-market newspaper. It has a uniquely important footprint because of its publication in the nation's capital. Founded in 1877, the *Post* has an average daily print circulation of 377,466 and in November 2015 had more unique monthly visitors to its website than did the previous frontrunner, *The New York Times,* with 66.9 million (Valinsky, 2015, November 15). The *Post* had been family owned for 80 years, but was purchased in 2013 by Amazon.com founder Jeff Bezos, who pledged to significantly allocate resources to the *Post's* online approaches and offerings. The *Post* also does not have a section dedicated to coverage of racial issues. In April 2016, just as my analysis was beginning, a team of *Post* reporters won the Pulitzer Prize "For its revelatory initiative in creating and using a national database to illustrate how often and why the police shoot to kill and who the victims are most likely to be." That database was launched by *Post* reporters who covered Ferguson after they realized the federal government was not tracking that data and wanted to examine whether the data showed insights into race as a factor (Lowery, 2016). These Traditional news outlets represent the nation's most influential publications both in terms of audience size and in terms of attention to coverage of racial issues at the national level.

Interactive Race Beat

The Interactive Race Beat is an emerging paradigm of journalism that represents the Discursive tradition. It is so new that when this study was conceptualized in 2015, only one nationally oriented news organization fit the category: National Public Radio's Code Switch blog.

It has since been joined by The Undefeated, which launched on ESPN.com in May 2016. On April 7, 2013, NPR launched Code Switch, a blog run by a team of between six and eight journalists whose website describes their mission as covering "the overlapping themes of race, ethnicity and culture, how they play out in our lives and communities, and how all of this is shifting" (NPR, 2013). Code Switch operates within a legacy-media organization, but it seeks to reach an audience that is not necessarily already tuned in to NPR. Code Switch is leveraging Twitter to promote a conversation with readers outside of NPR to listen to new perspectives and create a dialog that broader than a single news organization (G. Demby, personal communication, January 24, 2017). What also sets it apart from NPR generally is that Code Switch offers a new model of journalism that conflicts with the journalistic norm of objectivity (Schudson, 2005) by embracing a standpoint, even though the blog is hosted by a Traditional news outlet. The blog's introduction states, "Remember when folks used to talk about being 'post-racial?' Well, we're definitely not that" (NPR, 2013). In their work, Code Switch journalists regularly identify their positions in coverage.

At the time of the study Code Switch sought to engage with its audience via comments posted on articles. With the exception of *The New York Times,* most Traditional news organizations do not moderate their online comments and instead have outsourced that function to third-party Topix, which uses computer programs to scan for keywords (Reuters, 2007, November 27). At the time of the study, Code Switch was actively moderating conversations on its platform, which was in keeping with the deliberative tradition of valuing civility. After analysis began, NPR shut off comments on all of its platforms, citing a low number of commenters (Wang, 2016, August 17). In my interview with lead Code Switch blogger Gene Demby, he said that Code Switch generated an enormous amount of comments and the job of

moderating them was unfeasible. He said he views Code Switch as still engaging in dialogue with readers, but now those discussions are taking place primarily on Twitter. Thus, Code Switch still leverages new-media technology to encourage audience participation and thus popular inclusion, rather than to promote content. Code Switch also uses tagging to connect stories into larger themes. For example, it has tags that appear at the bottom of a story about the Black Lives Matter Movement. They include #BlackLivesMatter, Twitter, Ferguson, Mo. That allows users to click on a tag and see all stories about a topic and it also shows how the journalists are conceptualizing news events as related. Audience data for NPR.org shows it receives 41.4 million unique page visitors each month (NPR, March 2017), but that is for all of NPR, not Code Switch. As an organization, NPR has put a premium on its online presence. In 2009, before Code Switch launched, "Fast Company" magazine claimed, "The most successful hybrid of old and new media comes from the last place you'd expect. NPR's digital smarts, nonprofit structure, and good old-fashioned shoe leather might save the news" (Kamenetz, 2009, April 1). Code Switch is one of those digital initiatives.

At the time this study was designed, a second news platform that was a modern version of "the race beat" tied to a legacy media platform was being developed, but it did not yet have content. ESPN's The Undefeated launched on May 17, 2016 after ESPN lured editor Kevin Merida away from *The Washington Post* (Brady, 2016, May 16). The Undefeated's mission statement reads, "The Undefeated is the premier platform for exploring the intersections of race, sports and culture. We enlighten and entertain with innovative storytelling, original reporting and provocative commentary. Not Conventional. Never Boring." The Undefeated come into being too late to be included in the narrative analysis, but I interviewed one of the reporters from that organization, Soraya McDonald, for the second part of my data collection.

Journalism 3.0

Journalism 3.0 is the most heterogeneous paradigm of the three types included in this study. It is also the most emergent and the paradigm seeing the most audience growth. For example, BuzzFeed's 78 million unique monthly page views outpace both *The New York Times and The Washington Post* by more than 10 million (LaFrance &Meyer, 2015, April 15). It is not just born-digital; it is an altogether different concept of journalism that blends commentary with objective reporting, high and low culture, and privileges voices often left out of news discourse. There are many news outlets that fit some of the parameters of Journalism 3.0, but two stand out as meeting the criteria of its definition and standing on par with the size of the digital audience for Traditional journalism: BuzzFeed and Mashable. Like their Traditional journalism counterparts, these are general-interest news organizations, which means that unlike Interactive Race Beat paradigms, they have a mission to cover a wide range of news and issues. Journalism 3.0 differs from general-market news organizations, however, because its focus is on learning what the public is talking about and covering those matters, rather than covering the news and hoping publics are interested in it or presuming they will be interested. Both BuzzFeed and Mashable are a little more than a decade old, compared to their Traditional journalism counterparts, which are both more than a century old. It's important to note that BuzzFeed and Mashable are both for-profit news organizations, which in some ways sets them apart from Ferree et al.'s (2002) conception of Constructionist news. However, 15 years after that work, a media ecology in which digital-only news has a national reach bears stretching that original definition away from economic definitions and toward technological affordances focused on distribution model, access, and audience participation.

BuzzFeed launched in 2006 as a bot combing viral videos (often of cute cats); but the site evolved to produce original news content under the supervision of human editors, most of them with strong backgrounds in Traditional journalism (Shontell, 2012, December 11), including Ben Smith from Politico, who became editor-in-chief in 2011. BuzzFeed is unlike any Traditional or Interactive Race Beat news organization because it relies primarily on social media "shares" rather than people landing on its page or Googling things (Shontell, 2012, December 11). "People are the new distribution network," BuzzFeed founder Jonah Peretti said. "If people become the distribution network, that should be something good for media, good for reporting, and good for journalism, because it's closer to humans and further away from the constraints of the medium or the particular way something will be broadcasted. People are what spreads the media, and that's a stronger and better signal than a media company could [build alone]" (Shontell, 2012, December 11). BuzzFeed's data asserts that 75% of its traffic comes from social media shares (BuzzFeed, n.d.) As of 2015, BuzzFeed had grown into a large operation of 900 employees in 10 bureaus globally. It had 78 million unique visitors a month, more than any Traditional news organization, and was more profitable than most news organizations (LaFrance &Meyer, 2015, April 15). By 2017, BuzzFeed claimed it had more than 200 million monthly unique visitors, half of whom were 18-34 years old (BuzzFeed, n.d.). BuzzFeed's desire to deliver what the audience wants (i.e. what is trending on social media), has led it to be a standout for coverage of contemporary racial issues. In the words of author, civil rights activist, and journalist for *The Atlantic,* Ta-Nehisi Coates "No publication has more aggressively dealt with diversity than BuzzFeed" (Coates, 2014, December 9). Additionally, BuzzFeed as a news organization is far more racially and ethnically diverse than Traditional news outlets. While Traditional newspapers have had racial diversity rates between 12% and 14% for about a

decade (ASNE, 2015), BuzzFeed's editorial staff is more than twice as racially diverse with 33% of journalists there identifying as people of color — and that rate is growing (Smith, 2014, October 1). This is particularly compelling because it shows how BuzzFeed is following what the audience wants and that is more and perhaps different coverage of racial issues; and audience posts on social media are the driver.

Mashable shares many characteristics with BuzzFeed, but it began with a more serious focus than cat videos. Mashable was launched in 2005 by 19-year-old Pete Cashmore as a blog covering tech startups (Nieman Journalism Lab, n.d). Like BuzzFeed, Mashable seeks a young and digitally savvy audience and focuses first on what the audience is already talking about on social media (Lichterman, 2014, July 22). Like BuzzFeed, it began with curation and later added original content, hired prestigious former journalists — in this case, *New York Times* veteran reporters and digital editors to become executive and managing editors. Mashable has 45 million unique visitors each month and its statistics show that 3 Mashable articles are shared every second with 55% of its traffic coming from mobile devices (Mashable.com, n.d.). It provides original content, aggregation, and analysis. Like BuzzFeed, Mashable does not have a section devoted to race and it does not have reporters assigned to cover racial issues. BuzzFeed and Mashable have followed similar trajectories in that neither one started out with a desire to cover general-interest news, much less news about racial issues. Both have grown rapidly as companies and in terms of audience, positioning BuzzFeed as having a larger audience than either of the Traditional outlets in this study and Mashable as on par with them.

Narrative analysis across these three paradigms looking at three important inflection points in news coverage of racial issues was an effective way to examine whether there were differences in whose voices were heard, how the narratives of the conflict were portrayed, and

whether coverage showed systemic awareness of racism. Examining manifest content and interpreting what it suggests in terms of the relative power of sources and the coverage's systemic awareness of racism has the potential to show how different approaches to journalism may yield different narratives. Ultimately, news narratives have been found to shape everyday conversations about race, and those conversations shape how individuals understand racial issues. These narratives are important and powerful. Racism is experienced at the individual level, but is a systemic issue — although Traditional journalism has not covered it that way. The emerging paradigms, which step away from the norms of objectivity to varying degrees and give individuals' lived experience and audience voices a stronger role, have the power to produce a new narrative about race.

Semi-Structured Interviews

After performing my narrative analysis, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with journalists working within each paradigm. Interviews allowed participants to talk about the past and the present, what they do and what they wish they could do, their attitudes, and their motivations (Berger, 2000). I selected a semi-structured format for two reasons. First, it fairly closely resembles the interviewing style journalists use themselves, so it is familiar to them. Second, it allowed for nuance, depth, and variation in the types of things the journalists wanted to discuss. Because of the diversity of the environments across the journalists, strictly scripted questions seemed too limiting and unstructured interviews were expected to yield data that were too dissimilar to compare across models of journalism.

Interviews were anticipated to last 60 to 90 minutes and were conducted via Skype for Business, which allowed them to be recorded (with each journalist's consent) for transcription. Interviews are a useful tool in understanding not only what journalists do, but how they describe

what they do, how they think about what they do, how they compare that to the past and the future — in other words, "understanding the social actor's experience, knowledge, and worldviews" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 173). This type of qualitative interview relies on storytelling much in the same way journalists rely on storytelling to relay the news and as such were anticipated to include accounts and explanations of processes (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011) that would be useful to understanding how journalists work and conceptualize coverage. The script and accompanying justifications were submitted to and received "exempt" status from the University of Washington Human Subjects Division. (Please see Appendix A for interview script.) These questions mapped on to the Hierarchy of Influences Model to examine influences at the individual, routines, media organization, social institutions, and social systems levels. They also sought to explicate findings from the narrative analysis.

I requested interviews with journalists whose bylines appeared most frequently in my narrative analysis after I reviewed their beat descriptions on their news organizations' websites. I identified three reporters at the Traditional news outlets, nine reporters at the Interactive Race Beat news organizations (including Code Switch and The Undefeated) and 10 reporters at the Journalism 3.0 news outlets; I sent each an IRB-approved request to interview via e-mail and/or Twitter direct message. I also called each reporter on the phone. Ultimately, all three Traditional reporters agreed to participate, two Interactive Race Beat reporters agreed to participate, and three Journalism 3.0 reporters agreed to participate. The participants in this study represented new and veteran journalists, several of whom had worked in many different news organizations, and all of whom who had worked in Traditional newspaper, magazine, or television newsroom at some point. All of the journalists have covered racial issues extensively and for more than two years, with some having covered racial issues for more than a decade. Four of the participants,

John Eligon, Wesley Lowery, Gene Demby, and Darren Sands, identified as African American men. The two women in the study, Krissah Thompson and Soraya McDonald, identified as African American. Both of the participants who identified as White, Colin Daileda and Evan McMorris-Santoro, were men who worked in Journalism 3.0 outlets. The journalists I interviewed provided biographical information about their career paths.

Traditional journalist participants

John Eligon earned his undergraduate degree in journalism in 2004 and began working as a sports reporter for *The Detroit Free Press* in a one-year apprenticeship program. He met a recruiter for *The New York Times* at a UNITY conference for journalists of color and was offered a job. Eligon covered several beats at the *Times*, including sports, courts, and the New York statehouse before applying for and earning a spot as a national correspondent based in Kansas City in 2012. Initially, his job was to cover six Midwestern states, but after Ferguson, his beat changed and he became a "national race reporter" for the *Times.* Eligon was one of the reporters who covered Ferguson from the beginning and for more than a year afterward.

Wesley Lowery of *The Washington Post* became a well-known name after he was the first journalist arrested in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014 while he was charging his computer at a McDonald's. Lowery would go on to, at age 25, be part of a team that won the Pulitzer Prize for national reporting on police shootings. In 2016, he published a book about covering Ferguson. *They Can't Kill Us All: Ferguson, Baltimore, and a New Era in America's Racial Justice Movement* begins with his first-person accounts of covering Ferguson and explores the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement. Lowery earned his undergraduate degree in journalism and worked as an intern at *The Boston Globe, The Wall Street Journal, The Columbus Dispatch, The Detroit News,* and *The Los Angeles Times* before taking a full-time job

at the *Globe* working on the metro desk covering high-profile events such as the Boston Marathon Bombing and the Boston mayoral race. Lowery joined the *Post* as a political reporter covering Congress. A few months after joining the *Post,* he was awarded the National Association of Black Journalists 2014 Emerging Journalist of the Year award. Shortly after, he was dispatched to cover Ferguson. He described his beat as covering law enforcement and justice.

Krissah Thompson of *The Washington Post* was the veteran journalist among participants in this study, having worked at the *Post* since 2001 after she graduated with her undergraduate degree in journalism and while she completed her master's degree in journalism. Thompson was part of the team of *Post* journalists dispatched to cover Ferguson. Thompson has worked on the business desk, national desk and style desk for the *Post*, including covering a beat devoted to First Lady Michelle Obama. She also traveled across the country covering the 2008 election and has written about civil rights, race, and politics. Early in her journalism career, Thompson worked for *The Houston Defender,* a weekly, African American newspaper in her hometown.

Interactive Race Beat journalist participants

Gene Demby is the lead blogger for Code Switch. Demby earned his undergraduate degree in journalism then got his start as a news assistant at *The New York Times* in 2005. Demby worked at the *Times* for six years covering a variety of beats. In 2007, he started a blog about race, culture, politics, and media called PostBourgie, which won the Black Weblog Award for Best News/Politics Site in 2009. He then moved to *The Huffington Post* where he began as the homepage editor for the newly launched Black Voices site, but was quickly promoted to managing editor for Black Voices. After conversations with a colleague at a National Association of Black Journalists conference, he was recruited to apply for a position at Code

Switch, which was a startup funded by a grant from the Knight Foundation. The site launched in April 2013.

Soraya McDonald's title for The Undefeated is "senior culture writer." As an undergraduate, McDonald covered high-school sports for *The Washington Post.* After graduating with a bachelor's degree in journalism in 2006, McDonald interned with the Associated Press and then worked as a sports reporter at *The Colorado Springs Gazette* and *The Los Angeles Times.* She moved back to *The Washington Post* and covered a variety of desks from sports, to metro, to national, to style. In 2009, she worked as a technology specialist, or systems editor, who helped integrate and give feedback on the newspaper's content-management system. She described it as being "a technology ambassador for the newsroom." In 2014, she moved into a role at the *Post* covering arts, entertainment, and culture. She stayed there two years before moving to ESPN's startup The Undefeated, which launched in May 2016.

Journalism 3.0 journalist participants

Colin Daileda of Mashable interned at a variety of newspapers and magazines and at CBS News while earning his bachelor's and master's degrees in journalism. After graduating in 2012, he interned at *Washingtonian Magazine*, *Foreign Policy* magazine, and *The American Prospect* before taking an internship at Mashable that later turned into a job. Daileda's job title is "national reporter." In 2015, Daileda was nominated for an Online News Association award for breaking news coverage of the unrest in Baltimore following the death of Freddie Gray in police custody.

Evan McMorris-Santoro earned his bachelor's degree in journalism in 2001, then went on to work for two community newspapers before moving to Washington, D.C. to cover politics for the *National Journal* and *Talking Points Memo.* In 2013, McMorris-Santoro became BuzzFeed's White House reporter, a job he stayed in for more than three years before leaving BuzzFeed to

work for Vice News Tonight on HBO. McMorris-Santoro said that while he was at BuzzFeed, he was the first national news reporter to cover Bernie Sanders as a beat.

Darren Sands is listed on BuzzFeed as a political reporter based in Washington, D.C. After graduating with a bachelor in journalism in 2006, Sands became a correspondent for *The Boston Globe,* then at *News Day,* where he covered sports, and then completed a fellowship at *The Village Voice*. He worked briefly covering celebrities, night life, and city politics for *The New York Observer.* He then worked for nearly two years as editor and producer for the sports section of blackenterprise.com before going to work for BuzzFeed as a political reporter in 2014.

The reporters were interviewed between November 7, 2016 and January 24, 2017. The interviews were transcribed, then analyzed using a grounded theory approach and *in vivo* coding to look for categories and codes within those categories (Lindlof &Taylor, 2011). I then compared the data across paradigms. After that, I conducted member checks with each participant via email by sharing with them their quotes and the context of my findings. Finally, I interpreted the data using the Hierarchy of Influences Model (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014) and lenses of theories of new institutionalism (Benson, 2006; Cook, 2006; Gans, 1979; Reese & Ballinger, 2001; Ryfe, 2006; Tuchman, 1972) to tie "first-order meanings to second-order concepts" by constructing "symbolic links" between the data and the theories (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011, p. 266). The categories spoke directly to the influences in the model. Theories of new institutionalism helped to explore where longstanding norms were maintained or ruptured in Traditional journalism and helped to add to the body of knowledge in the field by delving into these influences in the context of emerging paradigms to examine whether they were the same or different from Traditional journalism.

I chose to use a combination of narrative analysis and in-depth, semi-structured interviews with journalists who cover racial issues to help bridge the content and those who produce it. Most journalism scholarship examines either content or newsroom sociology, and then makes inferences about what is influencing the journalists to produce certain types of coverage or about the coverage journalists are likely to produce given their work habits and environments. This approach allowed me to look at the interplay between the two and to look at it across three paradigms of journalism, Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0. Narrative analysis allowed me to look for patterns in coverage, which source voices were represented, how the narrative of the conflict was told, whether the coverage was systemically aware, and whether there were shifts over the time period of the three racial moments examined. The interviews provided an opportunity to assess, from the point of view of the journalists, how the field may be changing or staying the same in the context of three paradigms and how the paradigms compared to one another. It also provided the opportunity to see how journalists view the field and the influences on them, whether they feel they must adhere to norms such as objectivity, what types of coverage they aspire to produce, and whether, if given the opportunity, there are things they would change or things that they continue. It's quite possible, for example, that journalists covering race in the Traditional paradigm may feel the constraints of that paradigm prevent them from producing certain types of work; or that journalists working in a Journalism 3.0 paradigm don't like the amount they rely on social media posts to curate content. Almost all of the journalists interviewed have worked in more than one paradigm of journalism, mostly moving from Traditional journalism to Interactive Race Beat or Journalism 3.0. Their motivations for shifting into a new paradigm helps inform whether and how the field may be shifting in regard to coverage of racial issues. Thus, combining the stories that are told with the

insights of the storytellers provides a more complete and complex picture of contemporary coverage of racial issues and of old and new influences on journalists at a time when coverage of racial issues has reached a new level of interest.

Chapter Three

The Stories They Tell: Coverage of News about Race

Late in the summer of 2014, the national news media converged on Ferguson, Missouri, where the shooting death of unarmed African American teen Michael Brown by White police Officer Darren Wilson had sparked protests. The civil unrest would last for months, with news images of National Guard troops in military-style combat armor firing smoke bombs from tanks, buildings and cars on fire, toddlers perched on their parents' shoulders making "Hands Up, Don't Shoot" gestures, protesters pouring milk in their eyes to quench the burn of pepper spray or lifting their shirts to display injuries from rubber bullets, and journalists being handcuffed and carted off to jail. The events in Ferguson played out in an unprecedented journalism environment — one in which news was being broken on Twitter by journalists and by eyewitnesses who posted raw video and livestreamed the events. Not only did the public participate in telling the story on social media, citizens provided instant — and often critical or contradictory — feedback about the ways journalists were telling the story as news broke.

If Ferguson was to become another news media event that disappeared when the protesters dispersed or if it were to ignite a renewed conversation about racial violence would depend, in part, on how the news media portrayed the issue. Columbia University political science professor Fredrick Harris' *Washington Post* column asserted that whether Ferguson would be a "moment or a movement" was contingent upon whether "justice" was:

> …narrowly confined to seeking relief for Brown and his family. If the focus is solely on the need for formal charges against Wilson, a fair trial, a conviction, a wrongful-death lawsuit — rather than seeing those things as part of a broader movement that tackles stand-your ground laws, the militarization of local police, a requirement that cameras be worn by police on duty and the need for a comprehensive federal racial-profiling law. If justice remains solely personal, rather than universal. (Harris, Aug. 22, 2014)

This dissertation asked whether the events that followed the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson were covered in ways that were different from Traditional news media's patterns of covering a shooting death as a singular event rather than the symptom of a larger problem of racism. In doing so, it was necessary to evaluate what happened before, during, and after.

The developments in Ferguson, the most noteworthy race-related story of the past 25 years according to an Associated Press survey of journalists, occurred in an unprecedented news media environment with digital affordances that changed production routines, modes of distribution, increased access to a global audience, and enabled new paradigms of journalism that represented not only changes in technology, but new systems of journalistic values. Two of these new paradigms, which I call Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0, sought to leverage audience voices and insights and were rooted in values that differed from the Traditional journalism norm of objectivity and reliance on elite sourcing. Interactive Race Beat journalism sought to widen, deepen, and contextualize the news. Journalism 3.0 sought to cover the topics most important to the people on the streets rather than setting the agenda for them as Traditional news seeks to do and it sought to highlight the voices of the oppressed rather than telling the story from the perspective of elites, as Traditional journalism has done. The civil unrest in Ferguson happened within a news environment that could illuminate how different paradigms covered the issue and answer questions about whether Traditional journalism was continuing to adhere to old patterns and whether new paradigms were producing qualitatively different types of coverage. To understand whether Ferguson was conveyed in new ways of covering racial issues, it is important to first explore the key racial moments that came before, namely the question of whether the United States was now "post-racial" because it had an African American

president and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and then extend the examination to coverage of these issues after Ferguson.

In this chapter, I present the results of a narrative analysis that examined three facets of coverage during these three important racial moments. I evaluated sourcing patterns, the narrative of the conflict, and the level of systemic awareness in news coverage across the emergence of three key moments: the appearance of the post-racial question, the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and the civil unrest in Ferguson. I examined each narrative facet of each racial moment across Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0 paradigms. I then compared coverage within each paradigm over time. The facets I focused on in my narrative analysis (Kitch & Hume, 2012; Leiblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Reissman, 1993; Vincent, 2000) mapped on to paradigmatic expectations based in Democratic Theory (Ferree et al., 2002) about who speaks, how they speak, and the intended outcome of the coverage. Table 3.1 shows how Ferree et al. (2002) used Democratic Theory to define the criteria for Representative Liberal, Discursive, and Constructionist paradigms of news media and how I interpreted the paradigm to map on to journalism about race. The "Who" category addressed RQ1 in regard to sourcing. The "What and How" category addressed my RQ2 about the narrative of the issue. The "Outcome" category addressed my RQ3 about level of systemic awareness of racism as an open or closed question. My analysis was strongly influenced by Critical Race Theory (Apollon et al., 2014), which informed the questions about the narrative of the conflict and whether the coverage showed systemic awareness of racism.

Table 3.1
Normative Criteria in Democratic Theory (adapted from Ferree et al., 2002)

Theory (Paradigm)	**Who**	**What and How**	**Outcome**
Representative Lib. (Traditional)	Elite dominance Expertise	Detachment	Closure
Discursive (Interact. Race Beat)	Popular inclusion	Deliberativeness Dialogue	Closure contingent on consensus
Constructionist (Journalism 3.0)	Privilege the periphery/ Oppressed	Empowerment	Avoid premature closure

In total, I examined two Traditional news media sources, one Interactive Race Beat source, and two Journalism 3.0 sources, analyzing every news item that met the search terms for a total of 1,615 news articles. Table 2.1 in Chapter Two provides full details on sources, timeframes, search terms, and selection criteria.

Expectations for Coverage of Race Across Paradigms

My research questions examined whether these three paradigms of journalism produced qualitatively different types of coverage of racial issues. I first sought to explore questions about sourcing (RQ1), which Ferree et al. (2002) indicated were substantially different across paradigms in terms of who speaks, whether the sources are detached experts or involved participants or a mix of both, and whether the sources are elites/leaders/elected officials, people living the issue, or a mix of both. Based on scholarship, I asked whether Traditional journalists' coverage leaned heavily on detached, elite sources, whether the Interactive Race Beat paradigm coverage used a more populist approach to sourcing, and whether Journalism 3.0 coverage privileged the voices of those directly involved, particularly those portrayed as oppressed.

To answer my second and third research questions, I used narrative analysis (Kitch & Hume, 2012) to examine how news stories narratively explained the conflict (RQ2), and to what extent a news event was "systemically aware" of racism (Apollon et al., 2014) (RQ3). These aspects have been highlighted in research as factors that can challenge strongly held beliefs about race and racial stereotypes (Apollon et al., 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Because journalism at its heart is storytelling, it relies on story structure including the language used, what is described as the catalyst for the conflict and what is viewed as its remedy, what are identified as the important themes and ideals, and who are the key actors (Kitch & Hume, 2012). In coverage of racial issues, who is to blame for the conflict and who is responsible for solving it, the roles of individuals and groups and their relative efficacy, the historical contexts, and the interrelation (or not) of racial events work together to build a narrative. Moreover, when reporting connects isolated events into a larger context, it has the power to portray a systemic problem without explicitly stating it as such. Scholarship has shown that Traditional journalism has most often covered stories about racial prejudice and violence as rare and isolated events in which the victims are often suggested as responsible for what happened to them (Iyengar, 1989; Squires, 2014). My research questions evaluated whether these patterns were persisting in Traditional coverage and to what degree the narratives found in coverage in the emergent paradigms deviated from what has in the past been found in Traditional coverage.

Finally, I analyzed the coverage over time in terms of sourcing patterns (RQ1), narrative of the conflict (RQ2), and awareness of systemic racism (RQ3) to see whether and, if so, how the broader patterns changed (RQ4). For example, based on scholarship, especially in regard to Democratic Theory and Critical Race Theory, I anticipated that Interactive Race Beat coverage and Journalism 3.0 content would consistently show a greater degree of systemic awareness than

would Traditional journalism. However, if Traditional news coverage shifted over time to include more popular voices, or turned to narratives that were more systemically aware, and thus looked more like Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage, that would be significant because it could indicate a movement in journalism rather than a moment.

To analyze the data, I took these specific steps. I read each article from my Nexis searches of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, my search of NPR.com's online database (for Code Switch), and Ahrefs searches of BuzzFeed and Mashable with the date parameters specified in Chapter Two. After I had compiled the larger corpus of content, I read each to determine whether it met the criteria for inclusion in the study, which resulted in a data set of 1,615 articles. Articles were excluded for the following reasons: duplicates were removed (i.e. the same article appeared in *The Washington Post* and *The Washington Post* blogs or there were several updates of the same article); editorials, columns, letters to the editor and reader-generated content were excluded; and articles that discussed race solely in terms of a contest, most frequently the presidential election, rather than in terms of racial identity, were excluded. Because of overlaps in timeframes of the searches, some content appeared in more than one search. For example, several articles about Ferguson also appeared in the Black Lives Matter Movement search. In those cases, I categorized the content by determining whether more of the content was devoted to events in Ferguson or the Black Lives Matter Movement. In almost all cases, the content that mentioned both were primarily about Ferguson with the Black Lives Matter Movement appearing only to quote a chant or a sign. The majority of the articles analyzed, 64%, were about Ferguson.

Table 3.2
Results of Searches

Post-Racial Question	**Search result**	**Met criteria**	**%**
The New York Times	162	56	
The Washington Post	216	44	
Code Switch	5	5	
BuzzFeed	11	6	
Mashable	2	1	
	396	**112**	**6.88%**
Black Lives Matter			
The New York Times	365	107	
The Washington Post	642	199	
Code Switch	39	19	
BuzzFeed	115	84	
Mashable	69	59	
	1230	**468**	**29.00%**
Ferguson			
The New York Times	392	315	
The Washington Post	854	517	
Code Switch	57	56	
BuzzFeed	91	78	
Mashable	75	69	
	1469	**1035**	**64.13%**
Totals	**3095**	**1615**	**100.00%**

Table 3.3
Detail of Data Set

News Outlet	***N***	**%**
The New York Times	478	29.60%
The Washington Post	760	47.06%
Code Switch	80	4.95%
BuzzFeed	168	10.40%
Mashable	129	7.99%
	1615	**100.00%**
Paradigm		
Traditional	1238	76.66%
Interactive Race Beat	80	4.95%
Journalism 3.0	297	18.39%
	1615	**100.00%**

Next, I read each of the 1,615 articles two more times, once to focus specifically on sourcing and once to examine narrative structure. I made notes on each news item and highlighted exemplar passages of narrative portrayals of the conflict and level of systemic awareness/context. I then grouped all of the news outlets by paradigm. I read through my data regarding narrative themes and systemic awareness paradigm by paradigm to compare my findings. My narrative analysis looked for events and anecdotes, who appeared in those events and anecdotes and who was left out, the overall plot development, and characterizations, described by Kitch and Hume as "who, within the story structure, emerges as the most salient players and how they interact" (2012, p. 15). Although this is a large data set for a qualitative analysis, news content is often relatively short and intended to be read over time to chronicle how events unfold, including what appears in the narrative and in what context, what remains in the narrative, and what disappears from the narrative. The content works together to tell a story that unfolds over time. It's important to note, for example, whether a particular exemplar is highlighted for a sustained period of time. I examined how the news narratives evolved, which meant careful monitoring of new events and whether they became part of the overall narrative or were "one off" items that were reported, then forgotten. Therefore, it was important to read each narrative over time to compare across paradigms what was absent and what was present.

For example, my analysis of the question of post-racialism began Feb. 1, 2008, when Barack Obama was a junior senator and the question of his presidential campaign prompted the term "post-racial" to move from relative absence in the news to 226 mentions on one year (Squires, 2014). I continued to read through content containing the term "post-racial" through April 21, 2016, meaning the coverage containing post-racial questioning began before Obama's election and stretched through the emergence of the Black Lives Matter Movement to 18 months

post-Ferguson. Similarly, my analysis of the Black Lives Matter Movement began with its creation in the wake of the Trayvon Martin verdict, and stretched from June 1, 2013 to April 21, 2016, allowing me to see how the Black Lives Matter Movement was covered before, during, and after Ferguson. I analyzed coverage of Ferguson from Aug. 9, 2014 through April 21, 2016, which allowed me to examine how narrative patterns might have changed across all three paradigms. I noted within each paradigm whether coverage of the post-racial question changed in the context of the Black Lives Matter Movement and Ferguson, and so on. I now move to my findings.

Sourcing

In examining sourcing, I looked at who was present in the news coverage and who was absent, who spoke versus who was spoken for, and who was spoken about. Sourcing is particularly important in coverage of racial issues because including the voices of lived experience, rather than detached experts, has the potential to disrupt stereotypes, myths, and majority-held beliefs (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Lule (2002) showed that myths as master narratives were deeply entrenched in Traditional journalism, where they served to reproduce a status quo. Ferree et al. (2002), showed how distinct paradigms of journalism have relied on different sourcing patterns. Representative Liberal, or what this study calls Traditional, journalism has primarily used elite sourcing and "proportionality," or sources representing the most stakeholders; the Discursive paradigm, in this study represented by the Interactive Race Beat, has typically used "popular inclusion," defined by Ferree et al. (2002) as the news media's mandate to seek out and represent a variety of views in a way that stimulates the audience to participate rather than spectating a conversation between elites and journalists. And the Constructionist paradigm, here Journalism 3.0, has privileged the voices of the oppressed or

those living on the periphery. Thus, examining whether Traditional journalism continued to rely on elite sources in racial coverage and whether the two emergent types of journalism about race presented differing sourcing patterns would provide insight about whether narratives in each type served to preserve or potentially disrupt a culturally embedded narrative about racial issues.

The data showed a shift over time in sourcing patterns in Traditional journalism and, to a lesser degree, a shift in Interactive Race Beat sourcing. Traditional journalism coverage of the post-racial question and the Black Lives Matter Movement aligned with the Representative Liberal paradigmatic expectation of relying on elite sources and using proportionality to show "both sides" with sources from different racial groups. However, in coverage of Ferguson, Traditional journalism sourcing moved toward a Discursive paradigm, where it included more popular voices. Interactive Race Beat journalism aligned with paradigmatic expectations of popular inclusion for sourcing, but moved slightly toward a Constructionist paradigm in coverage of Ferguson in that it privileged the voices of the oppressed. Journalism 3.0 sourcing remained consistent throughout, aligning with the Constructionist paradigm of privileging the voices of the oppressed across all three racial moments.

Table 3.4
Sourcing Across Three Racial Moments

Paradigm	**Post-Racial Question**	**Black Lives Matter**	**Ferguson**
Traditional	Elite	Elite	Popular Inclusion
Interactive Race Beat	Popular Inclusion	Popular Inclusion	Voices of Oppressed
Journalism 3.0	Voices of Oppressed	Voices of Oppressed	Voices of Oppressed

Sourcing in Post-Racial Question Coverage

Prior to the election of President Barack Obama as the nation's first African American Commander in Chief, a question began circulating in the news media. It asked, "If the U.S. can consider electing a Black president, does that mean we are 'past' race? Does this indicate that racism no longer is an issue?" The posing of this post-racial question reflected a new journalistic narrative and a key moment in news coverage of race. Sourcing in coverage of the post-racial question across all three paradigms showed strong, but anticipated, differences and consistent patterns. Traditional journalism relied on elite sourcing to answer the post-racial question. Interactive Race Beat sourcing of the post-racial question relied on popular inclusion. Journalism 3.0 sourcing of the post-racial question privileged the voices of the oppressed.

Traditional coverage of the post-racial question privileged elites as the expert sources who spoke with detached understanding. This followed a pattern long documented in the scholarship of journalistic coverage of contentious issues (Ferree et al., 2002) and in the coverage of racial issues (Campbell, 1995; Martindale, 1990; Squires & Jackson, 2010). In cases where the sources were African American, they were elites in the sense that thinking and writing about racism was also their profession or their responsibility as leaders of organizations where they spoke for others. For example, playwright Tracey Scott Wilson whose work, "The Good Negro," focused on the Civil Rights movement, author and journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates, and a number of academics were the primary sources debating the post-racial question, which was treated more as an academic question than something manifest every day. In cases where the voices of people who experienced racism were acknowledged, it was often in a monolithic way that was then validated by elite experience, as in this example from *The New York Times:*

> But African-Americans roundly reject the notion that Mr. Obama's election has eased racial tensions or delivered the nation to a new post-racial reality.
>
> "I think the great mass of black people have shown tremendous patience, discipline and understanding, recognizing the dilemma that he faces," said

> Randall L. Kennedy, a professor at Harvard Law School and the author of "The Persistence of the Color Line: Racial Politics and the Obama Presidency." (Saulny, 2013, January 20)

In this example, although there was a reference to a general denial of post-racialism, the question was ultimately addressed by a Harvard professor and was largely presented as a topic for debate with opinions largely aligning with racial lines, leaving an impression of "it depends upon whom you believe."

Similarly, a story in *The Washington Post* about D.C. Mayor Adrian Fenty's election loss in a race in which both candidates were African American men curiously focused on race in terms of surprise that a Black candidate would lose after Obama was elected and relied on an elite source and generalizing, race-based explanations. The *Post* reported:

> To white ears, the word "post-racial" sounds like progress. But to African-Americans — particularly those who struggle daily with the lingering effects of generations of discrimination — it can feel like abandonment.
>
> "I think Fenty's overwhelming initial win blurred the continued racial bifurcation in the city, and fed into the post-racial narrative that many of us wanted to feel, even if we really didn't believe it deep down inside," said Cornell Belcher, a black pollster who advised President Obama's campaign in 2008. (Tumulty & Bacon, Jr., 2010, September 23)

This example also posited post-racialism as a question, depending upon the race of the respondent. White people liked the sound of it while African Americans, who deal with racism every day, thought it was a false question. The prose conveyed a sense that some African Americans were not included in the group of "those who struggle daily." Again, the source was identified by his race (black) and his credentials (Obama adviser), as though his resume made him more qualified to speak to the question than did his lived experience. Although the sources were people who experience racism, they were speaking about it generally, rather than reflecting on their own lived experience.

Interactive Race Beat sourcing of the post-racial question reflected popular inclusion in that sourcing came from multiple points, although the sources reflected the same point of view that the U.S. was not post-racial. Analysis of Interactive Race Beat coverage was limited to articles written after 2013, when NPR's Code Switch blog launched. (Traditional journalism and Journalism 3.0 analysis began in February 2008 when the post-racial question emerged in the news cycle). The sourcing in these articles was primarily drawn from polls, other news outlets, and academic journals, and occasionally included people who produced the studies and news, rather than interviews with people about their own lived experience. For example, a Code Switch article headlined, "Dylann Roof and the stubborn myth of the colorblind Millennial" used the following sources: an MTV poll of millennials and their attitudes about race, a quote from a black Chicago teen in *The Chicago Tribune*, material from an article in *The Washington Post* about the diversity of millennials, a *Public Opinion Quarterly* article about racial attitudes of young, White voters, a quote from Politico about millennials being racially apathetic, data from *The Huffington Post* about neighborhood segregation, and a Pew study on multiracial Americans (Demby, 2015, June 20). That Code Switch article built a case for why the myth persisted.

> Among minority households, even those with relatively high incomes tend to be clustered in neighborhoods where most of their neighbors are the same race and many are poor," the Huffington Post found. The racial gap in household wealth has exploded since the housing bubble burst in 2007. And in the MTV study, white millennials were significantly less likely to say they grew up in families that talked about race compared to people of color the same age.
>
> There's also good data suggesting that white millennials have a far rosier view on race relations than their contemporaries of color. This too makes sense when you think about the schools, the stark housing segregation, the fact that on average white people have hardly any friends of color, and, perhaps more importantly than we realize, the fact that they just don't have much experience talking about this stuff. (In fact, it's safe to assume that Roof has spent far more time discussing race than most people his age.) As Politico's Sean McElwee put it, the data that's out there "suggests that millennials aren't racially tolerant, they're racially apathetic: They simply ignore structural racism rather than try to fix it." (Demby, June 20, 2015)

Another article about racial concerns within the federal Teach For America program (which sends college students to teach in low-income schools) quoted an article in *Jacobin* and the co-authors of a study on the program (Dontella, 2014, October 14). Thus, the sourcing represented broader perspectives, but in these cases still did not include the voices of the people living the issue.

Journalism 3.0 sourcing of the post-racial question differed from the other two paradigms in featuring the voices of lived experience, which put it in line with the Constructionist paradigm. In Journalism 3.0 coverage, the sources were almost exclusively people who lived the issue. Some articles contained elite sources, but never without a response from the voices of people living the issue, whose comments, both in number and in length, far outweighed elite sources' comments. One example of this was seen in an article headlined, "Black Armor: Some black American men are dressing up to deflect negative attention, as a conscious means of survival," which focused solely on the voices of African American men. This Mashable piece provided an exemplar of individual-level lived experience:

> "It's like armor to me," he says. "When I have a suit on I feel like all of a sudden, the world sees me differently. Cops aren't staring, people wave back, people shake my hand, they open the door for me. It's like I'm the president of the United States." (Yi, 2015, August 8).

This article did not "give both sides" about how African American men feel they should dress, nor did it feature dueling experts talk about whether the African American male experiences were valid. It did not offer debate about what wearing a hoodie meant or about how others might perceive it. It offered voices of the people talking about why they were afraid to wear hoodies because they feared they would be, at best, treated poorly by non-African Americans, and at worst would put themselves in danger.

Most of the Journalism 3.0 articles about the post-racial question focused on Obama's 2013 speech about race after the acquittal of George Zimmerman of the murder of Trayvon Martin. In that speech, Obama spoke frankly of his own experiences as an African American man and uttered the now-famous line, "Trayvon Martin could have been me 35 years ago." The president is the ultimate elite source, but in this instance, he was speaking of personal experience rather than broadly about an issue as a detached expert. The personal level on which Obama spoke was noted in news coverage as one of the reasons the speech received so much attention. In this paradigm, the president's personal lived experience, rather than his views on racism as an academic question, was the emphasis.

Sourcing of the post-racial question conformed to what was expected in each paradigm: elites in Traditional journalism; popular inclusion in Interactive Race Beat journalism; privileging the voices of the oppressed in Journalism 3.0. Thus, sourcing patterns in traditional journalism reproduced the status quo with elites arguing whether the U.S. was or was not post-racial. Meanwhile, Interactive Race Beat sourcing worked together to provide sourcing from a single standpoint: studies have shown we are not post-racial. And Journalism 3.0 sourcing also showed a single standpoint: sources who used their own lives to show we are not post-racial.

Sourcing in Coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement

The Black Lives Matter Movement began as a Twitter hashtag following the July 2013 not-guilty verdict in the Florida murder trial of neighborhood watch volunteer George Zimmerman, who fatally shot unarmed African American 17-year-old Trayvon Martin on Feb. 26, 2012 as the boy was returning from buying candy at a nearby convenience store. In Zimmerman's call to 911, he said that the boy's hooded sweatshirt made him look "suspicious" (Weeks, 2012, March 24). The meta-narrative was that Zimmerman's racial profiling and

stereotyping of the boy who was doing nothing more than walking through a neighborhood at night led to his death. The shooting gained national and international attention with marches and demonstrations in cities across the nation, including highly visible protests that included the Miami Heat basketball team, state legislators, and church congregants wearing hoodies. The Project for Excellence in Journalism found media coverage of the verdict was the first story in 2012 to gain more attention than the presidential race (Pew Research Center, 2013, March 30). It was in this context that the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter appeared on Twitter. Three women in San Francisco, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, started the hashtag that would grow into a large, international, and intentionally decentralized movement designed to call attention not only to the death of Trayvon Martin, but to a broader agenda of justice with intersectional attention to Black women, people of color in the LGBTQIA community, and to racialized poverty. However, this study found that mentions of Black Lives Matter as a movement were nearly absent until months after the streets of Ferguson went quiet and the vast majority of articles, particularly in Traditional news coverage, misattributed the movement as a reaction to the shooting of Michael Brown.

Left: The Miami Heat basketball team wore hoodies to bring attention to the shooting death of Trayvon Martin. Photo credit: *AP Photo/LeBron James via Twitter.* Right: Sen. Kevin Parker, D-Brooklyn, left, Sen. Bill Perkins, D-New York, center, and Sen. Eric Adams, D-Brooklyn, wore hoodies in the Senate Chamber in Albany, N.Y., to protest the shooting death of Trayvon Martin. Photo credit: *AP Photo: Mike Groll*

Sourcing in coverage of the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement across all three paradigms showed strong, but anticipated, differences and consistent patterns as was seen in sourcing of the post-racial question. Traditional journalism relied on elite sourcing, and notably, ignored the voices of the movement's three female founders. Interactive Race Beat sourcing relied on popular inclusion and largely studied the movement's rise using sources that made academic arguments. Journalism 3.0 sourcing of the Black Lives Matter Movement relied most heavily on those directly working for and with the cause. Journalism 3.0 also leveraged technology to regularly present those voices unfiltered by relying on social media posts, which they used directly rather than quoting or paraphrasing.

Sourcing in Traditional coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement showed a distinct pattern with almost no variation. The first mention of Black Lives Matter in the examined Traditional news outlets appeared in *The New York Times* on Oct. 14, 2014, two months after Michael Brown was killed. It appeared as a slogan the crowd was chanting, with no context or mention of it as a movement, until a January 18, 2015 article questioning whether it was effective. The movement's founders were never quoted directly when identified as such although Cullors was mentioned in the context of disrupting presidential candidates' appearances; she was not identified as a founder of the movement. In Traditional coverage, when the Black Lives Matter Movement was discussed, sourcing came almost exclusively from outside the movement. The sources were largely police officers, most of whom were critical of the movement, and older, NAACP members talking about the difference between previous civil-rights activism and that of today, or people debating the phrase and the counter-phrase "All Lives Matter." In other words, all of the sources were talking about the movement as violent, ineffective, or divisive and there were almost no voices from within the movement talking about why they supported it.

Presidential candidates talking about the movement also appeared frequently. The voices that were largely absent were those of people working within the movement. The exception to this was DeRay McKesson, who in 2016 eventually made an unsuccessful bid for Baltimore mayor. Although McKesson came from within the movement, he was one of its most high-profile members and was quoted in this article from *The Washington Post*:

> Despite the desire of those involved in the efforts and the media to demand a shift away from the loud public demonstrations, organizers insist that the direct actions remain their lifeblood.
>
> "When the protests stop, we lose the power," Mckesson said. "The structure has no place for us, which is why we protest. When protests end, the movement ends." (Lowery, 2014, December 23)

McKesson's status and the fact that he was used as a spokesman for a movement that was supposed to be intentionally decentralized constituted, essentially, elite status.

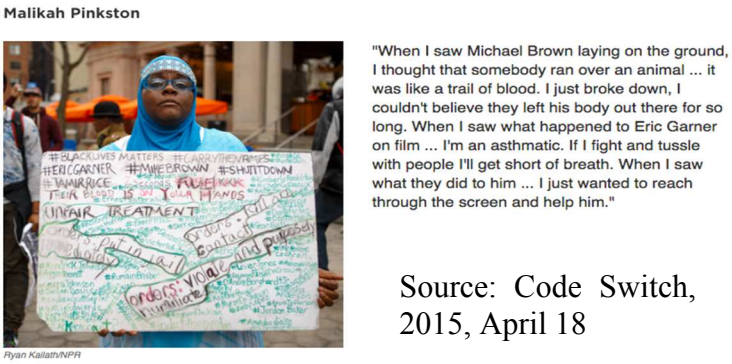
Turning to sourcing of the Black Lives Matter Movement in the Interactive Race Beat showed one similarity to Traditional sourcing in that it did not feature coverage of Black Lives Matter as a movement until April 13, 2015, nearly two years after the movement began. That, however, was the only similarity in terms of sourcing. The first mention of "Black Lives Matter" appeared in a Code Switch article headlined "Some key facts we've learned about police shootings over the past year." The article was written in the first person, making Code Switch and specifically journalist Gene Demby a source. He wrote:

> We've done a lot of writing and reporting at Code Switch over the past year on deadline police shootings of unarmed black people, cases that have become such a part of our landscape that they have the tendency to melt into each other. Indeed, sometimes the pattern of facts seems to barely change: Just last fall, we followed the story of an unarmed black man in South Carolina who was shot following a police traffic stop. The officer in that shooting, like Michael Slager — the officer who shot Walter Scott in the back as he ran away after a traffic stop — was later fired and arrested once the video of that encounter surfaced and contradicted his initial report.
>
> While names and places change, the backdrop against which these stories play out does not. We decided to pull together what we've learned along the way,

> along with some thoughtful commentary from other outlets about this case and the larger questions it raises. (Demby, 2015, April 13)

The rest of the article quoted a Justice Department report on use of police force, previous Code Switch reporting that quoted *The Chicago Reporter*, quotes from coverage in *Slate, Fusion, The New York Times, The New Yorker,* the Charleston *Post and Courier*, and an interview with a retired police captain. As with the sourcing of the post-racial question, this was largely curated content.

However, shortly thereafter, Interactive Race Beat coverage featured sourcing that was strongly in line with popular inclusion in an April 18, 2015 article headlined, "Scenes from this week's #BlackLivesMatter protest in New York" that was primarily quotes from and photos of individual protesters, such as this one at right:



Source: Code Switch, 2015, April 18

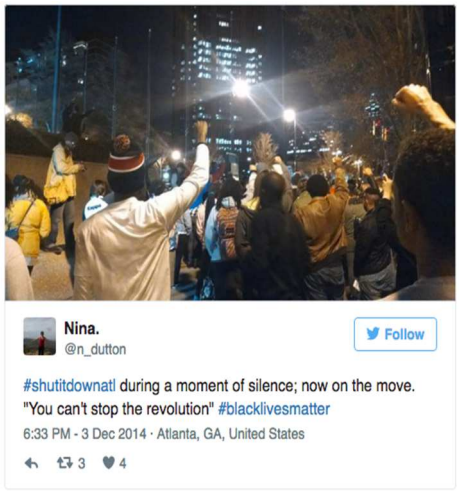
Interactive Race Beat sourcing in articles about the Black Lives Matter Movement also differed strongly from Traditional coverage in that it featured the voices of the founders (filtered through a journalist who interviewed them) and used authors of an academic study of #BlackLivesMatter on Twitter to the movement's trajectory from "sitting quietly" to gaining rapid momentum after Ferguson. Perhaps most importantly, the only article of the 1,615 to mention the intersectional focus so important to the founders of the Black Lives Matter Movement appeared in Code Switch. The sourcing in the article was primarily journalists and academics who had interviewed and studied issues of violence against Black lesbian and transgender women rather than speaking with the women themselves. For example, there is this source from the Code Switch article

headlined “The ‘criminal’ black lesbian: Where does this damaging stereotype come from?” which credited Black Lives Matter Movement organizers as “having pushed to prioritize voices of black queer and transgender women.”

> Black queer girls who appear more “masculine” and black youth who identify as trans-masculine are often “treated really aggressively by police,” says Aisha Canfield, policy researcher and analyst at Impact Justice, a juvenile justice reform organization that contributed to the Equity Project research. In Canfield’s research, girls have told her stories of cops “slamming them against squad cars or fences and saying, ‘If you want to act like a boy, we’ll treat you like a boy.’” (Pasulka, 2016, March 17)

Intersectionality is a key tenet of the Black Lives Matter Movement and a strong emphasis of its founders, yet was all-but absent from coverage. As seen in Interactive Race Beat coverage of the post-racial question, this paradigm’s sourcing of the Black Lives Matter Movement prominently featured academics and the work of other journalists rather than those with lived experience.

By contrast, sourcing in the Journalism 3.0 coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement regularly and prominently represented the voices of the oppressed and those sources appeared in coverage significantly earlier than in Traditional or Interactive Race Beat coverage. In December 2014, a Staten Island, New York grand jury voted not to indict the police officer who choked to death Eric Garner, whose final words were, “I can’t breathe.” “Die-in” protests swept across the nation, many of them shutting down major streets in New York, Chicago, Washington, D.C., and Atlanta. A Mashable article on Dec. 3, 2014 featured some text about the protests, but was dominated by 22 curated Tweets from across the country (many of them posted by journalists on scene for Journalism 3.0 outlets, although their Twitter accounts were mostly unaffiliated with their news outlets as in this example of a tweet from Victoria Bekiempis, who writes for the *New York Daily News*), one Associated Press photo, one newspaper front page, and a YouTube video of Garner’s stepfather speaking at a protest.



Source: Mashable.com, 2014, December 3

The use of social media posts, overwhelmingly Twitter posts, as sourcing for the voice of the people dominated Journalism 3.0 coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement. When sources were interviewed, they were largely protesters themselves, such as in this Mashable article headlined, "How Twitter and Facebook helped shut down Lower Manhattan for Eric Garner" in which the source was openly critical of Traditional journalism:

> Another activist involved in the protests in San Francisco, James Nielssen, told us social media was "by far the most effective tool" in organizing the demonstrations.
>
> "The mainstream news channels don't cover what we're doing," the 20-year-old student said in an email. "The only way I found out about this was through social media, where the events are reported by the people directly involved with it." (Specia & Daileda, 2014, December 5)

Other sources in the article included a protester who said, "This is the civil rights movement of our time. The movement exists," and a spokesman for the organization Ferguson Action, who said:

> "We don't necessarily believe that any one group or any one person has the right idea. We think there is a silent majority of people that believe black lives matter, and we are giving them a way to make their voices heard…
>
> Social media allows people to take simple actions that resonate widely." (Specia & Daileda, 2014, December 5)

No police officers, mayors, or other official or elite sources were quoted in those articles. Similarly, a February 15, 2016 article by Mashable's Katie DuPere headlined "7 racial justice activists talk about the evolution of Black History Month," featured the activists speaking in their own words through transcripts of quotes and without the "voice" or interpretation of the journalists.

Finally, Journalism 3.0 used Twitter to feature the voices of sources as in a post by Mashable journalist Colin Daileda, who tweeted this image in conjunction with his interviews of African American residents of North Charleston who were quoted as saying they distrusted their police force as racist, and had for a long time, but after a white officer shot unarmed African American resident Walter Scott in the back, the tensions had boiled over. The reporter wrote:

> One after another, black residents stood at the center of a circle of people on Friday at North Charleston City Hall, recounting times when they felt racially profiled by police. One woman said an officer ticketed her for leaving her car door open when she walked into her home. Another man said that nearly every time he's pulled over, at least five police cars arrive on the scene. (Daileda (2015, April 11)

Daileda embedded his own tweet, with a quote from a source who represented the point of view of the oppressed, in the coverage.

Sourcing in coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement mirrored patterns found in sourcing of the post-racial question. Traditional journalism used elite sourcing, Interactive Race Beat journalism relied primarily on reports and other journalists, and Journalism 3.0 sourcing emphasized the voices of people working within the movement, not only quoting them, but also

using images of the sources' own social media posts including words and photos, which allowed the sources to speak without the filter of the journalist.

Sourcing in Coverage of Ferguson

News coverage of the events in Ferguson represented an ideal test of sourcing patterns across paradigms. There were elites readily available at the scene from mayors, to police, Senators, and aldermen. There were also less-partisan voices such as professors who were invested in talking about it and studying it. There were also the protesters and other residents of Ferguson readily available for interviews. Also, all of those types of people were regularly posting about and from Ferguson using social media. The sourcing employed by journalists in each paradigm to cover Ferguson was the result of value choices rather than access.

I found the first compelling changes in sourcing in the coverage of Ferguson, where both Traditional journalism and Interactive Race Beat journalism crossed into different paradigms. The coverage of Ferguson marked the first and only change in Traditional sourcing from elite to popular inclusion, or from Representative Liberal to Discursive. Interactive Race Beat coverage of Ferguson also marked that paradigm's first and only shift in sourcing from popular inclusion to privileging the voices of the oppressed, or from Discursive to Constructionist. Journalism 3.0 sourcing in coverage of Ferguson remained consistently Constructionist, as it had been.

At first, Traditional journalism sourcing in coverage of Ferguson depended heavily on politicians and public officials, including government sources in Washington D.C., not in Ferguson. The sourcing patterns changed over time. Initially, when coverage was heavily about the protests, Traditional journalists themselves were primary sources who produced live online updates from the field about the "danger" and "violence" over a period of two days. Then the sourcing switched to primarily relying on government officials including members of Congress

who were not in Ferguson. As the breaking news of the protests waned, sourcing turned to focus on "people on the street" interviews from in and around Ferguson serving as sources to answer the question of whether racism existed in Ferguson. A stark difference in sourcing in Traditional journalism was the strong presence of White voices, including entire articles about how White people felt about Ferguson or how people who supported Officer Darren Wilson felt. Those sources did not appear in the other two paradigms.

Most of these articles adhered to the Traditional journalism goal of objectivity or showing the issue from "both sides." However, White people who have never experienced racial prejudice are not in a position to understand how it manifests, particularly when their own lived experience aligns with a narrative of colorblindness (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). The privileging of sources who discuss racism from a detached position rather than from a lived experience aligns with Traditional journalism values and positions racial oppression as something individual rather than systemic (Apollon, et al., 2014). That is why sourcing is an essential part of examining the values present in news coverage not only from a perspective of what is said, but from a perspective of who is considered to have enough expertise to have their voice included in the coverage. As scholarship notes, "objectivity" in reporting serves to reinforce hegemonic perspectives and defer to expertise as something held by those in official positions of power, most of whom are White (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). That sense of objectivity, then, is not based on impartiality, but on privileging elite and detached opinions. White people discussing whether there was racism in Ferguson is not only privileging a detached voice, but it also serves to make the presence of racism a question.

An article that appeared after a well-publicized national poll revealed that Blacks and Whites had different opinions about the role of race in Ferguson used local sources to report on

the story from Missouri. The *New York Times* article, headlined "Among whites, protests stir a range of emotions and a lot of perplexity," quoted White Ferguson residents. For example, "Possibly the most widely held sentiment among whites is the hope that it all simply goes away. 'I feel for everyone involved,' said Shannon Shaw, a jeweler in Mehlville. But, she added, 'I think the protesters just need to go home.'" Another White Ferguson resident was quoted as saying, "'It was eye-opening to me,' said Jim McLaughlin, the former mayor of Pasadena Hills, a small, majority-black city just south of Ferguson. That some longtime black friends of his were so pessimistic about the justice system came as a surprise" (Robertson, 2014, August 22). Another *New York Times* article headlined, "Dozens rally for officer in Ferguson killing as $300,000 is raised online," relied on a rare anonymous source.

> "The individual who started the fund didn't realize it would get so big," said a woman who organized Saturday's rally. When pressed for her name, she said only, 'I am Darren Wilson,' a play on the popular mantra that emerged after the shooting death of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, in Florida. …
>
> "We are working around the clock to clear the hate [against Officer Wilson]," she said. (Robles, 2014, August 24)

However, as the protests waned, sources in Traditional coverage of Ferguson began to include more of the everyday lived experience of African Americans talking about sending their kids back to school and leaders of the NAACP talking about how what was occurring in Ferguson was not limited to Ferguson. Finally, sourcing turned toward how African Americans in Ferguson were leveraging their political power to push for changes in representation on City Council, increased training for police officers, and policy changes to avert laws that disproportionately affected lower-income residents, most of whom were African American. The sourcing patterns in coverage began to shift after Wilson was not indicted as more protesters were quoted in articles like this one in *The Washington Post:*

> "I've been harassed on a daily, weekly basis by police," said Jonathan Butler, 24, a University of Missouri student originally from Nebraska. He has traveled to St. Louis several times for protests since the Aug. 9 shooting. "So it's important that I came out to show solidarity." …
>
> As the marchers passed by, Rashad Lartey, 27, of Kansas, stood on the courthouse steps holding signs declaring: "Bigger than Ferguson'' and "2014 = 1964." "This is a struggle for human rights," he said. (Lowery & Hernandez, 2014, October 12)

In sum, a clear shift in sourcing patterns emerged in Traditional coverage of Ferguson. The coverage began with reliance on elites, then turned toward privileging the voices of the oppressed.

Interactive Race Beat in sourcing of Ferguson coverage differed substantially from sourcing in Traditional journalism. Interactive Race Beat sourcing in coverage of Ferguson followed the same pattern it did in that paradigm's sourcing of the post-racial question and the Black Lives Matter Movement in that it relied heavily on other news media outlets, published government statistics, and interviews with journalists and academics. However, in coverage of Ferguson, Interactive Race Beat coverage used more question-and-answer format articles that highlighted the words of the sources (activists, in this case) and there was considerably more sourcing of the people on the street in Ferguson who talked about their surprise that the protests had erupted there, their fear of police, and their own experiences with police brutality. The sourcing included the Code Switch reporter's first-person narrative interacting with protesters:

> Saulsberry agrees with what other folks say: This is not the kind of place where people protest. I ask her what it's like, then, to have all this activist energy suddenly cohere in her neighborhood.

> "It makes me scared" — because of the tear gas and rubber bullets — "but also proud," she says. (Demby, 2014, August 19)

Interactive Race Beat coverage also looked at #IfTheyGunnedMeDown, but rather than curating tweets, Code Switch found the people behind the Twitter posts and interviewed them, showing popular inclusion and a deeper look into the issues, explaining, "But we were still curious about the photos themselves, and the individuals behind them. So we reached out to a few of the tweeters, and here's what they told us…" (NPR Staff, 2014, August 16). The coverage used unfiltered responses from those who participated in #IfTheyGunnedMeDown (at right).

We asked which image the tweeters felt represented them more accurately. Almost to a person, our respondents said both images were representative. "They say never judge a book by its cover," said Darien Williams. "For me I'm both of those. I left an impoverished environment to do something better for my life. Now when I return to that environment, I'm what people look up to."

Darien Williams, 19: Williams has served in the Air Force for more than a year. The image on the left, depicting him out of uniform, was taken this past March. The image of him reading to kids was taken in June. "In the left I was hanging out, just hanging out being me," he said. The other one "was me volunteering, reading to kids — being me — bringing joy to their day."

In addition to featuring the words of those who had taken to social media, Interactive Race Beat was the only paradigm to feature the perspective of an African American police officer as a source. The Code Switch article appeared the day after Michael Brown was shot. The retired officer spoke of his lived experience both in uniform and out:

> For a lot of the people who police in our community, they don't understand the community (that is, black or brown people). They're misinformed and then become frightened and afraid, and so the gun is their friend because it's the only thing that protects them.... I think the power that police have is not the power of arrest, it's the power to influence the quality of life of people. That's how I did my job. The white community tell their children when in trouble, go to the police. Black people don't do that. We protect our kids from police.

> At the dinner table ... white families will tell children how to interact with the police. They tell them the police are there to help. Blacks do not. My son is autistic and doesn't drive or speak, so I give this message more to my daughter. I tell her, "If you're stopped by police, this is the way you have to behave." That's not something white parents need to worry about. (Boswell, 2014, August 13)

This type of complexity in coverage was seen only in Interactive Race Beat coverage, which dove into topics that did not have clear dividing lines. Much of the total coverage of Ferguson looked at the issues as African Americans vs. police, so addressing African American police officers represented an approach in which identities did not fit into tidy boxes.

Sourcing in Journalism 3.0 coverage of Ferguson relied on people on the street protesting and on social media posts more than official sources. Journalists working in this paradigm drew heavily on Twitter for what it labeled "eyewitness" accounts of breaking news. Additionally, Mashable coverage included several long-form magazine-style articles in which the vast majority of the text came from sources' quotes rather than the journalists' reportage such as in a piece headlined, "In their words: Ferguson, one year later," which was a collection of stories about three people in Ferguson labeled as "the advocate," "the ally," and "the local." All three gave their perspectives using blocks of long quotes and photos (Specia, 2015, August 9). A Mashable article on police violence against people of color was told exclusively from the standpoint of the victims' families, including their words and video and audio recordings, all of which worked together to privilege the voice of the oppressed and critique the news portrayals of a victim of police violence:

> "Me and my family decided to come out and be [Dontre's] voice, because they demonized him, made it look like he deserved to die," Hamilton says. "I couldn't live with that. My spirit wouldn't rest. That's why my family is out here advocating for these voices, these lost lives." (Ruiz, 2015, April 23)

This longform approach was something seen only in Journalism 3.0 and gave the most prominence to the voices of the oppressed.

Overall, souring in coverage of Ferguson showed stronger differences than in sourcing of the post-racial question or the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement. Traditional sourcing moved from reliance on elites to more popular inclusion, but not necessarily all from the voices of the oppressed as Traditional sourcing was the only paradigm to prominently feature White voices speaking back to accusations of racism, not against them personally, but that existed in Ferguson. Interactive Race Beat coverage moved more toward privileging the voices of the oppressed and paid special attention to social media as a protest phenomenon in Ferguson. It was also the only paradigm to pay close attention to the viewpoint of an African American police officer. Journalism 3.0 sourcing was consistent, again, in privileging the voices of the oppressed by giving prominent coverage to protesters.

Changes Over Time in Sourcing

Traditional journalism showed the strongest changes in sourcing across the three paradigms while Interactive Race Beat sourcing patterns changed only slightly and only in regard to Ferguson; Journalism 3.0 sourcing patterns remained consistent. Traditional journalism relied heavily on elite sourcing across all three racial moments, although coverage of Ferguson included "people on the street," particularly in coverage of the protests, which included rare, first-person accounts in which journalists themselves were sources. After the Ferguson protests, Traditional journalism sources continued to include a mix of elite and popular voices who talked about local elections and whether Ferguson was healing or had changed. That broadened Traditional journalism sourcing patterns somewhat, although it's important to consider that many of the "popular" voices were White people speaking back to accusations of racism rather than

people of color who lived the issue of oppression. That means Traditional journalism moved from a Representative Liberal paradigm to a Discursive paradigm more similar to sourcing patterns typically found in Interactive Race Beat journalism.

Interactive Race Beat sourcing patterns changed only slightly and only in regard to early coverage of Ferguson in which Code Switch journalists took a Constructive turn and privileged the voices of the oppressed by talking to Ferguson residents. Other than that, most articles in this paradigm followed a consistent pattern of using the journalist's voice as the narrator to connect the reader to other sources: journalism produced by other outlets, interviews with the journalists who produced that work, academic studies, interviews with the academics who produced the studies, historical records, government reports and databases, and, to a lesser degree, curation of social media posts (largely Twitter posts produced by journalists working for other news media outlets). The way that the Interactive Race Beat sourcing drew from multiple sources pointing to the same conclusion represented consistency across coverage in this paradigm.

The Journalism 3.0 paradigm also maintained consistent sourcing patterns across all three racial moments. Journalism 3.0 sourcing leaned heavily on Twitter posts by people expressing how they were affected by racism or had a stake in the topics or questions being debated. In the instances in which the reporter used a first-person account, it was largely to confirm or, more often, to counter what official sources — primarily police officers — were saying. Overall, sourcing patterns in Journalism 3.0 stayed the same across all three moments and consistently privileged the voices of the oppressed.

Narratives

Narrative structure is particularly important in qualitative evaluation of news because examining journalists' selection of certain events or people as most important, their choices of words and labels, and the way they portray complex issues can suggest ideological influences. Narratives point to the journalists' value systems in terms of who is affected, who created a conflict, how it might be resolved, and which people are identified as key players (Kitch & Hume, 2012). Traditional journalists, whose codes direct them to remain objective, get all sides of a story, and avoid assumptions, nonetheless make value judgments in terms of who and what is most important. Sometimes their assumptions are more explicit than their standards would dictate, particularly in coverage of race in which coded language and stereotypes serve as mutually understood shortcuts to creating understanding (Alsutany, 2012; Bell, 1995; Campbell, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Gilens, 1999; Rhodes, 2007; Santa Ana, 2002). One example of this was seen in news coverage that described Michael Brown as "burly" or used photos that made him appear to be acting tough. In times of change, journalists have been shown to rely on narratives that seek to preserve order and status quo (Budarick, 2011). Interactive Race Beat journalists seek to deliberate ideas; thus, it might be expected that coverage in this paradigm would call to question narratives in the Traditional paradigm, explore stereotypes, and provide more context. Journalism 3.0 narratives might call to question Traditional narratives, or might challenge them directly by telling the stories from different perspectives, meaning not only using the voices of the oppressed as sources, but also making those sources' concerns primary to their narratives and telling stories from that standpoint rather than from an elite standpoint.

The data showed that Traditional journalism narratives shifted strongly over time while Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 narratives about the post-racial question, Black Lives

Matter Movement, and Ferguson stayed within their paradigmatic expectations. Specifically, Traditional journalism began with a Representative Liberal paradigm in which journalists reported on the post-racial question using narratives imbued with a sense of detachment and remained objective, which meant telling stories about those who denied the existence of racism. However, Traditional journalism later moved toward a Constructionist narrative in telling stories of the rise to power of the Black Lives Matter Movement and, especially, in reporting about Ferguson, a story that compelled some journalists into using rare, first-person narratives. Interactive Race Beat narratives remained within Discursive paradigmatic expectations, meaning they debated questions about the post-racial question, Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson and much of that dialogue was to speak back to racial stereotypes in Traditional journalism. Journalism 3.0 also resided consistently within its Constructionist paradigm, relying on empowerment narratives across all three racial moments.

Table 3.5
Narratives Across Three Racial Moments

Paradigm	**Post-Racial**	**Black Lives Matter**	**Ferguson**
Traditional	Detachment	Detachment to Empowerment	Empowerment
Interactive Race Beat	Deliberation	Deliberation	Deliberation
Journalism 3.0	Empowerment	Empowerment	Empowerment

Narratives of the Post-Racial Question

The narrative of the post-racial question across the three paradigms depended strongly on how the problematic term was defined, or not defined, or defined in different ways within the same paradigm. Traditional journalism defined the term in different and sometimes opposite ways from the belief that electing a Black president meant racism was over to the idea that we all

know racism exists, so we don't need to talk about it. Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 defined it consistently to mean literally "past" race or that race was no longer a factor as either a barrier or an unearned privilege. Narratives in coverage of the post-racial question across all three paradigms showed strong, but anticipated, differences that fit paradigmatic expectations. Traditional journalism relied on a detached approach that posited post-racialism as a legitimate question. Interactive Race Beat narratives showed why it was not a legitimate question and probably not an achievable goal, and Journalism 3.0 narratives encouraged people, including allies, to band together to fight a racism that clearly still exists.

In Traditional news media, the narrative of the post-racial question had an ambiguous genesis. Rather than, for example, a high-profile person making a statement that the U.S. was post-racial, thus making the question a topic or debate within the news, the adjective "post-racial" simply appeared as a label of assumption about change in regard to the election of an African American president. However, over time, that narrative changed from one of assumption, to one of occasional surprise that the nation might not be post-racial, to one of the failure of Obama to lead the nation into a post-racial reality. Sometimes that failure was attributed to the perception that Obama did not talk about race enough. Other times it was because he was not "Black" enough. What is important to this narrative in the Traditional paradigm is that "post-racial" was defined in several ways, but almost exclusively from a majority/White standpoint. In Traditional narratives, a post-racial U.S. was alternately described as one in which: people don't talk about race, people don't see skin color, racism no longer exists, Black people act like White people, White people can "tolerate" a Black president, Black people have power, or Obama has cracked the racial ceiling but barriers remain for Black people. Not all of these definitions are mutually exclusive, but the first five share the kind of colorblind racism that Bonilla-Silva (2003) asserted

perpetuates a modern type of invisible racism. By and large, these narratives treat racism as both (a) something abstract rather than something experienced by people of color and (b) something that lies in attitudes rather than in policies and systems.

The narratives contradicted each other in places, suggesting at times that Obama's election meant racism was over and thus would no longer be discussed vs. having an African American president would push discussions of race to the forefront of U.S. politics. In some cases, Obama's election was portrayed as a magic wand that would end racism. For example, this article in *The New York Times* reinforced that idea with generalizations, then blame.

> Many thought his inauguration as the first African-American president this year was supposed to usher in a new post-racial age. ...But since his major speech on race during the primaries when he disavowed the inflammatory rhetoric of his minister, he has avoided overt discussion of the issue. (Baker, 2009, May 31)

This example blamed Obama for not bringing about a post-racial shift, then accused him of "avoiding" race as a conscious choice. Another example from *The New York Times* claimed his election was a "promise" that had not been realized: "President Obama told a church congregation here on Sunday that the promise inherent in his election as the nation's first African American president had yet to be fully realized" (Cooper, 2010, January 17). The "dream that did not become reality" narrative is tied strongly to Obama as though it was his responsibility as exemplified by this *New York Times* article:

> Eight years after Mr. Obama first spoke at Selma, the dream of a post-racial society that some foresaw in his rise to power has receded into a murkier reality.
>
> To Mr. Obama's supporters, the fierce opposition to his presidency has been fueled by race, even if that is not openly acknowledged. And in that regard, paradoxically, race relations may seem worse today than before he was elected.
>
> A new CBS News poll found that 50 percent of African Americans think real progress has been made in getting rid of racial discrimination, down from 59 percent last summer before episodes in Ferguson and elsewhere involving police officers and black suspects. (Baker & Hirschfeld Davis, 2015, March 6)

Other coverage took the perspective that Americans needed reminding that racism was still an issue, including this *New York Times* article written after Harvard Prof. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., was arrested at his own home when police suspected him of breaking in.

> But more deeply, many said that the incident was a disappointing reminder that for all the racial progress the country seemed to have made with the election of President Obama, little had changed in the everyday lives of most people in terms of race relations. (Saulny & Brown, 2009, July 23)

Indeed, the police violence of 2014 and 2015 were noted as a type of proof that race was still a problem, something that largely only White people would debate. A *New York Times* article written after a White gunman executed nine African American churchgoers in Charleston provided an exemplar of this narrative of Obama's responsibility to make the country post-racial and how he failed;

> After a series of police shootings, protests and riots, this latest eruption of violence reflected a country on edge and a president struggling to pull the American people together. Any hopes of what supporters once called a "postracial" era now seem fanciful as Mr. Obama's second term increasingly focuses on what he termed "a dark part of our history." (Baker, 2015, June 18)

Thus, Traditional journalism narratives of the post-racial question were unclear and changing. They ranged from the initial outright pronouncements that Obama himself was a "post-racial" candidate (without defining what that meant), to asking whether U.S. voters had achieved post-racialism with Obama's election (which meant a variety of things, from the idea that people no longer talked about race, to the idea that racism didn't exist, or that people understood racial barriers, so there was no longer a need to point them out), to representing post-racialism as a place Obama, as the nation's first Black president, was responsible to lead the populace, to, finally, a narrative of failure because news accounts showed racial prejudice and racial violence were still around and the whole question was a folly — or that post-racialism might have been possible, but Obama had not done a good job of leading the country in that direction.

The Interactive Race Beat narrative of the post-racial question began with the assertion that it was not a question. Code Switch, which was founded five years after Obama's election, has the following statement on its "About the Code Switch team" website: "Remember when folks used to talk about being 'post-racial'? Well, we're definitely not that. We're a team of journalists fascinated by the overlapping themes of race, ethnicity and culture, how they play out in our lives and communities, and how all of this is shifting" (NPR.com, 2013, April 7). It's important to note that the post-racial question emerged in the news cycle in 2008, but Code Switch did not begin publication until 2013. Interactive Race Beat coverage offered a narrative heavy in historical findings and context that posited harm in post-racial thinking. It examined why a post-racial question was problematic and asked readers to take a deeper look.

Unlike Traditional coverage of the post-racial question, Interactive Race Beat narratives had a single, clear definition of "post-racial" as an end to race-based barriers both in policies and in attitudes. Coverage in this paradigm challenged popular narratives about race that primarily clustered around a myth of progress: assumptions about millennials being more racially tolerant (which tied to the narrative of millennials being the force behind Obama's election), the benefits of Teach For America (a program that sends young teachers into schools with predominantly African American student populations), the "victory" of school desegregation, and the presumption that housing discrimination was a thing of the past. Interactive Race Beat coverage challenged the narratives that were taken for granted in Traditional news coverage, which treated racial tolerance among millennials as a given despite national data showing the contrary, showcased Teach for America as a fix rather than riddled with White Savior Complex overtones, reported school test scores using racial categories without looking at the quality of the schools themselves, and regularly used a tone of surprise that housing discrimination remained a

problem. This exemplar from Code Switch showed a narrative that traced history into current context, a perspective absent in Traditional narratives:

> Beginning in the 1930s, the federal government actually refused to back loans if black people lived nearby, and builders actively and openly prohibited black people from moving to new suburban developments. The net effect was that black people of all incomes were clustered in poorer urban centers, where they also received egregiously inferior public services, and where there was downward pressure on their abilities to create wealth.
>
> But this kind of discrimination isn't some practice from a darker, bygone era — it just looks different today. According to a study we wrote about recently, when white folks and people of color went to inquire about buying or renting homes, they got different treatment. Whites were shown more units and were offered lower rent. Everyone said they were treated courteously. There were no "Negroes Need Not Apply" signs on the doors. No real estate agents slammed doors in brown folks' faces. They simply offered them fewer choices at higher prices. (Demby, 2013, December 2)

That same type of historical perspective was seen in this Code Switch article with a narrative that did not appear elsewhere — one in which African Americans were shown as nostalgic not for repressive laws, but for the sense of community they had under segregation; sources expressed frustration that they were still oppressed, but no longer had the quality of connection found in majority-Black communities:

> "We had our own grocery stores, black doctors, lawyers, dentists, hotel, movie theaters, shoe repairmen, our own segregated YMCA," Fields says.
>
> It was a community, she says, where she felt supported, valued and welcomed. And where, because local colleges refused to hire black professors, her education in segregated schools was never substandard.
>
> "Some of our teachers were Ph.Ds., or Ph.D. candidates," Fields recalls. "We had the best of the best, the talented 10th, if you will, and they expected the best of us." Segregation should not get in the way of excelling, Fields and her peers were told. They had to be ready to inherit the integrated world their elders were fighting for, and the wider opportunities that would surely accompany it…
>
> Not even the fact that Americans elected a black president — twice — means that discrimination is over, says UCLA's Brenda Stevenson. The belief by some opinion-makers that President Obama's election has moved America into an era where race is no longer central, let alone relevant, says Stevenson, causes many black Americans more than a little cognitive dissonance…

> Michelle Boyd says public education, with all its inequities, has been a glaring example of post-*Brown v. Board of Education* work that still needs to be done. (Bates, 2014, May 17)

This type of narrative spoke directly against Traditional journalism narratives of progress by showing how even when policies change, racial barriers often remain. The narrative here showed a sense of doubt that the United States could ever be post-racial.

In Journalism 3.0, narratives about post-racialism centered on the shooting death of Trayvon Martin and President Obama's reaction. There was little coverage of post-racialism in this paradigm, likely because coverage that privileges the standpoint of the oppressed is unlikely to view it as a valid question that would merit coverage. A BuzzFeed article headlined, "3 reasons why saying 'Gay is the new black' isn't helpful," bolstered this assertion:

> The marginalization of queer men and women of color is directly connected to disproportionate rates of HIV/AIDS, poverty, homelessness, and more. We aren't post-racial, or post-black, or post-civil rights.
>
> "Gay is the new black," however, makes it sound like we can all pat ourselves on the back and move on to the next checkbox. Racism? Done. Next up? Gay rights. Uh, not quite, sister girl. (Jones, 2013, January 31)

Journalism 3.0 narratives outright dismissed post-racialism as a question — except in narratives about Obama's most powerful speech on race after becoming president. In the wake of the verdict in the case of the death of Trayvon Martin, Obama appeared unexpectedly early on a Friday in the White House briefing room. His decision to speak on the verdict was reported with surprise. Obama said the country was not post-racial, but he felt progress was being made, as BuzzFeed reported, "Obama said he sees America shifting away from the racial ugliness in its past, though he said the process is ongoing. He said it's time for Americans to ask themselves if they're helping that process move along" (McMorris-Santoro, 2013, July 19). Thus, narrative of the post-racial question in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm was defined as progress toward a reduction in racial prejudice, particularly in regard to racial prejudice that leads to violence. In

Journalism 3.0, post-racialism was portrayed as a goal to be achieved over a long period of time, not something that would become a reality after one election day, and as something in which everyone had a part to play, not something the first Black president should achieve on his own.

In sum, the narrative of the post-racial question stayed within paradigmatic expectations across all three paradigms of journalism. Traditional journalism treated it as a serious question with multiple meanings and answers; Interactive Race Beat journalism treated it with a "definite no" and "probably never" narrative, and Journalism 3.0's narrative was "not yet, but let's work together to make changes."

Narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement

Of the narratives I explored, the Black Lives Matter Movement was the most complex. This was due primarily to the conflicting ways in which the movement was portrayed and evolved from a social media hashtag to an in-the-streets protest movement. Some confusion might be expected when a movement that is intentionally decentered meets with a news media whose job it is to provide a cohesive definition of its structure and purpose. Overall, Traditional journalism narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement categorized it in ways that shifted over time from one of young and ineffective to one being politically powerful enough to impact the presidential election; Interactive Race Beat narratives focused on the movement's ability to reinvigorate or create a new civil rights movement under a larger, more inclusive umbrella, and Journalism 3.0 narratives focused on the danger to those fighting for their rights then shifted to a narrative compelling everyone to be involved in a mission of equality.

In Traditional journalism, I identified many themes describing what the Black Lives Matter Movement was, what its responsibilities were, and what its impact has been. These narratives shifted strongly over time, which I will address in detail at the end of this chapter. The

Black Lives Matter Movement was *portrayed as*: a social media slogan used in protests in the streets; a response to the death of Michael Brown; comprised of young, naïve people with too much time on their hands; an anti-police movement; a provocation for White backlash; and a powerful movement that should be wooed by presidential candidates. The portrayal shifted over time in the order listed, but the predominant portrayals were of the Black Lives Matter Movement as loud, fragmented, and unsophisticated and then as a powerful, new political force. How these narratives transformed chronologically is suggested by these quotes from *The New York Times*, beginning with one in an article headlined "One slogan, many methods: Black Lives Matter enters politics."

> Yet as the rift over debates versus town halls underscores, the young and sometimes cacophonous movement is struggling to find its voice, as the activists who fly its banner wade into national politics. …
>
> Yet for all the movement's impact, even some of its sympathizers question whether it needs a clearer organization and more concrete plan of action. …
>
> But the ubiquity of the name itself — and the fact that anyone can use it — has caused complications. At some protests, for instance, marchers' chants have called for violence against police officers. Critics, including several Republican presidential candidates, then equated Black Lives Matter to promoting attacks against the police. (Eligon, 2015, November 8)

Then, however, the narrative shifted to one of political power, as seen in this *New York Times* article headlined, "Looking at later primaries, Bernie Sanders works to strengthen black support":

> Even minor missteps show Mrs. Clinton's potential vulnerability in the Black Lives Matter moment, when a new generation of African-American voters is insisting on being wooed afresh.
>
> The Clinton campaign set off a small social-media uproar in December when it briefly adapted its logo to include Rosa Parks's image; critics said it looked like an attempt to say that the iconic protester would have supported Mrs. Clinton. (Alcindor, 2016, January 15)

This second article showed how candidates were vying for the attention of activists, versus the other way around. It made the Black Lives Matter Movement responsible for

changing people's minds; thus, if people's minds were not changed, the movement was to blame. It also described the movement as responsible for speaking up when White people were killed by police, for being a catalyst for conversation, for bringing attention to everyday racism, and for coalescing the public's attention around police violence against people of color. While all of these themes were present in the coverage, the last one was most frequently employed, as seen in this *New York Times* article about a study that showed stop-and-frisk law enforcement tactics were discriminatory:

> The study was released amid concern over the use of force prompted by a number of high-profile police killings of unarmed civilians and by the Black Lives Matter movement. The study looks at patterns of how police interaction with the public has changed over the last 12 years, starting with the earliest data available in 2003 and continuing through 2014, and breaks down the data by age, race and gender. (Southall, 2015, December 11)

Thus, the movement was initially portrayed as disorganized, but later portrayed as powerful.

The Black Lives Matter Movement's *impact* was also conveyed in multiple ways, including as: starting a "culture war" with White people; dividing older African Americans who favored the more gradual tactics of the NAACP; negligible because the movement was diffuse and divided and couldn't coalesce around a particular issue; nothing since the Ferguson street protests. Of these, the most common narrative was one of divisiveness between older generations and a new civil rights movement, as in this *New York Times* article:

> Many see themselves as building a new movement that goes well beyond what some called the "respectability politics" of civil rights leaders such as the Rev. Al Sharpton, powerful figures like Oprah Winfrey and politicians like President Obama.
>
> "We don't need people shifting the blame to poor black and brown communities for these tragedies," said Daniel Camacho, 24, a divinity student from Long Island, who has participated in some of the protests in New York. "I've heard enough people complain about sagging pants, gangster music, fatherlessness, black-on-black crime. Who's focusing on holding the American state, the police, fully accountable?"
>
> Some older blacks are sympathetic but skeptical.
>
> In an interview with People magazine, Ms. Winfrey said that while it was "wonderful" to see marches and protests across the country, "what I'm looking for is

> some kind of leadership to come out of this to say, 'This is what we want. This is what has to change, and these are the steps that we need to take to make these changes, and this is what we're willing to do to get it.'" (Vega, 2015, January 17)

Traditional journalism narratives about the Black Lives Matter Movement were sometimes contradictory, for example in calling the movement a slogan versus a new civil-rights movement during the same time period. However, what was more remarkable was the way Traditional coverage shifted from portraying the movement as decentralized, and therefore not able to accomplish anything, to showing how the movement was a political force in the presidential election. The one constant in the narrative was its focus on the movement as primarily about police violence. This is noteworthy because the movement defines itself in much broader terms.

In Interactive Race Beat coverage, the narrative of the Black Lives Matter Movement was more cohesive than it was in Traditional coverage. Interactive Race Beat coverage portrayed the Black Lives Matter Movement as a rapidly growing, new civil rights movement with the power to work with established groups like the NAACP to strengthen its position. This was a marked difference from the narrative in Traditional coverage, which put the Black Lives Matter Movement and NAACP at odds. This article from Code Switch showed the Black Lives Matter Movement as an extension and ally of NAACP.

> "One of the things that I think is really evident in the last year," he said, "is that the Black Lives Matter movement has captured the hearts and minds and public consciousness in a way that the NAACP and other civil rights organizations have not captured." …
>
> "I think we're witnessing the birth of a new phase of the ongoing struggle for black freedom, equality and justice in this country," he said. "Historic organizations like the NAACP have to find ways in which to connect with the new energy and the new formations that are out there."
>
> L. Joy Williams is the 36-year-old president of the NAACP branch in Brooklyn, and she agrees with that. But she says she's not really worried that the NAACP is becoming irrelevant, "because there's no other organization like ours." That is, with offices nationwide and lobbyists roaming the halls of power. (Florido, 2015, July 15)

Thus, coverage in the Traditional paradigm focused on division and competition while Interactive Race Beat coverage focused on showing connections between the two movements.

Interactive Race Beat coverage was the only one of the three paradigms to emphasize the Black Lives Matters Movement's intersectional focus, to use the voices of its three founders, and to focus on the growth of the movement both online and geographically by using an interview with academics who tracked its rise on Twitter. For example, this excerpt from a Code Switch article about violence toward women of color who identify as lesbian or queer began:

> Since the Black Lives Matter movement gained national attention in 2013, organizers have pushed to prioritize voices of black queer and transgender women. Two of the three founders identify as queer, and along with drawing attention to numerous brutal murders of transgender women of color, they have also driven conversations on how anti-black portrayals in media and popular culture can have serious consequences on black queer and trans women's lives. (Pasulka, 2016, March 17)

And this Code Switch article was the only one to use the voice of one of the founders of the movement:

> Before Black Lives Matter was a hashtag, before it was a slogan chanted by protesters in cities across the country, before it was a national movement, it was a Facebook post by an Oakland-based activist named Alicia Garza. She wrote it after George Zimmerman was acquitted in the shooting death of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin.
>
> It read in part: "I continue to be surprised at how little black lives matter, and I will continue that. Stop giving up on black life." She ended by saying, "Black people, I love you. I love us. Our lives matter. (NPR Staff, 2016, March 9)

A Code Switch article noting how the movement had spread to become "a major political force" also pointed out that the founders' voices were largely absent from Traditional news coverage of the movement:

> Black Lives Matter, the organization, was founded by three black women, and Twitter is a space in which the fascinations and voices of black women carry particular weight. But when the researchers looked at who comprised the "high centers," or most influential connectors, in the networks most involved in discussions of police violence, they saw something different.

> "If you look at the top 10 ... it's half activists ... some media folks," Freelon told me. "You'll notice that only one of them is a woman," he said, referring to Johnetta Elzie…
>
> Still, he said, when it comes to women and the movement, we could be seeing offline attitudes replicating themselves in the aggregate of the Twitterverse — like the way news stories tend to quote male sources much more often than they quote women.
>
> "It just goes to show that when you have a big movement," even one that's ostensibly committed to doing things differently, and better than in the past, "you might end up falling back on these old institutional biases," Freelon said. (Demby, 2016, March 2)

Thus, narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement in Interactive Race Beat coverage were substantially different than those in Traditional coverage. First, they were consistent and defined the movement as a source of unity rather than fragmentation, as powerful and sophisticated rather than weak and naïve, and as intersectional rather than primarily being about police violence against unarmed Black men. Narratives in the Interactive Race Beat traced the movement historically and examined its growth and spread. Moreover, Interactive Race Beat narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement used the voice of one of the founders and showed how they were largely ignored in Traditional coverage, thus replicating the pattern of silencing women of color.

Journalism 3.0 coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, in which the paradigmatic expectation was for narratives of empowerment, found this to be so, but found those empowerment narratives were preceded by narratives of fear. Journalism 3.0 was the only paradigm with a narrative focus on how Black Lives Matter Movement activists were facing opposition and, in some cases, violence and threats. The Mashable article, "Police Raid Black Lives Matter Camp in Minneapolis," contained a quote from the Minneapolis mayor saying the camp set up outside of police headquarters after an officer shot and killed an unarmed Black man in that city was dangerous because of the fires protesters were using to keep warm. The

coverage, however, mostly featured the perspective of the protesters, including tweets that showed a bulldozer destroying food and supplies donated to the movement and then featured a photo gallery of portraits of eleven of the people who had been in the encampment. That Mashable article stated, "Officers tore down tents and trashed food, blankets and other items from the camp" (Daileda, 2015, December 3). The coverage also frequently mentioned violence and threats of violence against Black Lives Matter Movement protesters at the political rallies of Donald Trump, including one in Las Vegas where a BuzzFeed reporter wrote about witnessing a protester who yelled, "Black Lives Matter. Muslim Lives Matter," being dragged from the rally while someone in the crowd yelled, "Light the motherfucker on fire" (Broder Van Dyke & Coppins, 2015, December 14). While fear and backlash against the movement were dominant in Journalism 3.0 narratives about the Black Lives Matter Movement, empowerment was also present. Journalism 3.0 narratives showed how Black Lives Matter Movement ideals had entered into other arenas, such as professional athletes showing support for the movement by wearing "Black Lives Matter" on their warm-ups, as part of the Flint, Michigan water crisis discussions, and in connection with coverage of entertainment such as the Oscars and Beyoncé using a Black Power salute during her Super Bowl halftime show. An article in BuzzFeed showed the movement as involved in issues other than police violence.

> The water crisis in Flint, Mich. should be a signature issue for the Black Lives Matter movement, as well as political candidates and the private sector, one of the movement's most prominent activists told BuzzFeed News.
>
> In an interview with BuzzFeed News, Patrisse Cullors of #BlackLivesMatter said her organization has been coordinating with activists in Flint. This weekend, Black Lives Matter network chapters in Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, Mich. will work together to deliver clean water to families, she said.
>
> "Clean water is a human right," Cullors said. "And I think that part what happens often times is that poor black communities end up getting the shorter end of the stick." (Sands, 2016, January 22)

Journalism 3.0 narratives also emphasized something not found in Traditional and Interactive Race Beat coverage: a call for White people to be better allies. In this Jan. 10, 2016 example in Mashable, reporter SaVonne Anderson created a listicle of "5 ways to be a better ally to people of color." The journalist curated social media content with her own prose. The ally narrative was seen only in Journalism 3.0 narratives, which aligns with its mission of empowerment. This paradigm was the only one to make the point that White people can and need to work against racism rather than leaving that responsibility solely to people of color.

Finally, Journalism 3.0 narratives expressed hope for progress, such as this line from a Mashable story about Black History Month, "But racial justice activists are pushing against the idea that black history isn't currently in the making, referencing the powerful movements happening in our current society — like Black Lives Matter Movement activism — as powerful proof" (DuPere, 2016, February 15). Thus, Journalism 3.0 coverage offered narratives that showed the risks protesters faced and balanced them with a hope that their actions were making a difference. They showed how the Black Lives Matter Movement had moved into issues broader than police violence, and they called on White people to be better allies to people of color.

The narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement were substantially different in content, and also showed a sharp change in Traditional journalism from a Representative Liberal sense of detachment to a Constructionist sense of empowerment. Interactive Race Beat narratives resided within the Discursive paradigm and focused on deliberation and showing connections between groups and ideas. Journalism 3.0 narratives shifted from fear to hope, but remained within the Constructionist paradigm in their narrative focus on empowerment.

Narrative of the Conflict in Ferguson

The narrative of the conflict in Ferguson, like the narrative of the Black Lives Matter Movement, showed a strong paradigmatic shift in Traditional journalism, both in topic and in paradigm, which shifted from Representative Liberal detachment to Constructivist narratives of empowerment. This began with Ferguson being portrayed as an isolated incident to showing how the catalysts that created the protests were present in cities across the country. This is significant because it departed from decades of patterns in how journalists cover racial conflict. Interactive Race Beat narratives of the conflict in Ferguson remained consistent in the Discursive paradigm of deliberation, tracing the historic roots of the problem and examining the factors that contribute to racial oppression. Journalism 3.0 coverage stayed within that paradigm's Constructivist empowerment narrative, but the narrative changed from one of fear to one of hope.

The coverage of Ferguson in the Traditional paradigm began as coverage of racial violence typically does — days later and inside the newspaper rather than on the front page. The first mention of Ferguson in Traditional journalism was on the inside pages of the A section of *The Washington Post* on Aug. 11, 2014, two days after Michael Brown's death. Brown's race appears in the lead of the story, but the idea that his killing was related to race does not appear until the last half of the story in relation to African American protesters outside the police

department carrying signs that read “No justice, no peace” and “Stop police terrorism.” The journalist noted simply, “Critics have contended that police in the St. Louis area too often target young black men. Statistics on police-involved shootings in the region were not immediately available” (Salter, 2014, August 11). The next day, the *Post* coverage was moved to the front page with a story about the FBI launching a civil rights investigation into the case. Two days later, questions about racism in the Ferguson police department dominated the *Post’s* front page. The narrative was of an “incident” involving a “bad apple” police department:

> When an unarmed black teenager and a police officer crossed paths here last weekend with fatal results, the incident cast a blinding spotlight on a small police department struggling for authority and relevance in a changing community…
>
> The office of Missouri’s attorney general concluded in an annual report last year that Ferguson police were twice as likely to arrest African Americans during traffic stops as they were whites. (Lowery, Leonnig, & Berman, 2014, August 14)

The Traditional narrative quickly turned to one of the clash between protesters and heavily armed law enforcement and a particular emphasis on vandalism by the protesters, who burned down a QuickMart, and the danger posed by some of the protesters, as described in the lead of this front-page article in *The Washington Post,* which portrayed them as a mob of nameless vigilantes bent on violence:

> On one corner of a battered stretch of West Florissant Avenue, the epicenter of ongoing protests, young men pull dark scarves up over their mouths and lob molotov cocktails at police from behind makeshift barricades built of bricks and wood planks. They call the gasoline-filled bottles “poor man’s bombs.” The young men yell expletives and, with a rebel’s bravado, speak about securing justice for Michael Brown, the black teen fatally shot Aug. 9 by a white police officer, “by any means necessary.”
>
> They are known here as “the militants” - a faction inhabiting the hard-core end of a spectrum that includes online organizers and opportunistic looters - and their numbers have been growing with the severity of their tactics since the shooting.
>
> Each evening, hundreds gather along West Florissant in what has become the most visible and perilous ritual of this St. Louis suburb’s days of frustration following Brown’s death. Dozens have been arrested, many injured by tear-gas

> canisters and rubber bullets fired by a police force dressed in riot gear and armed with assault rifles…
>
> They will not give their names. But their leaders say they are ready to fight, some with guns in their hands. "This is not the time for no peace," said one man, a 27-year-old who made the trip here from Chicago. (Wax-Thibodeaux & Brown, 2014, August 19)

In Traditional coverage, the narrative of the conflict in Ferguson initially focused on problems that it portrayed as unique to Ferguson: a town segregated on racial lines with poor Blacks who attend "crumbling" schools and suburban Whites who enjoy the wine bars and public pool on the other side of the tracks, a problematic police department that had hired a bad-apple cop named Darren Wilson after he had been booted from another police department, and an African American community that was like a powder keg. It portrayed all of these problems as things that should be addressed via traditional channels by hiring a new police chief or governor, or via a Department of Justice investigation. After the protests quieted down, coverage turned to focus on the legal actions involving those investigations and the grand jury process for Wilson. Very few articles focused on the narratives of people who endured oppression. In fact, an article in *The Washington Post* headlined "Racial fissures surprise some Ferguson whites," focused on how the protests impacted Ferguson's White population:

> The situation has forced many white Ferguson residents in this majority-black city - from small-business owners to the mayor and police chief - to question their beliefs about the community's racial dynamics.
>
> They have discovered that blacks and whites here profoundly disagree about the existence of racism and the fairness of the justice system. And now, whites who once believed their town was an exception in a country struggling with racial divisions have to confront the possibility it is not. (Samuels, 2014, October 8)

This narrative of violent African American protesters and shocked White residents continued until the November grand jury decision not to indict Officer Darren Wilson for shooting Michael Brown, when despite the fact that there were protests and "die-ins" around the country with

protesters naming Oscar Grant, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and Tanisha Anderson, the narrative focus remained on Michael Brown and Ferguson as an isolated incident. At that point, two of *The Washington Post* reporters who had been covering Ferguson wrote a scathing critique of media coverage of Ferguson. In a piece headlined, "A fiery distraction from a much-needed debate," *Post* reporters Marc Fischer and Wesley Lowery wrote that Ferguson came as a surprise to the news media and the nation:

> These were rare suburban riots, racial violence coming to the very place where many Americans - both white and black - had fled after the urban unrest of the 1960s. These were the most significant explosions of racial frustration since the election of the nation's first black president, and so Ferguson forced the country out of the fantasy that America had entered a "post-racial" era.
>
> For protesters and those who agree with them, the death of Michael Brown has joined those of Eric Garner in New York, Trayvon Martin in Sanford, Fla., and Oscar Grant in Oakland, Calif., in a roll call of mostly young black men whose violent ends are a reminder of the reservoir of mistrust and misapprehension that divides African Americans from those in charge of the state's use of force. But for many other Americans, the most concerning aspect of the events in Ferguson has been the disorder in the streets.
>
> Instead of discussions about what might be done to diminish the likelihood of racial violence, the popular debate focused over the past week on how big the explosion of anger would be. In recent days, it was easy to find at least a dozen online polls asking something along the lines of: "Will there be race riots in Ferguson?" (2014, November 26)

Such analytical writing is a strong departure from what is typically seen in Traditional journalism. It also marked a turn in the Traditional narrative, one in which Ferguson became not a single place with racial tension, but a symbol of larger problems in the country, such as in this *Washington Post* article about how people in Ferguson now saw their city:

> Though it has been less than four months since Michael Brown was killed, the town seems to have entered the pantheon of places that stand as metaphors. Ferguson's symbolism now sits alongside Selma's significance in the civil rights movement, Columbine as a symbol of teenage rage and gun violence, and Kent State's historic link to antiwar protests. Those are places that have adjusted - some more smoothly than others - to their emblematic meaning. (Thompson, 2014, November 27)

At this point, the Traditional narrative became hopeful, not only for the people of Ferguson to "heal," but for them to "turn anger into results" (Somashekhar, 2015, December 9) after, as *The New York Times* reported, "The shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Mo., became an inkblot test illuminating the nation's deeply rooted political and racial divides" (Tumulty, 2014, December 5). After the protests and the non-indictment of Wilson, the Traditional media did not have "events" to cover, but did stay on the story and began to widen the narrative to include coverage of racism faced by African American children at school, connections between police violence, changes in policies to require police to wear body cameras, the stepping down of Ferguson's police chief, and a major piece of data-driven journalism titled "Black and Unarmed," appeared in *The Washington Post:*

> It begins with a relatively minor incident: A traffic stop. A burglary. A disturbance. Police arrive and tensions escalate. It ends with an unarmed black man shot dead.
>
> That pattern played out in March in Madison, Wis., where police responded to reports of a man yelling and jumping in traffic.
>
> It was repeated two months later in Los Angeles, where beachgoers complained that a homeless man was harassing people on the Venice boardwalk.
>
> It surfaced again in Cleveland, where police were called to a burglary at a corner store. And in Tallahassee, where a man was reported banging on someone's door. And last month in Cincinnati, where Samuel DuBose, 43, wound up with a bullet in his head after being pulled over for driving without a front tag.
>
> Perhaps most infamously, the pattern played out one year ago Sunday in Ferguson, Mo., where a white police officer searching for a convenience-store robber shot and killed an unarmed black teenager. That incident sparked a national movement to protest police treatment of African Americans and turned 18-year-old Michael Brown into a putative symbol of racial inequality in America.
>
> So far this year, 24 unarmed black men have been shot and killed by police - one every nine days, according to a *Washington Post* database of fatal police shootings. During a single two-week period in April, three unarmed black men were shot and killed. All three shootings were either captured on video or, in one case, broadcast live on local TV. (Somashekhar, Lowery, & Alexander, 2015, August 9)

This article relied on database evidence of a trend and claimed the death of Michael Brown had started a new national conversation about race and police violence.

The examples spread beyond police violence to explore issues such as the toll of fighting for civil rights and access to mental health care. An article about a prominent Black Lives Matter Movement activist, 23-year-old MarShawn McCarrel, who committed suicide on the steps of statehouse in Columbus, Ohio, took a sharp systemic turn in providing deep context beyond the individual as seen in this article from *The Washington Post*:

> "Organizing saves people's lives," Barry said. "But we also don't do a good job of saving the lives of the people who are organizing."
>
> Studies have found that black Americans are more susceptible to depression and anxiety - a disparity that health experts believe stems from social stigma and a lack of access to mental health resources in black communities, as well as a reluctance to take advantage of those resources when they are available. "It's really tough in the black community because we're going uphill trying to fight all of these negative stereotypes about us, and the last thing a lot of black people want to do is give people one more reason to look down on us," said Monnica Williams, director of the Center for Mental Health Disparities at the University of Louisville. "I think a lot of African Americans are walking around depressed, coping from day to day, and not really living."
>
> A study by the federal Office of Minority Health found that African Americans are 20 percent more likely to experience serious mental health problems than the general population. And for an activist, Williams said, depression can be especially dangerous. Much of the conversation about race and justice occurs online, where harsh and threatening messages are abundant. One of McCarrel's last Facebook posts was a screen shot of a threatening email he had received. "Were [sic] gonna keep making your life hell until you keep your N----- mouth closed," read the email, which spelled out the epithet. (Lowery & Stankiewicz, 2016, February 16)

The narrative in this piece broadened beyond a single activist to show the realities faced by many African Americans who choose to stand against racism.

As the 2016 presidential election began to heat up, the narrative in Traditional journalism turned political, but did not forget Ferguson. It brought forth key concepts that

emerged from Ferguson and other shootings, such as a strong push by racial-justice activists for police to wear body cameras, the recommendation from the Ferguson Commission for increased police training, including implicit bias training for officers. The coverage held these points as salient and discussed how those running for election felt about those issues, thus transforming the conversation from Ferguson into a narrative that held the potential for policy change.

Interactive Race Beat coverage of Ferguson showed a narrative that was different than its narratives of the post-racial question and the Black Lives Matter Movement. This narrative was deeply personal, exhausted, and focused closely on the toll of Ferguson on African Americans, including the journalists who covered Ferguson not as detached experts, but as people who were trying to cover an issue they were also living. A Code Switch article headlined, "How black reporters report on black death," was written in the first person and opened with a gathering of African American journalists, longtime friends covering Ferguson for different news media outlets who have gathered together for dinner after running into one another on West Florissant, the scene of major protests, six days after Michael Brown's death:

> But this was a strange reunion: We weren't gathered for a birthday, or happy hour, but because a young black man's body had lain out for four hours on a sweltering street.
>
> In the 12 months since, the national conversation about police brutality has reached a higher pitch than we could have imagined. We've all become part-time cops reporters and part-time criminal justice reporters. We've interviewed weeping family members, scrutinized dash cam footage and witnesses' YouTube uploads, and wrestled with the long-term political implications of what this moment might mean. At this point, I'm probably approaching 30,000 words on the subject of race and policing. It's everything you want in a story — consequential, evolving, complicated. This work will matter in a way that so many other stories don't or won't.
>
> But this beat has also been distressing and unrelenting. I've come uncomfortably close to handing in my resignation, asking to cover anything but this. I can't even remember which case or video got me to that point, but I just didn't want to do it anymore. Over the past month, I've talked to a dozen other

> black reporters who've covered race and policing since Michael Brown's death — or even further back, since Oscar Grant or Ramarley Graham — and it's been a relief to learn that I'm not the only one. That sinking feeling when a hashtag of a black person's name starts trending on Twitter, the guilty avoidance of watching the latest video of a black person losing his life, the flashes of resentment and irritation at well-meaning tweets and emails sent by readers asking me to weigh in on the latest development in the latest case. The folks I talked to for this story share many of the same, contradictory impulses I wrestle with when a new case comes to light, torn between wanting to jump on a plane — or start sketching out a long essay, as the case may be — and wanting to log out of Twitter and block out emails from my editors. (Demby, 2015, August 20)

The narrative, even early in the coverage, was not one of a growing movement, but one of hopelessness that racism could be remedied. It included historical coverage of racial violence, including a story similar to that of Michael Brown, but 100 years before. Code Switch focused on how little had changed systemically, but the list of African American names that became hashtags about police violence had continued to grow:

> Brown's name has become the latest in a long litany of names that in their totality represent an archetype: a black life snuffed out in an encounter with The System. He's come to represent not only himself or his community, but a much broader universe of people…
>
> Every time folks recite the litany, it reiterates the same idea: Black life is cheap. Every time a new person's name is added to that macabre list, that name becomes another way of invoking this idea. The roll call only grows larger, as do the stakes: Michael Brown becomes the avatar for all black men, like Trayvon Martin before him and Oscar Grant before him and Amadou Diallo before him. And consequently, their actions and the outcomes of their lives come to represent that same thing for all black men. (Demby, 2014, September 3)

This narrative tone of outrage and hopelessness was not present in Traditional or Journalism 3.0 paradigms. These are not quotes from a source, but from the journalist himself.

Further, Interactive Race Beat narratives directly challenged Traditional narratives by showing everyday life in Ferguson, a small town described in Code Switch coverage as equally populated with journalists and protesters at the height of the action. Code Switch showed Ferguson as unexceptional, making the point that this was just another in a string of similar

cases of police violence against people of color. An article headlined, "Scenes from the Ferguson we didn't see on TV" accused the news media of magnifying the conflict and featured 14 photos of everyday life in Ferguson, such as teen boys throwing a football, neighbors sitting in chairs on the sidewalk chatting, and people having barbecues. Code Switch Journalist Gene Demby wrote on Sept. 4, 2014, "I walked around the neighborhood chatting with people while they worked or relaxed, enjoying the last few weeks of summer, even as Ferguson had become the most recent locus for Our Ongoing National Conversation on Race," a phrasing that identifies Ferguson as just one in a string that will likely continue. Interactive Race Beat showcased the exhausting toll of confronting racism and offered little hope for change in the future.

In Journalism 3.0, the narrative of the conflict in Ferguson was one of people who had been living in fear for so long and experiencing racism for so long, that they were taking to the streets despite the fact that they felt unsafe doing so. Rather than a narrative of people who were dangerous and unpredictable, Journalism 3.0 offered a narrative of people who were risking their physical safety and being courageous to work for change, who were united and mourning rather than violent and random. Using the reporter's first-person narrative, a Mashable journalist walked readers through Ferguson:

> Police barricades constructed throughout the neighborhood where Brown was killed have essentially turned the area into a maze in which its residents are trapped. In order to get in or out, you have to drive your car up on to the sidewalk and or into someone's yard.
>
> "You don't want to go in there," a cop, who was white, told me when I asked for directions. He added that I could be shot.
>
> But when I finally parked in the lot next to the apartment complex in front of the place Brown was shot, I found the exact opposite. Bonds had his food truck parked nearby, blasting a rap song dedicated to Brown.
>
> More than 100 people peacefully lined the streets, drifting in and out of the nearby homes. Kids on bicycles circled the parking lot as they laughed.

> Grandmothers refused to shake my hand, offering hugs instead. (Wills, 2014, August 24)

Rather than a narrative of protesters as violent, Journalism 3.0 showed a narrative of the police as violent and making false assumptions about the town's African American neighborhoods. Two days into the protests, Mashable ran a curated photo essay titled, "Ferguson or Iraq? Photos Unmask the Militarization of America's Police" (Franceschi-Bicchierai & Drankoski, Aug. 13, 2014). The piece, which was had little text, began a narrative about police militarization that would continue to be part of the news cycle. It explained, "Residents protesting his death have flooded the streets this week, and photographs of police trying to contain them bear an eerie resemblance to a military operation." The article featured a series of side-by-side photographs of scenes from war and scenes from Ferguson. The article caught the attention of *Time* magazine which the next day said, "The scenes from Ferguson have reached a point where *Mashable* has posted photos from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Ferguson—and asked readers to try to figure out where they're from" (Thompson, 2014, August 14).

Left: Ferguson. Right: Iraq.

(L) St. Louis County Tactical Police fire tear gas along West Florissant Road in Ferguson. (R) A grenade explodes close to a U.S. Army humvee during clashes in Mosul, Iraq, on June 13, 2003.

IMAGE: ROBERT COHEN/ST. LOUIS DISPATCH, RAMZI HAIDAR/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Source: Mashable, 2014, August 13

Journalism 3.0 not only privileged the voices of the oppressed, it sought to put the audience as a whole in the shoes of those people facing danger in Ferguson.

Contrasted to the sense of hopelessness in the Interactive Race Beat narratives of Ferguson, Journalism 3.0 showed a narrative of hopefulness as time went on. A longform magazine-style piece in Mashable written in first person and accompanied by a photo essay of images captured by the journalist as he joined protesters on a nine-day, 250-mile "March 2 Freedom" captured all three:

> They were marching because they were sick and tired of living in fear that they or their loved ones could have their lives taken away for no reason, dismissed as just another thug.
>
> The protests were not just cathartic demonstrations of grief and anger, but efforts to bring the pain experienced by communities of color every day into the consciousness of mainstream America. This often entailed the disruption of life and business as usual — from marching in the streets and blocking traffic, to staging "die-ins" in department stores, to interrupting Sunday brunches with chants of "Hands up, don't shoot!"
>
> While the Justice Package is still in committee, the Obama administration recently announced large reforms to the federal program that provides police departments with military hardware. This is a significant step in rolling back the transformation of local police into paramilitary forces, and it would not have happened without the ongoing protests of the past year. (Arbuckle, 2015, June 20)

Thus, Journalism 3.0 narratives focused tightly on the lived experience of African Americans in Ferguson and protesters across the country and on the dangerous work they were doing on behalf of racial justice. Reporters' first-person accounts put readers, as much as possible, in the shoes of those doing that work and showed the obstacles they faced. This narrative of Ferguson was one of a turning point, one that acknowledged the world was watching and one that offered a sense of hope for change because a light of truth was being shined in dark corners where racist beliefs had long ruled. Further, it showed that the change went beyond exposing wrongs to facilitating policy changes.

Changes Over Time in Narrative

The most noteworthy shifts were seen in Traditional journalism coverage, which saw narrative changes across all three moments and paradigmatic changes in coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement and of Ferguson. There were no narrative or paradigmatic shifts in the Interactive Race Beat and there were minor narrative shifts, but no paradigmatic shifts in Journalism 3.0 narratives of Ferguson.

Traditional narratives of the post-racial question shifted from declaring the U.S. to be post-racial (although there was much inconsistency in how that term was defined) to one of surprise that the promise of post-racialism had been a myth. This turn became clear after Ferguson. Narratives largely blamed Obama as responsible for making the nation believe it could be post-racial. Thus, while the narrative changed, Traditional journalism remained within the Representative Liberal paradigm in that it reported with detachment about the post-racial question.

However, Traditional narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement and Ferguson changed both in tone and in paradigm, moving that coverage from Representative Liberal to Constructionist across the latter two racial moments. In the case of the Black Lives Matter Movement, narratives shifted strongly from ignoring it, to portraying it as a social-media slogan, to portraying it as disorganized and internally divided to a movement with political clout worthy of the attention of presidential candidates. This move from detachment to empowerment narrative represented a paradigmatic shift. Traditional narratives of Ferguson also shifted from one of dangerous and angry African American protesters in a single "problem city" burning and looting their own neighborhoods to a narrative of police violence against people of color as a

national issue being addressed both at the ballot box and in policy changes. Again, this represented a paradigmatic shift from Representative Liberal to Constructionist.

Interactive Race Beat coverage showed almost no shift in narrative, maintaining a pessimistic tone about whether the nation could move forward in erasing racism. Beginning with the post-racial narrative as a myth and showing how the next generation of millennials was not more racially liberal painted a picture of a problem with little hope of resolution. Although Interactive Race Beat narratives of the Black Lives Matter Movement were the only ones to show the movement's intersectional focus, the narratives also showed that while policies might change, individual attitudes probably would not. Thus, while narratives in this paradigm showed that after Ferguson, the U.S. was more aware of racial issues, they did not show that this awareness would lead to changes. Interactive Race Beat coverage remained within the Discursive paradigm with narratives that were primarily deliberative.

Journalism 3.0 narratives stayed within the Constructionist paradigm with narratives of empowerment even in the face of fear, though at the time of the Ferguson protests and afterward, hope began to be highlighted. At first, coverage of the post-racial question and the Black Lives Matter Movement focused strongly on the fear of those living with the threat of racial violence. However, these narratives differed from Interactive Race Beat Narratives in that following Ferguson, they showed a sense of hopefulness that change was possible. Additionally, Journalism 3.0 narratives focused not only on the experience of the oppressed, but on how non-marginalized people could serve as allies.

Systemic Awareness of Racism

There is an old saying in journalism that has several iterations, but mostly goes something like this: Journalists are better at covering the storms than the oxygen. By definition, "news" is the new, not the invisible and taken for granted. But what is taken for granted is deeply dependent upon the status and experiences of the person who decides what is news. In other words, journalists who don't experience racial microagressions, for example, might not be aware that they exist, or might even argue that they don't. Systemic racism, for those who haven't experienced it directly, is like the oxygen. "New" things such as the first African American president, a new civil rights movement, or police tanks firing smoke grenades at protesters in the streets of Ferguson meet the typical definition of news. Whether journalists look more deeply into the contexts in which these events occur or link them to other events occurring under similar contexts has the power to reveal systemic racism.

Traditional journalism's *raison d'etre* is to cover the "new," novel, surprising, or trending with a focus on current events. However, when issues of race are covered as discrete incidents, it creates an understanding of racism as something experienced by some people some of the time, rather than an overall atmosphere or system of oppression (Apollon, et al., 2014; Deggans, 2015). It can also lead the audience to believe that the person who experienced racism might have been to blame (Iyengar, 1991) or that racism might not have been the cause of a problem or issue (Apollon, et al., 2014; Gilens, 1999; Temple, 2010). Scholarship has found that only 20 percent of Traditional news content produced between 2009 and 2014 showed racism as a systemic issue (Apollon, et al., 2014). In my research, I paid particular attention to whether news narratives showed systemic awareness because both emergent paradigms privilege wider sourcing and when voices of the oppressed are allowed to speak for themselves, those narratives have the

power to disrupt stereotypes and show racism as part of everyday lived experience for people of color (Essed, 1991). This narrative analysis looked for systemic-level awareness, defined by Apollon et al. (2014) as both institutional racism and structural racism. Institutional racism occurs within institutions such as schools or workplaces, and is reinforced by people working within those power structures, such as a teacher who routinely gives African American children harsher punishments than their White peers for negative behaviors. Structural racism is broader and encompasses racial prejudice among institutions in ways that spread across society and are more difficult to trace or measure. For example, that same teacher who gives the unfair punishments has bias informed by entertainment and news media regularly portraying African American youth as "dangerous." This study examined whether news narratives conveyed awareness of either or both institutional and structural racism.

The data showed that, following the earlier patterns, Traditional journalism saw the greatest degree of change in terms of coverage that was systemically aware, while Interactive Race Beat Journalism and Journalism 3.0 resided within paradigmatic expectations. Traditional journalism across all three racial moments began with coverage that was not systemically aware, then moved into a Constructionist paradigm in which coverage began to explore widespread and ongoing systemic racism associated with the post-racial question, the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson. Interactive Race Beat coverage maintained a consistent level of systemic awareness of racism and built consensus on the issue of racism as overarching and likely impossible to overcome. Journalism 3.0 maintained a consistent level of awareness of systemic racism by avoiding closing the question, meaning using constant interrogation of the forces behind it and showing how the problem of racism might be combatted.

Table 3.6
Systemic Awareness of Racism Across Three Racial Moments

Paradigm	**Post-Racial**	**Black Lives Matter**	**Ferguson**
Traditional	Closure	Closure to Avoidance of premature closure	Closure to Avoidance of premature closure
Interactive Race Beat	Closure after consensus	Closure after consensus	Closure after consensus
Journalism 3.0	Avoidance of premature closure	Avoidance of premature closure	Avoidance of premature closure

Systemic Awareness in the Post-Racial Question

If coverage of the post-racial question were to show systemic awareness, it would focus not just on the fact that the nation had never had a Black president, but on the history and context of why race was a barrier to attaining the presidency. Those factors might include the prejudicial attitudes of the White majority not only as voters, but also the barriers to housing and employment that make it difficult for people of color to have the same educational, economic, and employment opportunities as White people. If coverage simply stated statistics of African Americans as a national group being less affluent and less educated than other racial groups, it would create the impression that this was either a choice or a defect rather than a byproduct of systemic racism and cast Obama as an exception — someone who *chose* another path rather than who overcame obstacles.

Systemic awareness in Traditional journalism coverage of the post-racial question was low with narratives that relied primarily on statistics but offered no context. For example, much of the coverage cited high poverty and incarceration rates of African Americans without any historical context. The journalists chose to use figures about incarceration rates, but did not use

readily available data that shows African Americans are arrested at higher rates than Whites or given longer sentences for the same crimes. The narrative of Obama's election was one of exceptionalism rather than post-racialism. This *New York Times* article about the nomination of Sonia Sotomayor as the nation's first Latina Supreme Court Justice was headlined, "Court choice brings issue of 'identity' back out," which directly asserted that "identity" (i.e. ethnicity) had disappeared as a barrier in the months Obama had been in office.

> In the heat of his primary battle last year, Barack Obama bemoaned "identity politics" in America, calling it "an enormous distraction" from the real issues of the day. Many thought his inauguration as the first African-American president this year was supposed to usher in a new post-racial age.
>
> But four months later, identity politics is back with a vengeance. A president who these days refers to his background obliquely when he does at all chose a Supreme Court candidate who openly embraces hers. Critics took issue with her past statements and called her a "reverse racist." And the capital once again has polarized along familiar lines. (Baker, 2009, May 30)

This narrative was typical of Traditional journalism coverage of the lack of systemic awareness in post-racial coverage. First, it failed to acknowledge the structures and institutions that continue to oppress people of color. Second, it accused Obama of igniting a racial debate (as though a conversation about race was something negative) by nominating a Latina. Third, it repeated the race-based accusation of Sotomayor's critics that she is a "reverse racist," which itself is a term that invalidates both individual and systemic racism. Moreover, the existence of post-racialism as a question shows a lack of systemic awareness of racism.

Systemic awareness of racism in the Interactive Race Beat coverage of the post-racial question was, by contrast, strong and threaded throughout every article about Obama's election and what it meant in terms of the nation's attitudes toward race. These themes were manifest in coverage that addressed the lack of educational opportunities for African American children living in poverty, the White Savior Complex in the Teach for America system, the systemic

obstacles faced by African Americans in their search for housing, and the popular myth that millennials are more "racially tolerant." The Interactive Race Beat produced only four articles on this topic, likely because for Code Switch, post-racialism was not a question but a perspective to be debunked. But when it did cover post-racialism, it did so in a systemically aware context that was rooted in the history of oppression both using statistics and quotes from experts, including this quote from an interview with ProPublica reporter Nikole Hannah-Jones, who produced an in-depth article on housing discrimination and said this during her interview with Code Switch:

> We are a society that largely believes that the struggle for racial equality ended with the laws passed during the civil rights movement and there was nothing left to be done. I think it is easy for many Americans to believe that laws on the books make us post-racial, even if the reality is decidedly racialized. The Supreme Court in decisions beginning in the early '70s and continuing through this year has largely confirmed that belief by its rulings. (Demby, 2013, December 2)

This coverage provided an exemplar showing how historical-legal context meets majority racial understanding of oppression.

Systemic awareness of the post-racial question manifested differently in Journalism 3.0, where the narratives centered on Obama's speech about the not-guilty verdict for George Zimmerman in the shooting death of unarmed African American teen Trayvon Martin. This coverage showed a high level of systemic awareness in that it showcased the very person whose election evoked Traditional journalism's post-racial question. Coverage in this paradigm showed that although Obama was elected president, he still faced systemic racism, thus, it still exists. Journalism 3.0 coverage was dominated by the full text of Obama's July 19, 2013 remarks, notably about his experience with systemic racism and interpersonal racism. Coverage in BuzzFeed focused on the Obama statements:

> Trayvon could have been me, 35 years ago. And when you think about why, in the African-American community at least, there's a lot of pain around what happened here, I think it's important to recognize that the African-American

> community is looking at this issue through a set of experiences and a -- and a history that -- that doesn't go away.
>
> There are very few African-American men in this country who have not had the experience of being followed when they are shopping at a department store. That includes me. There are probably very few African-American men who have not had the experience of walking across the street and hearing the locks click on the doors of cars. That happens to me - at least before I was a senator.
>
> There are very few African-Americans who have not had the experience of getting on an elevator and a woman clutching her purse nervously and holding her breath until she had the chance to get off. That happens often. (McMorris-Santoro, 2013, July 19)

Journalism 3.0 coverage of this speech showcased Obama's words, rather than pundits interpreting his words or other elites speaking back to his assertions. It let his words stand without comment or interpretation, which largely set it apart from Traditional coverage.

Systemic awareness of racism in the coverage of the post-racial question across three paradigms showed stark differences. In Traditional journalism, there was a focus on Obama's election as a bellwether of change, but no acknowledgement of the systemic barriers still strongly in place until late in the coverage. Most of the Traditional coverage ignored historical context and treated racism as a question. In Interactive Race Beat coverage of the post-racial question, the opposite was true. History and context dominated the coverage and showed racial barriers as real, strong, and probably permanent. Journalism 3.0 coverage was scant, relying primarily on Obama's remarks about the death of Trayvon Martin. This gave the impression that if the president of the United States experiences racism, we are definitely not post-racial.

Systemic Awareness in Coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement

Black Lives Matter Movement began as a hashtag, but the movement grew rapidly larger and spread geographically into a movement that was in the streets. Given that, *what* the protesters were fighting against — systemic racism that manifests intersectionally in issues such as wage and job discrimination, housing discrimination, legal issues, police brutality, LGBTQA

discrimination, an unfair immigration system and immigrant abuse, discrimination against people with disabilities, and more — seems like a logical element for a news story about the movement. However, that was only the case in two of the paradigms. Traditional journalism was largely systemically ignorant in its initial coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, but later became more comprehensive, showing a turn from a Representative Liberal paradigm to a Constructionist paradigm in which it held open the question of systemic racism and began to explore it more fully. Interactive Race Beat journalism produced the most systemically aware coverage by linking both conceptually and technologically — via clickable links in articles — to show this bigger picture and its historical roots and stayed within the Discursive paradigm, using evidence to build consensus on the existence of systemic racism, then closing the question. Journalism 3.0 conveyed systemic awareness of racism in coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement by showing how it had sparked discussions that became part of popular culture and everyday life from sports to entertainment to toys, thus staying in the Constructionist paradigm to hold open the question of systemic racism as one that might be open to change.

Systemic awareness in Traditional coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement followed a noticeable pattern from absent to present, a significant change that will be explored in detail later in this chapter. When systemic awareness was absent in Traditional coverage, it presented Black Lives Matter as a hashtag, a chant at a protest, something on a poster, or the name of the group without any explanation of the movement or its goals. Much of the coverage indicated that the Black Lives Matter Movement was sparked by the death of Michael Brown, which was inaccurate and did not reflect the movement as one that seeks to bring awareness to intersectional issues of racism including, but not limited to, police violence against African Americans. In 2015, several activists who were prominent members of the Black Lives Matter

Movement began a group called Campaign Zero, which was more directly targeted at bringing policy changes in regard to policing. There was considerable overlap between the Black Lives Matter Movement and Campaign Zero membership. The formation of Campaign Zero increased coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, which would align with the way Traditional journalism has worked to cover discrete events and policies, but it also contributed to a more systemic narrative of the Black Lives Matter Movement. Thus, coverage in Traditional journalism was initially not systemically aware, but later became so. Here's an example from *The New York Times*:

> The death of Mr. Dubose, who was black, at the hands of Officer Tensing, who is white, joined a string of recent cases -- in places including Staten Island; Cleveland; Baltimore; North Charleston, S.C.; and Ferguson, Mo., among others -- that have raised hard questions about law enforcement's use of force and the role of race in policing.
>
> Video cameras have recorded many of these episodes and other, nonlethal encounters -- like the arrest of Sandra Bland, who died three days later in a Texas jail cell -- offering disturbing evidence of the confrontations that often contradict the accounts of those involved. Several hundred people braved an early-evening thunderstorm to rally for about 90 minutes outside the Hamilton County Courthouse, chanting "Black lives matter" and "I am Sam Dubose." (Perez Peña, 2015, July 29)

The linkage of these cases shows strong systemic awareness in portraying them not as singular or isolated incidents, but as the symptom of a large and widespread problem.

In Interactive Race Beat coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, systemic awareness was manifest both in context and in links to other coverage. In both emergent paradigms, which are born digital, links to other articles were prominent and numerous. That represented a strong contrast to Traditional journalism published online, which rarely included links to other articles, and when it did, included only two or three. In the emergent paradigms, the body of the story often referenced other coverage on the topic and linked directly to it in the

text of the articles. This was particularly the case in the Interactive Race Beat coverage, in which articles regularly included more than a dozen links.

Systemic awareness in Interactive Race Beat Coverage can be seen in a Code Switch article headlined "The long, necessary history of 'whiny' black protesters at college," by journalist Gene Demby. Demby's article traced how racism continues to be manifest on college campuses in terms of symbols such as the Confederate flag at football tailgates and people wearing blackface to fraternity parties, and microaggressions in college classrooms and clubs. He linked these issues to the Black Lives Matter Movement, which provided historical context regarding protests on college campuses and showed how the new civil rights movement had adapted not only technologically, but also in Code Switch's narrative:

> One difference between the oldheads and today's student protesters is an emphasis on curtailing "microaggressions," those less obvious and more mundane instances of racial antagonism or ignorance.
>
> "I mean, you're asking me to solve *racism*," said my friend who runs the black alumni group. She knows how to push the administration to hire more diverse faculty. But how do you create a five-point plan around getting people to stop saying things like, "It's almost like you're not black" and reaching to touch people's natural hair? (Demby, 2015, December 17)

The article contained hotlinks (clickable text in blue) to 25 other news media articles or studies it referenced about campus racism, violence demographics, and social media movements. This type of linkage is not possible in Traditional print journalism, and it is simply not done to that extent in Traditional journalism published online. No Traditional journalism articles in this study linked to coverage from other news media outlets. Thus, Journalism 3.0 created a new type of systemic awareness by linking narratives both conceptually and technologically. This conveyed that racial oppression was not about isolated incidents perpetuated on individuals, but occurs at many levels in a variety of settings.

Journalism 3.0 coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement drew heavily on curation of social media posts produced by Twitter users, which presented racism as systemic and part of everyday lived experiences. Coverage in this paradigm also showed systemic racism by referencing similar cases of racial violence across the nation. It largely understood U.S. society as based on a system that produces dangerous conditions for people of color and for anyone who tries to change the system. Coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement called to the forefront the systemic inequalities the movement was fighting by relying on voices of lived experience rather than people with official titles to tell their stories of injustice with housing, employment, education, and basic safety. It also showed backlash against the protesters in a way not seen in the other two paradigms. For example, Black Lives Matter Movement protesters demonstrating in the wake of the killing of Jamar Clark by Minneapolis police officers in the Mall of America were threatened with lawsuits that would hurt them financially if they did not disseminate social media posts calling for the protests to be canceled. The Mashable article, headlined, "Black Lives Matter says 'totalitarian' Mall of America wants to silence protest," featured as much content from social media as it did the journalist's reporting and prose, including this explanation:

> The move spawned an onslaught of criticism on Twitter, as supporters assailed the mall for choosing profit over racial justice, accusing it of standing on the wrong side of history. Many included a hashtag that expressed solidarity with the protesters, telling the mall "sue me too." (Mashable Staff & The Associated Press, 2015, December 21)

In this article, systemic racism was shown in terms of backlash against those who tried to change the system. Additionally, solidarity was highlighted.

Journalism 3.0 coverage understood systemic racism and the push against it not only in political terms, but also in terms of art and culture from music to television to toys. A key piece

of systemic racism is the prominence of symbolic annihilation, in which marginalized groups are rendered invisible via lack of representation (Gerbner & Gross, 1976; Lind, 2012). In coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, Journalism 3.0 paired narratives of the movement with an overall societal shift that valorized TV shows such as *Black-ish*, movements such as #OscarsSoWhite, BLM activist Johnetta Elzie on the cover of *Essence* magazine, new podcasts about racial issues, and Dartmouth offering a course titled #BlackLivesMatter as in this Mashable article:

> As a whole, Black-ish is one of the best family sitcoms out there. But this past Wednesday's installment -- a bottle episode in which parents Bo and Andre try to explain to their kids the nuances of the Black Lives Matter movement -- was this show at its best.
>
> Their conversations were ones happening in every living room in America, bound by an ideal that needs little discussion: the desire to make the world a better place. (Gonzales, 2016, February 25)

Here's an excerpt from an article in Mashable's business section, "American Girl dolls promote empowerment, at $115 a pop," which covered the existence (and cost) of a new American Girl doll, Melody, a 1963 Civil Rights activist from Detroit:

> The doll, which was announced during Black History Month, is being released in the context of today's Black Lives Matter movement and heightened discussions about police brutality in the United States.
>
> "We did not create her story in direct response to events happening today," Julie Parks, a company spokesperson for American Girl, tells Mashable. "That said, we hope Melody and her stories will serve as a way to initiate conversations among girls and their parents who want to talk about these important issues in a positive and meaningful way." (Cooney, 2016, February 26)

Not only did the article mention the Black Lives Matter Movement, it further pointed out that the doll was created by an advisory committee that included late Civil Rights activist Julian Bond and a former NAACP director. The article highlighted the context in which the doll was being released and the journalist asked the company's spokesperson specific questions about political

and social events not commonly associated with toys, thus creating an understanding of a bigger, systemic picture.

In sum, systemic awareness in coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement showed one shift and that was in the Traditional paradigm, which originally portrayed the movement as protesting one death (Michael Brown), but later showed the movement fighting against something larger (although still limited to police violence against people of color). Interactive Race Beat coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement was systemically aware in showing historical context, taking on "invisible" racism present in microaggressions and linking issues conceptually and technologically. Journalism 3.0 focused more on the movement's many facets and how they went beyond street protests to ignite discussions in other environments, such as entertainment media and toys.

Systemic Awareness in Coverage of Ferguson

Whether Ferguson would be a "moment or a movement" was one of the questions at the heart of this chapter. The level of systemic awareness of racism in coverage of Ferguson across the three paradigms would help inform that outcome. It was in this category that Traditional journalism showed its sharpest paradigmatic turn from Representative Liberal to Constructionist, from viewing Ferguson as a "tough" place and Michael Brown's death as tragic but isolated, to genuinely deconstructing the systems of racial bias at play — including, in a rare moment of self-reflection, within its own newsroom. Interactive Race Beat Journalism and Journalism 3.0 coverage remained within their paradigmatic expectations of Discursive and Constructionist. Interactive Race Beat showed systemic awareness by focusing on historical context and philosophical discussions of complex questions. Journalism 3.0 showed, again, a sense of hopefulness as it highlighted how people were coming together to protest.

As with a pattern of change in sourcing and narrative, the coverage in Traditional journalism of Ferguson became increasingly systemically aware. As described earlier, Traditional coverage began by describing Ferguson as an isolated incident or a place with unusual symptoms that had collided coincidentally to fuel a fire of protest. As the protests waned, however, Traditional journalism began to contextualize the underlying conditions in Ferguson as something that existed beyond the limits of one town. First, the voices of everyday people who live the issues rather than those with official titles as sources talking about the problems in Ferguson showed systemic injustices from economic inequality to employment discrimination. Then the coverage expanded to show relationships between incidents of unarmed African Americans shot by police in other cities and to connect Ferguson to protests across the nation as fighting the same fight. Finally, a *Washington Post* story headlined, "Thousands dead, few prosecuted" looked at public records of officer-involved shootings since 2005 and found that police officers were rarely charged, more rarely convicted, and when convicted, spent little time in prison. The *Post* reported that more than 75 percent of the officers were White and more than 66% of the victims were minorities, almost all of them African American (Kindy & Kelly, 2015, April 12). Traditional journalism narratives about Ferguson turned to show it as a catalyst not only for a national conversation about race, but also for change. A *Washington Post* article headlined, "Momentum builds in U.S. for reform of policing" noted:

> "In my lifetime, I haven't experienced a moment like this," said Craig Futterman, a law professor at the University of Chicago who founded the school's Civil Rights and Police Accountability Clinic. "I'm usually more of a cynic and a skeptic, but this feels different."
>
> Activists and criminal-justice experts say the national ethos regarding race and policing has changed dramatically since a black teenager was shot to death by a white police officer in Ferguson, Mo., in August 2014. Since then, sustained protests in multiple cities, an aggressive social media campaign and a steady drip of viral videos revealing questionable police shootings have eroded the societal reflex to defend police and blame the dead victim. (Lowery, 2015, December 14)

This article asserted Ferguson as a flashpoint of change that ignited a conversation being driven by protests and social media posts continuing to provide evidence.

Finally, systemic awareness could also be seen in Traditional journalism in one rare instance of self-reflexivity in which *The New York Times* published a piece about its own newsroom's internal decision to discontinue the use of the word "burly" to describe Michael Brown, although the word was a quote from Officer Darren Wilson's testimony, because it called forth a racial stereotype. The *Times* made the decision after several readers contacted the newspaper complaining that "burly Negro" called forth stereotypes about African American men as criminals:

> Editors on the news desk noted that "burly" has many apt synonyms, and though no official proclamation was made, word went out to Times reporters and copy editors to find alternatives.
>
> Yonette Joseph, a news desk editor who is black, said that the use of "burly" depends on context. "If the articles were describing the actor James Earl Jones or William (the Refrigerator) Perry, I'd see no problem with the word burly," she wrote in an email. "But in matters of race, when the context is crime and other malfeasance, I'd flag that word." The same would apply, she wrote, for "anything that describes a black man 'shuffling' into a room." (Massey, 2014, August 25)

This example was a rare glimpse behind the curtain where news is made and highlighted the subjectivity of "facts" and journalists' role in influencing the audience, which go against the professional norm of objectivity. This was unprecedented in the Traditional coverage I examined for this dissertation.

Interactive Race Beat coverage of Ferguson was systemically aware from the beginning and throughout. This represented a strong contrast with Traditional journalism coverage. As with coverage of the post-racial question and Black Lives Matter Movement, Interactive Race Beat coverage showed systemic awareness based on history and how Ferguson and issues of race

spread well beyond the streets of Ferguson. Beginning with a historical piece about the 1962 killing of an African American teen by a White police officer in St. Louis — and the riots that ensued, Code Switch journalist Kat Chow researched the coverage of the issue using newspaper archives and found descriptions eerily similar to the narratives of present-day Ferguson: Residents carried signs, inscribed with phrases like "Was murder necessary?" and "How much training have our officers had?" and "Will our son be next?" (Chow, 2014, August 21). The similarities between the past and the present highlighted in this reporting underscored how systemic racism has sustained a presence over decades.

Interactive Race Beat coverage also specifically called out race-based stereotypes in Officer Wilson's grand jury testimony and challenged them. In an article headlined, "In Darren Wilson's testimony, familiar themes about black men," journalist Frederica Boswell drew upon historical context, academic journal articles, links to other journalism outlets, and curated social media tweets to unpack the problematic tropes. The hyperlinks, journal articles, and other media served the paradigm's function of building consensus. For example, she wrote for Code Switch:

> After Michael Brown was shot dead in August, his mother, Leslie McSpadden, said, "My son was sweet. He didn't mean any harm to anybody." He was, she said, "a gentle giant."
>
> But when police officer Darren Wilson fired the shot that ended Brown's life, he saw things differently. "I felt like a five-year-old holding onto Hulk Hogan," he said in his testimony to the grand jury. "That's just how big he felt and how small I felt."
>
> Wilson said "the only way" he could describe Brown's "intense aggressive face" was that it looked like "a demon." He feared for his life.
>
> Many observers, such as Slate's Jamelle Bouie and Vox's Laren Williams, pointed out that Wilson's testimony has historical echoes of the "black brute" caricatures that portrayed black men as savage, destructive criminals. (Boswell, 2014, November 26)

Compared to the self-reflexive article in Traditional journalism, this article examined the trope itself in greater depth rather than focusing on whether to use it in journalistic narratives.

Journalism 3.0 coverage was systemically aware of racism from the first day of coverage through the last day examined. Beginning with coverage of the #IfTheyGunnedMeDown hashtag, Journalism 3.0 took on the issue of media stereotyping of African American youths. A BuzzFeed article primarily featuring curated tweets and headlined, "How the powerful #IfTheyGunnedMeDown movement changed the conversation about Michael Brown's death" stated, "Unlike hashtags that may come and go after making their initial point, many feel #IfTheyGunnedMeDown is continuing to resonate because of how it taps into real concerns about how black Americans are portrayed in the media" (Rhoades & Carrasquillo, 2014, August 13). The article quoted African American professors of cultural studies who explained, "the more the black community seems under attack and the more the media disseminates harmful images, the more it will contribute to how African-Americans feel they are viewed by others." As the protests receded and the pace of coverage became less frantic, the level of systemic awareness in coverage increased to provide context and linkages to other cases outside of Ferguson or other aspects of racial inequality. On Aug. 24, 2014, as the protests were still ongoing, Mashable ran a longform magazine-style article headlined, "The haves and have-nots of Ferguson: Just across the tracks from each other, one city lives two different lives." While Traditional media were still focused on the protests and tear gas and tanks in the streets, and the occasional story in which White people attested to their non-racist beliefs, Journalism 3.0 provided the context in which Ferguson erupted and showed everyday racism not as something surprising, but as something that was part of the daily experience for people of color beginning in childhood. That Mashable article reported:

> The black population in Ferguson is almost twice that of the white population. Yet the powers that be — the Ferguson mayor, four of the five members of the city council and most of the police force — are white. When it comes to arrests, the statistics tell a skewed story, too. From January to April this year, there were 27

> whites arrested in the city compared with 217 blacks, or about eight times as many black arrests as white arrests.
>
> It's a race issue, yes, but it's one that's also rooted in economics. One way to think of Ferguson is as an island of predominately black lower-income families struggling to make ends meet, surrounded by white middle-class neighborhoods… Over the past week, several of these protesters have told me their stories of the police brutality and racial profiling that they have endured for years. The concept of "Driving While Black" is something kids here learn from a very early age: When you get pulled over, always keep your hands on the wheel to avoid getting shot. (Wills, 2014, August 24)

This Journalism 3.0 story used was one of the first to use data available to all reporters to explore the underlying forces and contexts that led to citizens' reactions in Ferguson and showed the conditions the city's low-income and African American residents faced.

In coverage of Ferguson, systemic racism was present, strongly, in all three paradigms. This piece of my analysis marked the strongest shift in Traditional journalism from the Representative Liberal paradigm to the Constructionist paradigm, including a rare moment of Traditional journalism self-reflexivity about its own reporting on race. Interactive Race Beat journalism and Journalism 3.0 coverage stayed within paradigmatic expectations and both showed systemically aware coverage, but did so in distinct ways. Interactive Race Beat coverage was systemically aware primarily in conveying that nothing in Ferguson was new, rather, it was historically rooted and fueled by stereotypes that continue to exist today. Journalism 3.0 coverage showed systemic awareness of racism by highlighting its widespread effects both in police violence against people of color across the nation and in showing racism as something that happens every day and is not surprising, but people are now paying more attention.

Changes Over Time in Systemic Awareness

My analysis of systemic awareness in coverage of race yielded what I consider to be one of the most compelling findings from this data: Traditional journalism, which has for decades covered racial issues as isolated incidents disconnected from larger systems of power, made a

sharp departure from its Representative Liberal paradigm and moved into a Constructionist paradigm in which racism was presented not in a we-said-they-said debate, but part of a historic and ongoing exploration. During and after Ferguson, Traditional journalism's increased awareness of systemic racism provided context by mentioning similar cases of police violence against People of color, deployed massive database research projects to examine police violence, used historical context to explain the roots of racist beliefs, provided explanations of the harmfulness of racial stereotypes (including a rare moment of reporting on newsroom self-reflection about whether to use Officer Darren Wilson's characterization of Michael Brown as "burly"), and delved into the institutions in which racial barriers are reproduced, such as elementary schools, universities, and the arts.

In the Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0, systemic awareness of racism was present in coverage from the beginning and did not shift. Both presented history and context throughout the coverage and showed how racism manifests across institutions, beliefs, and practices, many of which could seem invisible as oxygen to people not living with the oppression. Journalism 3.0 coverage drew upon examples from popular culture, such as TV shows and toys, to address these issues. Both Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage relied heavily on hyperlinks to leverage technology to show the interrelation of ideas and events. Journalism 3.0 coverage took it a step farther to show systemic racism as something that is everyone's fight. Journalism 3.0 showed systemic racism as something that could be weakened or defeated.

Discussion

The question at the heart of this chapter was whether Ferguson represented a moment or a movement in the way journalism, especially Traditional journalism, covered racial issues. My

analysis suggests that Traditional journalism experienced a paradigm shift in coverage of racial issues that represented a movement rather than a moment. This movement was established in the wake of the Ferguson protests and endured and amplified, for at least 20 months afterward, or through the timespan of this study. Traditional coverage shifted to some extent in terms of sourcing and to a large extent in terms of the narrative of the conflict and systemic awareness of racism. By contrast, Interactive Race Beat journalism stayed mostly within its paradigm and Journalism 3.0 coverage stayed completely within its paradigm.

This study relied on the work of Ferree et al. (2002), who examined news discourse about abortion debates as the foundation for paradigm analysis. Table 3.1, provided earlier and reproduced here, shows how Ferree et al. defined the criteria for Representative Liberal, Discursive, and Constructionist paradigms of news media and adds my categories of race journalism to show how Traditional, Interactive Race Beat, and Journalism 3.0 fit each paradigm. The "Who" criterion addressed RQ1 for sourcing. The "What and How" criterion addressed RQ2 about the narrative of the issue. The "Outcome" criterion addressed RQ3 about level of systemic awareness of racism.

Table 3.1
Normative Criteria in Democratic Theory

Theory (Paradigm)	**Who**	**What and How**	**Outcome**
Representative Lib. (Traditional)	Elite dominance Expertise	Detachment	Closure
Discursive (Interact. Race Beat)	Popular inclusion	Deliberativeness Dialogue	Closure contingent on consensus
Constructionist (Journalism 3.0)	Privilege the periphery/ Oppressed	Empowerment narrative	Avoid premature closure

This study looked at whether journalism produced in differing ways fell within three distinct paradigms and whether it remained consistently within them when covering three key racial moments. Table 3.7 shows there were paradigm shifts across the three racial moments in all but Journalism 3.0. Traditional journalism shifted in every category and at each racial moment with growing intensity. In sourcing, it shifted from Representative Liberal to Discursive. The shift in sourcing occurred during coverage of Ferguson. The shifts in narrative from Representative Liberal to Constructionist occurred during coverage of Ferguson, thus the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson were covered after the tanks rolled out of Ferguson. The shift in systemic awareness of racism from Representative Liberal to Constructionist also occurred after the smoke cleared in Ferguson, thus was observed in ongoing coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson a few weeks into the coverage of Ferguson. Interestingly, there was never a paradigm shift in Traditional journalism's coverage of the post-racial question. The only other shift observed in this study occurred in Interactive Race Beat sourcing, which shifted briefly from Discursive to Constructionist during the beginning of the unrest in Ferguson, but later shifted back to Discursive. The data show most strongly that Traditional journalism coverage of these three racial moments shifted most strongly toward Journalism 3.0.

Table 3.7
Changes in Coverage by Paradigm

Paradigm	**Sourcing**	**Narrative**	**Systemic**
Traditional	Rep. Lib. toward Discursive	Rep. Lib. to Constructionist	Rep. Lib. to Constructionist
Inter. Race Beat	Discursive toward Constructionist	Discursive	Discursive
Journalism 3.0	Constructionist	Constructionist	Constructionist

Traditional journalism changed in terms of sourcing, narrative of the conflict, and awareness of systemic racism. In sourcing, Traditional journalism shifted from a pre-Ferguson pattern of Representative Liberal reliance on elite expertise toward a Discursive paradigm of more popular inclusion in emphasizing the voices of people on the street. Because many of those "everyday people" were White people debating the existence of racism during the Ferguson riots, it did not shift all the way to a Constructionist paradigm that privileged the voices of the commonly oppressed. The inclusion of popular voices was maintained in Traditional coverage after Ferguson, although elite voices remained part of the sourcing, particularly as the presidential election became a more frequent topic.

The bigger paradigm shifts in Traditional journalism were observed in the narrative of the conflict and awareness of systemic racism. In both of these facets, Traditional journalism moved from a Representative Liberal paradigm into a Constructionist paradigm. The narrative of the conflict moved toward one of empowerment in terms of the political power of the Black Lives Matter Movement (especially as a force in the presidential election), ability of protesters to work for change after Ferguson, and, particularly, the portrayal of police violence against people of color as a widespread national problem. In this way, Traditional journalism also moved from a Representative Liberal paradigmatic expectation of "closing" the question of racial violence to a Constructionist paradigm avoidance of premature closure as journalists presented it as an ongoing issue rather than a question of Ferguson as a singular incident.

Interactive Race Beat coverage remained mostly the same and mostly within expectations for the Discursive paradigm with the exception of sourcing, in which it took on a Constructionist approach to privileging the voices of the oppressed (including African American journalists) during coverage of Ferguson. In terms of narrative of the conflict and systemic awareness of

racism, Interactive Race Beat fit the paradigmatic expectations of the Discursive paradigm by presenting the racial moments as intellectual questions and in a tone of deliberating with the narratives of Traditional journalism. Interactive Race Beat coverage built consensus to answer the question about whether police violence against African Americans was a systemic problem with a definitive answer of "yes," and also clearly portrayed it as a problem without a likely solution. Whether it could be eliminated was also a question that was closed, but with a "no."

Journalism 3.0 coverage stayed within Constructionist paradigmatic expectations in consistently privileging the voices of the oppressed, moving into an empowerment narrative that featured activists and called on allies, and kept the question of ending police violence against people of color open with a sense of hope that spread not only into political arenas, but also into popular culture, such as entertainment, sports, and toys.

In sum, Traditional journalism experienced a strong Ferguson-driven paradigmatic shift that bent coverage away from decades-old patterns of sourcing, narratives of conflict, and lack of systemic awareness. Overall, Traditional journalism began to look more like Journalism 3.0, not just during the protests in Ferguson, but for a sustained period thereafter. Traditional journalism answered the question of whether Ferguson would be understood as a moment confined, as Prof. Frederick Harris said in the quote that opened this chapter, to justice for Michael Brown, or would be a movement toward policy changes to eradicate systemic racism. Traditional journalism showed a movement in the way journalists shifted coverage of race.

Chapter Four

The Storytellers: Reporting About Race in a Digital Era

Despite the many factors that go into its production, Traditional journalism as an institution has produced news coverage that has been remarkably similar across outlets for decades, and reproducing racially focused news coverage with identifiable, often harmful patterns. This phenomenon has been explained by theories of new institutionalism (Benson, 2006; Cook, 2006; Ryfe, 2006) that assert journalists are socialized into the field and operate under an unspoken code of rules to maintain the status quo. Part of that socialization is explained by the Hierarchy of Influences Model (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), which shows how journalists are influenced by their own lived experiences, their work routines, the organizations within which they work, social institutions, and social systems. Those last two categories are broad and encompass several angles from which to examine influences. In this study, social institutions take the shape of intermedia influences in the form of what journalists value about coverage of racial issues, what they find problematic, and whether they think racial coverage has changed over the past decade. This study defines social systems as field norms and looks at one — objectivity — across paradigms. Objectivity is the focus because previous studies (Gans, 1979; Shoemaker & Reese, 2013; Tuchman, 1978) have identified that norm as a key factor in reproducing hegemonic coverage in Traditional journalism.

The research seeks to understand what happens when new paradigms of journalism enter the field and when new influences, such as technology, bring a potential to disrupt the status quo. This chapter takes a newsroom sociology approach that draws on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with journalists in the three paradigms to explore what influences them — with a specific focus on how they interact with technology, which has been identified in recent years as

the most rapidly changing influence on journalists (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013). Inclusion of the as-yet-unexamined paradigms of Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 in the context of racial coverage offers new points of comparison to Traditional journalism. This chapter looks across all three paradigms to examine how journalists who cover racial issues describe their career paths, their work routines, their ideologies in regard to media organizations, their values in the context of the field, and their conceptions of objectivity.

Chapter Four seeks to explain the phenomena observed in Chapter Three, which found that Traditional journalism had shifted to look more like Journalism 3.0 in regard to contemporary coverage of racial issues. The changes were manifest in sourcing patterns, narratives of the conflict, and systemic awareness of racism. These findings are intriguing because a longitudinal body of communication research has shown that U.S. journalists who cover race in the Traditional paradigm have consistently ignored, othered, minimized, and demonized People of color and created coverage of racial issues that was ahistorical, event-driven, and rife with negative racial stereotypes (Alsultany, 2012; Campbell, 1995; Gandy, 1998; Dixon & Linz, 2000; Gilens, 1999; Hall, 1974; Heider, 2000; Hunt, 1997; Iyengar, 1991; Lind, 2009; Rhodes, 2007; Santa Ana, 2002; Squires, 2014; Squires & Jackson, 2010; Stabile, 2006; VanDijk, 1991). Further, unlike Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage, Traditional journalism has developed a rigid devotion to the concept of objectivity, to the point of, in the words of Schudson (1978), the wielding of it like an ideological shield. However, Chapter Three showed that Traditional journalism has begun producing coverage of racial issues that looks more like the two new paradigms of journalism. In Chapter Three, Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 did not show significant shifts — rather, their coverage was rooted in different values and started from a different place. That suggests Traditional journalism may be following

them and beginning to break with legacy-media institutional norms. Because deeper or underlying values, ideologies, and influences on reporters aren't directly observable through analyses of their produced content, interviews with the reporters who create the coverage are the best source of information to gain further insight.

Both Interactive Race Beat journalism and Journalism 3.0 are born digital and exist only in online spaces; Traditional journalism exists both in print and digitally. But it should not be assumed that this is the only or the primary reason for the differences among paradigms or the shifts in Traditional journalism. This study seeks to avoid a technologically deterministic approach while acknowledging that Traditional journalism has largely insulated itself from and shown various levels of resistance to interacting with technology (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009; Powers, 2012), especially in regard to interaction with audiences (Lewis, 2012; Singer, 2006, 2014; Usher, 2014). At the same time those technological affordances were coming into peak use, though, there were other important changes in the national conversation about race: the 2008 election of the nation's first African American president, the rise of a new Civil Rights movement, and Ferguson bringing a national focus on race-related coverage not seen in at least 25 years. Therefore, these changes should be considered together. Foregrounding the voices of journalists to inform the questions emerging from the textual analysis has the potential to show what's behind the changes in coverage. Chapter Four draws on semi-structured, in-depth interviews with journalists who cover racial issues and examines their answers through the newsroom sociology lenses of Shoemaker and Reese's Hierarchy of Influences Model (1996, 2014) and theories of new institutionalism (Cook, 2006; Reese & Ballinger, 2001; Ryfe, 2006). In this chapter, I present the results of in-depth, semi-structured interviews I conducted with eight journalists across the three paradigms.

The paradigm definitions are the same as those in Chapter Three. Based on Ferree et. al.'s (2002) normative criteria in Democratic Theory, Traditional journalists map on to the Representative Liberal paradigm, which values elite dominance and expertise, detachment, and closure of conversations about the issue. Interactive Race Beat journalism maps on to the discursive paradigm, which values popular inclusion of a variety of voices, deliberation and dialogue, civility, and closure of conversations contingent on consensus. Journalism 3.0 maps on to the Constructionist paradigm, which privileges the oppressed, values a narrative of empowerment, and seeks to avoid premature closure. These categories are helpful for examining the texts produced within news organizations, but are too limited in scope for an exploration from a newsroom sociology perspective. Particularly when exploring something so individual and personally experienced as race, and in the context of rapidly growing technological affordances, theories of newsroom sociology are the best lenses for the granularity needed in unpacking the influences that shape coverage. Finally, it's important to note that the Hierarchy of Influences Model and new institutionalism theories have thus far been applied primarily to studies of Traditional journalism. Therefore, this study seeks new insights in comparing whether new paradigms of journalism are imbued with or break from institutional norms of Traditional journalism about race.

The Hierarchy of Influences Model, first developed by Shoemaker and Reese in 1996 and updated several times up to 2014, explains how journalists decide what is news, how their work routines, workplaces, field norms, and larger societal influences play a role in news coverage. Their model shows a hierarchy of five levels, although the authors note that one level is not necessarily more influential than another in every context. As Shoemaker and Reese (2014) explained:

> The distinction among these levels is not between people and non-people, individuals or non-individuals — or even individuals and social structures. It is between the immediate actions of specific individuals, and the more organized and historically situated actions of larger collections of people. Ideology, after all, is the meanings that people have become accustomed to attaching to certain interests of collectivities in control of significant social resources, including power (p. 11).

This model is useful in exploring the experiences, practices, and beliefs of journalists as individuals who work in different paradigms covering racial issues because all are influenced at these five levels:

- Individual: defined broadly as "characteristics of the individual" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014) and in this study, operationalized at the level of the reporter.
- Routine Practices: routines within which the reporter operates to cover racial issues. In this study, there is a focus on interacting with technology as part of a daily routine.
- Media Organizations: influences of the organization within which the reporter works, including job title, organizational policies, and newsroom structure in regard to coverage of racial issues.
- Social Institutions: influences from journalism as a field in terms of how racial issues are covered and whether there have been changes in the coverage.
- Social Systems: ideological forces that shape how we understand racial issues. In this study, the question at this level of influence centers on the journalism norm of objectivity and how reporters in three paradigms conceptualize it. Adherence to

objectivity as a norm has been regularly identified as a problematic structuring force in coverage of racial issues.

Because this study is focused on new paradigms of journalism, it asks questions about whether new forms of journalism seen in Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage are modeling or rejecting established "rules" in the field — and whether those who have left Traditional newsrooms retain the values of that paradigm or adopt new ones (or, indeed, whether they were ever socialized into the Traditional values). Reporters are socialized into newsroom systems (Cook, 2006; Gans, 1979; Reese & Ballinger, 2001) with unwritten rules that are not outwardly stated, but rather absorbed via interactions with their peers and supervisors (Benson, 2006; Ryfe, 2006). These rules guide reporters both "latently and manifestly" (Reese & Ballinger, 2001, p. 650) in an effort to maintain the status quo (Breed, 1955). Theories of new institutionalism help explain how decades of research on news coverage of race has shown the same patterns reproduced. By putting theories of new institutionalism into conversation with the Hierarchy of Influences Model to interpret reporters' responses, this study seeks to show whether there are ruptures to the status quo in any of the three paradigms, and, if so, at what levels.

To explore these questions that live at the level of the individual reporter, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with reporters working in each paradigm. I determined which reporters to contact via the following steps. First, I looked over my data from Chapter Three to see which reporters at each news organization had most often written about the racial issues I examined and created a list of names of reporters whose bylines appeared most frequently in my research domain. Then, I searched each news organization's website for beat descriptions of those reporters. Finally, I sent official, Human Subjects Division-approved requests to interview 24 reporters. I employed email, Twitter, telephone, and LinkedIn and followed up with phone

calls to organizations for which I could find phone numbers. I also contacted organization public relations staff with NPR and BuzzFeed and provided my list of questions at the request of the latter. Ultimately, I interviewed three reporters in the Traditional paradigm, two in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm, and three in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm. As explained in Chapter Two, the Interactive Race Beat paradigm comprises very few reporters relative to the other paradigms. Because of this, one of my interviewees from this paradigm was a senior writer for The Undefeated, which did not exist at the beginning of this study; if it had, it would have been included in the Interactive Race Beat category. (Please see Chapter Two for complete information on participant selection criteria and process.)

Prior to contacting the participants, I created, tested, and revised a semi-structured interview instrument designed to explore issues of career path, values, routines, participants' views of contemporary coverage of racial issues, and ideologies. The instrument contained 16 primary questions and nine sub questions. The script was designed for the interviews to take between 60 and 90 minutes; indeed, each one fell within that time span. All participants were asked the same questions with room for follow-up questions where necessary and appropriate to extrapolate meaning. I recorded the interviews using Skype for Business. After each interview, I made notes for in-process memos (Lindlof & Taylor, 2012). I read through each transcript twice, making notes, before coding the full transcripts using a grounded theory approach (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) and *in vivo* coding (Lindlof & Taylor, 2012) which allows themes to emerge from the texts. I then employed the Lindlof and Taylor (2012) method of identifying codes, then grouping those codes into categories represented by exemplar quotes. The categories established were: career paths, values, routines, views about contemporary coverage of racial issues, and ideologies. Next, again following Lindlof and Taylor (2012), I interpreted the findings through

the lenses of the Hierarchy of Influences Model (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The questions asked informed understanding of the levels of influence as follows:

- Questions about why journalists chose their career paths, how they arrived in their current jobs, and why they wanted to be journalists informed questions about **individual** characteristics. Where applicable, reporters were asked how working in their current paradigm differed from working in a previous paradigm (in all cases, the Traditional paradigm). Data from these questions formed the category **Career Path**.
- Understanding of how reporters' **routines** were similar or different was informed by questions about how they decided whether something was newsworthy, the steps they took to conduct their reporting, whether they monitored other news organizations' coverage of a story they were working on, and how they used social media. Data from these questions formed the category **Routines**.
- Understanding of influences at the level of **media organizations** was informed by questions asking about whether they thought news organizations should have reporters assigned to cover racial issues as a beat. Data from these questions formed the category **Race Beat.**
- Understanding of influences at the level of **social institution,** or journalism as a field, asked about what types of coverage of racial issues they admired or did not admire, whether they had seen changes in coverage of racial issues over the past decade. Data from these questions formed the category **Values**.
- Understanding of the influences of **social systems** was a category meant to focus tightly on journalists' conception of objectivity as a norm and compare their answers across paradigms. Data from these questions formed the category **Objectivity.**

In my analysis, I examined whether there were differences among paradigms in the five levels of influence. I then looked at the data through the lens of new institutionalism (Cook, 2006; Reese & Ballinger; Ryfe, 2006) to examine where conventional patterns held, thereby serving to maintain the status quo, and where there were sites of rupture.

Findings

I present these findings at each level of influence, moving from the tightest focus at the individual level to the broadest focus at the level of social systems. Results are presented by paradigm, then compared across paradigms. It's important to note that while the Hierarchy of Influences model does not assert that one level exerts stronger influences than other levels, Shoemaker and Reese (2014) do assert that the outermost two levels of social institutions and social systems have "primacy" (p. 11). At its core, this study sought to examine how variables such as lived experience, routine practices, new technologies, newsroom socialization, and field norms pushed against or sought to maintain the status quo in regard to coverage of racial issues.

Individual-Level Influences

No individual enters a work environment and checks her or his identity at the door — even journalists whose professional norms and training demand some type of "objectivity." Influence at the individual level seeks specifically to examine how reporters accommodate their lived experiences in the context of professional expectations that they be "unbiased." For example, are journalists of color self-silencing out of fear they will be seen as "biased?" In this study of journalists who cover racial issues across three paradigms, four of the participants identified themselves as Black or African American men, two as Black or African American women, and two identified as White men. The two White men both worked in the Journalism 3.0

paradigm. This is important to note because for these two participants, they cover people of color but don't experience life as people of color. In this study, individual-level influences were informed by questions about how journalists arrived at the current jobs, how they described their career trajectories, and what drove them to want to become journalists.

In the Traditional paradigm, the primary code in the career path category was to show race as a lived experience. *The New York Times'* John Eligon said his personal mission was to cover stories that have been ignored by Traditional media: "It was always important for me to make sure to cover…stories about people of color that tend to be marginalized and their stories are not told as much because…the media is not as diverse as it should be." Krissah Thompson of *The Washington Post* also expressed a sense of personal commitment not only to covering racial issues, but also to the importance of racial coverage that facilitates understanding among readers who don't share that lived experience. Thompson said being a journalist was always her ideal career because she wants to "inform people" and "create understanding" of things people largely don't understand. "What drew me to coverage of race and racial issues, as well, was being able to write about people and topics that may be less well understood and helping people who read a mainstream publication, like *The Washington Post*, to have more information." The *Post's* Wesley Lowery also talked about showing racial oppression and violence as a part of lived experience and a part of history, including a reference to African American abolitionist and journalist Ida B. Wells:

> We have a quote somewhere — in *The Washington Post*… We've got all these quotes on the walls and stuff… it talks about journalism being a noble job because when we do it right, we can change the world. I think that's…very earnest, but I think that's true. One of the reasons I love journalism is I see it as a means of making the world I live in a better place…a more responsive place for people who look like me. I think that that is very important.
>
> I think that there is unparalleled power in a well-told story. I think that that's something that as an ideal, I very much believe in. I also believe in the

> idea—and I think about this a lot—I believe in the idea of writing things down for historical sake.
>
> I think sometimes as journalists, we over focus on the need to create change in the short term. We're having this crisis right now. What can journalism do in a post truth era? It seems like everything we write doesn't matter.
>
> Not everything we write is about changing things today. A lot of it's about providing historical understanding later. I don't know, but it's hard for me to imagine that Ida B. Wells thought, "When I cover this lynching today, it's going to be the last one because I'm just going to write the hell out of this, and then everyone's going to know this is wrong, and all White people are going to stop killing us."
>
> I'm pretty sure she knew that the power and the mandate and the necessity of the work she was doing was not, in fact, contingent upon its ability to change anything in the short term.
>
> I'm so thankful for people who did journalism like that because we now have a deeper understanding of the world we live in because these things were written down.
>
> I'm not convinced that covering a police shooting tomorrow is going to be—everyone's going to go, "Did you read this Wes Lowery piece? We've got to stop killing people." That's not what's going to happen.
>
> I do think it's important for the historical record so that when we look back at this period of time, and when our children and grandchildren and great grandchildren look back at this period of time, they can understand what was happening. They can understand these realities…I think that's just something that's important.

Reporters working in the Traditional paradigm valued showing the lived experiences of people of color, particularly in terms of showing oppression, and valued creating understanding for people who have not had those experiences. They also emphasized showing racial oppression as manifest in the present day as a means for understanding the now and the past.

Reporters in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm both emphasized their desire to report on race as an overarching influence on all facets of American life and described career paths as shaped by a lack of newsroom diversity. Both of the participants worked previously in the Traditional paradigm. The Undefeated's Soraya McDonald said she left *The Washington Post* to follow her editor, Kevin Merida, when he left to start ESPN's The Undefeated. This was both

because she admired him as a boss and because his departure diminished the diversity in newsroom leadership.

> Everyone was so devastated when he [Merida] announced that he was leaving. ...Because Kevin was the highest-ranking person of color in the newsroom at the *Post*. Not only that. He was just a good boss...he was also the person who people of color in the newsroom could go to for advice. Or with their grievances. Or any number of things.
>
> When we knew he was leaving, everyone's asking themselves, "Who ... In the old *Post* newsroom, there is basically a bank of offices on the north-facing wall… and that's where all the top editors' offices were. There were a lot of people who were asking, "Who, on the north wall is going to be that person for us, now that Kevin is gone?" That was really worrying. When Kevin offered me a job, I was like, "Great, I don't have to deal with that."
>
> Also, he was able to promise me a bunch of opportunities that I probably wouldn't have had at the *Post* had I stayed… There's a pipeline for people to move up, and do things. ...Looking around, what opportunities are there for me to advance in the newsroom, and in my career? …I didn't really see a path. I felt like no one had really talked to me about those things. There just wasn't a whole lot of nurturing of talent.
>
> I think what was frustrating... I would say, generally, the reporters who did get that sort of attention and consideration, tended to be white and male. ...It's too bad. I really liked working there.

Code Switch's Gene Demby, who worked at *The New York Times,* said that newsroom was "not in the business of training you up, which is a huge problem in terms of diversity." Demby left the *Times* to take over The Huffington Post's Black Voices vertical — a segment of the website developed to a specific identity — where he also described feeling keenly a lack of newsroom diversity.

> Part of the environment at Huffington Post was like…Black Voices and Latino Voices were literally next to each other in terms of the newsroom…We were basically the only brown people in the entire newsroom. We used to joke. We used to call ourselves the South Bronx, because we had to walk through this neighborhood of brown people to go to the otherwise completely monochromatic newsroom.

Interactive Race Beat journalists also expressed codes of wanting to broaden newsroom representation for people of color. Demby said, "I always assumed that that would be part of

what I was writing about." McDonald said her journalism ambitions were born when she was in high school and noticed a lack of diversity in sports coverage. "Initially, I was very interested in being a color commentator, because I was really irritated that there were no women in the booth for Monday Night Football games," she said. She described beginning to write more about racial issues when she noticed "holes" in *Post* coverage that she attributed to the newspaper's declining revenues and "several rounds of buyouts." She said she sought to fill what was missing because nobody else seemed to notice the things she was seeing. Thus, both Interactive Race Beat reporters, who now work in newsrooms that are exclusively or almost exclusively staffed by people of color, talked about lack of newsroom diversity as a determining factor in their career paths. Both also expressed knowing from a young age that they wanted to write about racial issues or broaden representation.

Journalists working in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm expressed a desire to be part of a new type of journalism and to be on the forefront of something different. Technology was at the heart of their answers. BuzzFeed's Darren Sands, who had interned in Traditional newsrooms, described his college experience at Hofstra in the mid-2000s working on the student newspaper, which was strongly focused on print at a time the field seemed to be undergoing a sea change. "There was a very strong sense with my journalism professors that the next phase — this generation of journalists that they were training, were going to really be involved with changing the industry, and technology was going to change the industry," he said. Evan McMorris-Santoro, who had previously worked in Traditional newsrooms, expressed similar values of technology being the wave of the future and the most important way to reach the audience and his "goal being to try to stay ahead of the innovation":

> The thing about the internet was people read it. Internet publications are more interested in innovation and innovating the new platforms, and I want to be a

> reporter that communicates with and tells stories to the most people. I went to the innovative outlets, and it's been very successful for me. That's how I got to BuzzFeed. … I want to go where the readers are.
>
> …One thing that was disappointing about working at older, legacy publications was that they didn't seem to care very much about what it is readers wanted… They didn't know how to really find them, and they were scared to find them where they wanted to be found.
>
> You want to write the stories that they want to read… People want to see stories where they can find them easily, and places like BuzzFeed were very good with integrating with social media really early on… BuzzFeed was always right there making sure that my work was featured where readers were trying to find it.

Mashable reporter Colin Daileda, the only participant who had never worked in a Traditional newsroom, said his own curiosity and desire to cover voices with experiences different than his own led him to his job covering social justice issues. The stories he was covering, he said, "were certainly outside of my own straight white male narratives... I was floored by how much I had to learn. If I felt that way, I felt sure that there were so many other people who were that way or had not even considered opinions outside their own." Journalism 3.0 reporters were the only interviewees to highlight technology as part of their career path choices, both in terms of being part of something new and in terms of giving the readers what they wanted and meeting them where they were. These reporters also prioritized audiences as an influence on their career paths.

In sum, Traditional reporters emphasized a desire to show race as lived experience and racial oppression as manifest in contemporary life, Interactive Race Beat reporters highlighted career trajectories influenced by a lack of newsroom diversity and a desire to increase representation for people of color, and Journalism 3.0 reporters emphasized technology and listening to and reaching audiences in new ways. Traditional reporters' codes did not map on to Traditional values of covering elites; rather they mapped on to Constructionist values of Journalism 3.0 which seeks to give voice to the oppressed. Interactive Race Beat reporters' codes did map on to the Discursive paradigm to a degree, by seeking to add voices to the conversation.

Journalism 3.0 reporters' codes mapped on to Constructionist values in their mission to give voice to the oppressed.

Influence of Media Routines

Previous research on U.S. media routines has centered on reporters in the Traditional paradigm. Beginning with the foundational work of sociologists Gaye Tuchman (1972) and Herb Gans (1979), a rich body of scholarship has shown that news routines share similarities across individuals and news organizations. Theories of new institutionalism also show how reporters working in different newsrooms often cover the same stories and in similar ways. The more contemporary work of Usher (2014) found that some reporters are adjusting routines in relation to technology, but in limited ways and particularly in regard to immediacy rather than news sense. At their essence, these routines influence news content by "norms of selection that have evolved over the history of mass communication" (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 52). These routines have not yet had time to be subject to longitudinal examination within the two emerging paradigms. In addition, routines of U.S. reporters covering racial issues has not been subject to significant scholarly examination. Therefore, this study seeks to contribute to scholarly understanding across paradigms. In this study, questions about deciding what to cover, the steps taken in the reporting practices, whether and how reporters use social media as a tool, and how much they monitor other news organizations' coverage shaped understanding of media routines across paradigms. Social media are identified as a focus because the two emerging paradigms are digitally enabled and because Journalism 3.0 relies on the audience, via social media shares, for its distribution model (Shontell, 2015, Nov. 9). Therefore, assessing journalists' use of technology is important across paradigms because it shows whether journalists ignore it, use it to

monitor what people are talking about, to monitor one another, to tap into the expertise of the audience, to curate content for their own stories, or for reasons not yet appearing in studies.

In Traditional journalism, the primary codes that emerged in terms of how to decide whether something was a story were an element of government accountability, adding context to an event, and giving voice to the marginalized. The term "accountability" emerged, and it appeared in only this paradigm. The *Post's* Lowery put it this way: once he starts thinking about the story angle, he begins to ask himself, "How do I frame this in a way that is about accountability, that it's not this disembodied emotional story, but rather, how do I do a story that is about the government and about holding government accountable?" The *Times'* Eligon put accountability in the context of racial issues:

> Another category [of newsworthiness] I would say would just be accountability, right? Oftentimes when it comes to the history of race in this country, the government has been very complicit in a lot of the problems, a lot of shortcomings, a lot of the reasons we've had racial tensions. Any stories where it shows that government agencies, public agencies, have not been accountable in what they've been doing…
>
> Speaking in terms of covering race, we're the courts', states', the governments' watchdog in a way. Any stories where you have a chance to hold public entities accountable to the people they're supposed to serve, those are also ones that I think really stick out to me.

Both of these comments speak to racial coverage that is contextualized rather than event-driven, that is part of a larger theme rather than being an "outrage of the day," as Lowery put it. He emphasized that context is essential in showing links between a local story and a national issue. "How do I think bigger and broader? I think that's where my accountability angles come in. That's where the policy angles come in," he said. "Again, covering this thing not as necessarily some isolated incident, but rather as something that is larger. What context can I add?" Lowery included himself in his critique that most Traditional coverage lacks context because it's driven

by a "scoop" mentality that centers on details rather than larger context. He attributed this to media routines:

> …whether it be a police shooting or whether it be a terrorist attack, one of the big things people try to get really—it's a scoop when you're the first person who has the name of the shooter or the person who's been killed, right? That is a very journalism-y scoop in that it's a means of finding additional information. It doesn't actually tell you anything, right? Knowing the name of the person tells you zero things that help you understand the situation...
>
> I think we get caught in the rat race sometimes where people are only looking at what their colleagues across the media are doing, and they're not thinking about, what's the next angle? What's the next thing I need? We fall into this pack mentality…
>
> I think that very often, we just get caught. We get stuck in this very menial, small update coverage that doesn't actually illuminate anything for our readers. I think that that—for example, I think about this in the context of Ferguson all the time. How many stories did we read and write about a new witness who now says maybe his hands were kind of up or—that actually is in no way illuminating.
>
> … It didn't actually help me understand this place or this interaction or any of it, right? That we're trying to litigate the hyper-specifics of an interaction when, in reality, we're never going to be capable of knowing what actually happened. We were not there. There's no video of it, right? Versus reporting that focuses on the larger realities.
>
> Some of the best reporting that happened was reporting that focused on the kangaroo courts in greater St. Louis, that focused on the way tickets and warrants were being issued. That was the journalism that actually made a difference and helped us understand that world, not 500 re-creations of whether or not Michael Brown's hands were up or not.

The *Times'* Eligon, whose work Lowery cited positively in regard to coverage of "kangaroo courts," emphasized giving voice to the marginalized as a news value driving his decisions about what to cover. Eligon said a story will "jump out" at him if it's primarily about something experienced by "those in society who don't necessarily have a voice, who don't get to work at *The New York Times*, who don't even get opportunities that I've been so blessed to have." He seeks to explore their stories and their life experiences. "Any story that, to me, tells a perspective of a marginalized community—which oftentimes in America are communities of color—those are the stories that really jump out at me," he said.

In terms of the process of covering a news story with national-level implications, which every reporter in this study typically does, reporters in the Traditional paradigm were the only ones to mention the value of local news coverage, including the value of local coverage in African American-focused newspapers. Part of that value for the *Post's* Krissah Thompson crossed into her individual-level influence because one of her first jobs in journalism was at the Houston *Defender*, a weekly, African American newspaper in her Texas hometown. "When there is some racial incident… and you're swooping in from out of town, I often find that people who work for targeted media, especially the newspapers, because they know the community, are great people to talk to," she said. Lowery put similar value on local journalists as key sources for avoiding "parachute journalism." Reporters in the Traditional paradigm valued other journalists as key informants with their fingers on the pulses of the communities they serve.

Reporters in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm said their routines involved identifying stories with complexity as a news value, meaning stories that did not have easy answers or showed how two seemingly opposing values could be held at the same time. Additionally, they described their news sense as strongly influenced by what they felt was missing from Traditional coverage, which is the sense of context that Traditional journalists also noted. They described routines in terms of producing coverage that was not simple, obvious, or predictable, or pointed to a clear goal or outcome. Interactive Race Beat journalists also saw their news values and routines as different from those of the Traditional newsrooms in which they had worked. Code Switch reporters were also the only ones to include concepts of intersectionality in their approach to coverage, which mirrors the finding in Chapter Three that intersectional concepts appeared only in Interactive Race Beat coverage.

Code Switch reporter Gene Demby described the process for selecting stories for coverage as one that involved staff-wide discussions to see if a story would "cross the threshold" for news value, meaning "it's not [newsworthy] because it's about a brown person did something, or a brown person and a white person has an encounter that was testy, but because there's something that's illuminating or something about whatever it is." Demby noted that his organization strives to produce something that hasn't already been said or shows something larger than a single incident. "One of the things that is really important for us is that we don't do outrage of the day, because there's always something, right? There's always some terrible thing about race happening in America." He said that while historical context is important to Code Switch coverage, he doesn't think of it as intentional, but attributable to "who we are," meaning a newsroom that begins coverage from a distinct standpoint because reporters who are people of color have different lived experiences. Once he decides he thinks something is a story, he and other Code Switch reporters vet it with others, not for accuracy, but for context. "Usually the first thing is we try to run it by our bullshit detectors, right? The first thing we'll try to do is run it by people who live in those spaces more than we do," he said. "We will go to someone that we know [and ask]. 'Hey, does any of this seem really facile or obvious or stupid to you?' Demby described coverage that was "Code Switch-y" as being conflicted, citing examples of a story about black police chiefs in a post-Ferguson context, an Asian American musician who was trying to trademark a racial slur about Asians for a band name, and a predominantly African American elementary school named after a slave owner where parents were resisting renaming the school because of a sense of tradition:

> I think one of the things we've been trying to do is really pointedly finding people who live at the nexus of these ideas we are talking about…
>
> For us on Code Switch, one of the things that we always say is that we want this story to be surprising to the people who belong to the group that we're

> talking about… A lot of times we want to get to a place where you actually—you understand that these things are really complicated and don't have any answers.
>
> If the story does not have an answer, then that's a good thing for us. The story does not have a pat answer. That's always the thing that makes it Code Switch-y. … If we come out at the end of it, of our pitch meetings confused, then that's a really good sign. At the end of the reporting, we come out of it without an answer, that's a really good sign…
>
> I think the goal is to move people to someplace else. I think that's the big thing... If you end up in an obvious place, then it's pointless. Right? Because you could have come away with this presumption before you read the story. Everyone who comes to the story should have something—some presumption of theirs challenged in some way, which doesn't obviate starting dialogue. A lot of times starting dialogue does that very thing.

The Undefeated's McDonald said her emphasis in determining what to cover comes from what is not being covered and relies heavily on what she picks up rather on than what has become a popular narrative. She used an anecdote from her coverage of the opening of the new National Museum of African American History & Culture in Washington, D.C. She said she knew her former colleagues at the *Post* would be covering the overarching stories, so she sought to cover smaller angles deeply. She told a story about going to the opening day with all of the other national media reporters and being particularly affected not by the largest, most obvious or most well-known artifacts, but by a detail — by the stitching on a Ku Klux Klan robe.

> Seeing the stitching, and just the way it was constructed. Really kind of had an effect on me. Just in the fact that there were these seams around the holes of the eyes. It's like, "Oh, someone really put some amount of work into this."
>
> Then that became, I think, for me, there was some symbolism there. In terms of the energy, and purpose behind it. Behind the racist attitudes, that brought it to bear. I was just curious. I was like, "I want to talk to someone about this."
>
> Because they're so specific. Particularly, the red one. You start staring at it up close. It really looks like something you would see on a Papal bishop. At least, it seems like it's drawing from that. Since that just gripped me, and it was one of the things that I could remember out of this sea of artifacts that I'd seen.
>
> It was one that wasn't one of the giant ones that you couldn't miss, that everyone was talking about. Like the guard tower for Angola Prison. Or one of these larger things. I was like, "Okay, I can definitely—I can hone in on that."

McDonald saw the stitching as jarring — that someone invested the time to handcraft an artifact of hate and in that stitching was reflected both a deep commitment and a surreal normalcy of the everyday task of stitching. She felt it contributed to a larger story.

In addition to covering the angles that Traditional journalists might not embrace, McDonald also expressed the importance of acknowledging intersectionality in her approach to conceptualizing stories. "It's race, it's gender, it's class. Because I think when you're talking about race, you can't really isolate those things out. They all kind of influence it." Demby emphasized that coverage of racial issues should not fall into a Black-White divide but should be conceptualized more broadly to understand the racial experiences of Asian Americans and Latina/os and the nuances within those experiences and to not portray them as monolithic groups. He cited the lived experiences of two of his Code Switch colleges, a Latina whose family is from Puerto Rico and has different political views on immigration from their other colleague, who family is Mexican-American. Demby said:

> …there's still an inclination [in Traditional journalism] to flatten. … As long as newsrooms and reporters and editors are, like, "Okay. Now we're going to talk about things like that Latino vote." Right? There's just this impulse towards talking about groups as monoliths.

Interactive Race Beat journalists were the only reporters to talk about conceptualizing racial issues more broadly than Black-White and across the intersections of gender and class.

Finally, Interactive Race Beat journalists emphasized exploring new angles, but did not see their mission as one of providing a counternarrative. McDonald said she was aware of and careful not to "answer to mainstream media" by producing stories featuring blind praise or overly laudatory coverage of things done by African Americans. "I think you can basically overcorrect in the other direction. Be hagiographic. I don't want to do that. I don't think anybody

at The Undefeated wants to do that. That's something that's always in the back of my mind," she said. Rather, McDonald said she focuses on nuance and on being critical, even when it might not be popular — such as a critique of Nate Parker, the African American director of the 2016 "Birth of a Nation." McDonald didn't write about Parker as a "savior," which is how she described other coverage. Her reporting focused on Parker's acquittal in a rape trial in which the survivor would not testify. McDonald directly addressed that Parker had been acquitted of rape and she critiqued his roles for African American women in the film as thin and undeveloped. In other words, while many critics were hailing the film as a success for an African American director, McDonald focused on the ways in which it was problematic in terms of gender. Demby echoed the value of coverage that is "messy" and complicated rather than valorizing. Demby pointed to coverage in which there is not a clear right and wrong, coverage in which both sides of a racial debate might either be somewhat both at fault or both have sensible reasons for their positions as the coverage that best helps the audience understand racial issues. He used an example of a story produced by his Code Switch colleague, Kat Chow. Chow's story explored the controversy surrounding a Seattle band called "The Slant" trying to trademark its name. The band's members are Asian American and chose their name as a way to speak back against stereotypes (Chow, 2015, May 8), yet the name itself is a slur, which has caused controversy not only among Asian Americans following the issue, but also with the trademark office whose regulations stipulate that a racial slur can't be trademarked. Demby cited that example of one that is "messy" because both sides are making strong arguments: one against profiting from a slur and one in favor of reclaiming a slur and taking away its power.

When Journalism 3.0 reporters are deciding what is news, they take a grassroots approach both to finding stories and to covering them. While all three reporters interviewed in this

paradigm cited Twitter as a valuable tool for taking the pulse of the important conversations of the day about racial issues, all three also emphasized the importance of vetting story ideas with sources, people in the street, and people of color inside and outside of the newsroom. All of them emphasized finding story ideas out in the field and then seeking other input from people on the ground before fully reporting them.

An example of this on-the-ground sense of coming up with story ideas came from Evan McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed, who was the first national reporter covering U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders' presidential campaign. As a longtime political reporter, he noticed that when he attended Sanders events, they were "very white" compared to other "Democratic progressive crowds." That itself was not enough for a story, but a few weeks later, Black Lives Matter Movement protesters interrupted Sanders at a major campaign event. McMorris-Santoro said White progressives had a difficult time understanding why the protesters were upset, so he wrote about it based on what he was hearing on the ground and who was missing from the crowd.

> Bernie just existing, which very much excited young white college students, did not exactly have the same effect on all young black people, for example. That's a big deal for Democratic politics, because the black vote is a huge part of the Democratic base. If you want to have a movement inside Democratic politics, you have to have minority support. It has to be a diverse movement in order for it to be successful. That ended up being a story that played itself out I think over the rest of the campaign.

McMorris-Santoro also cited his practice of vetting his story ideas with people of color in the BuzzFeed newsroom, which he described as placing "a very high priority on having a diverse newsroom. "I'm a White, straight, male reporter, and there are innumerous times you can count that people like me have stepped in it…when it comes to writing about issues about people that don't look like us or aren't like us," he said. But because BuzzFeed had a diverse newsroom, he said, "It was very easy for me to go into story meetings and pitch sessions and talk about things

that I've heard and get back feedback that made it easier to go and do reporting correctly" by incorporating their feedback.

In terms of routines, Journalism 3.0 reporters described themselves as not necessarily trying to compete with Traditional journalists. They understand their role as different than that of the Traditional journalists, whom they view as covering events in a predictable way. They view their role as telling the stories of "regular people" who experience impacts and navigate systems. As BuzzFeed reporter Darren Sands put it:

> I think that a lot of times if they want to know what happened, they're going to open *The New York Times*, or *The Washington Post*. Or they're going to turn on MSNBC or CNN—that's the legacy media today. I don't think people are averting their eyes from that stuff. I think they're still going to it.
>
> I think what we try to do is give some level of nuance, and tell a story that maybe other news outlets won't cover. I think, what we try to understand and factor into all of our coverage is that the world is changing. It's changing really fast. Adapting to that part of it means that we approach news in a different way.
>
> … On the campaign trail, that might not be Obama talking about how getting the Iran nuclear deal done is the reason why you should vote for Hillary Clinton. It might be the Planned Parenthood protests out on the street, at the Obama speech, that got testy, and here's what it means for Planned Parenthood. Here's what it means for pro-life advocates… I think it's so much more of a tangible way to approach covering politics. It makes it real for people in their lives.
>
> ... I don't approach it in terms of this idea that I don't want to cover the Obama speech, I think it's in sourcing, and it's in what we deem to be important to people…I haven't really thought about this a whole lot in the past, but I think a lot of it just really has to do with paying attention to everybody. Everyone's important. The person that introduces Hillary Clinton, who is some big-time activist or something, is just as important as the person out on the street who's holding a sign with tape shut over their mouth. Right? What does that person have to say? Why are they on this street?

Reporters in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm also mentioned routines in the context of "people on the street" who are using technology to tell their own narratives. For example, in covering protests in Charlotte, North Carolina after Officer Michael Slager shot Walter Scott, Mashable reporter Colin Daileda noticed a large number of protesters, most of whom were Black, were

using the Facebook Live app to stream their own experiences from the protests. He decided to write a story about it. "They were providing their own narratives for what was happening, because for many reasons that they talked to me about, people weren't portraying them on the news correctly," he said. "Some of them were just worried that if something happened, they at least could—there was a video evidence of it." In covering this, Daileda was writing about two things—misrepresentation in Traditional news and how people at the grassroots were addressing it. His coverage showed how protesters were using technology to create a counternarrative and for their own safety because they feared violence as a result of their protesting racial violence.

In sum, Traditional reporters emphasized accountability, which they identified in terms of showing systemic racism and how it manifest, and acknowledged that they do sometimes create coverage that relies on elite sources and routines that value small details rather than larger context, although they regret it when that happens. Traditional reporters, then, expressed a mix of Traditional values and Constructionist values. Interactive Race Beat reporters used codes that described how they decide what is news and cover it by looking for stories that don't have easy answers or otherwise are not being told. They also said they valued an intersectional approach to coverage and cautioned against stories that pushed too hard against problematic coverage to create a counternarrative. These codes were consistent with discursive paradigm values. Journalism 3.0 reporters decide what is news and begin covering it based on the larger conversations they are observing via social media and privilege relying on "people on the street" to help shape the narrative. These codes were consistent with Constructionist values.

Turning to social media, Traditional journalists Lowery and Thompson said they used social media, especially Twitter, to find sources and story angles and to monitor the ongoing national conversation. Lowery said:

> It is a very broad beat. I think the one thing, just browsing the web, searching social media kind of thing, just searching the Facebook feed, Twitter, and all that stuff, see what articles people are posting about race and just reading as much as you can, consuming as much as you can, you can get a sense of what's going on there. Especially with covering race, it's about being part of a national conversation, right? It's about, in some ways, curating that conversation, is the way I look at my job as someone covering race. You've got to get your pulse on what the conversation is and in some way contribute to it. I think that's how I get the general sense of what's out there.

Thompson said social media, especially Twitter, was valuable in helping her find sources. "I feel like so many more voices have surfaced through social media, especially on Twitter, who often have insightful, critical, or thoughtful things to say about this racial moment… You come across thinkers that maybe you would not have otherwise known."

These responses were similar to those of Interactive Race Beat journalists who identified Twitter, specifically, as a way to give a larger presence to those whose voices are not often heard and because journalists can monitor the conversation as it unfolds in real time. In the words of Code Switch's Demby, Twitter is "way browner than the population more broadly… It's just been essential to us —to get a pulse of where people are or to get a sense of where people are and what they're thinking about."

Journalism 3.0 reporters shared a common, but different view of Twitter. McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed, called it a "chatroom for journalists" and said he used it to know what other journalists were talking about. BuzzFeed's Sands said he sometimes sent out questions on Twitter to gauge whether something was a news story, but otherwise did not rely on it for sourcing as he prefers to talk to people face-to-face. Mashable's Daileda said he monitors Twitter to know what the big conversation is, but prefers to use on-the-ground networks:

> When I'm actually in a location, I don't worry as much. I do check, but I don't worry as much that I will just rehash something, because I'm talking to different

> people than they are. I'm just not as engrossed in what's happening on Twitter at that moment. I'm just talking to whoever I'm talking to. It's easier to find different stories, because this is what actual journalism is.

Thus, Traditional journalists viewed it as a way to monitor conversation, Interactive Race Beat journalists viewed it as a way to monitor and draw upon conversation happening among People of color, and Journalism 3.0 reporters viewed social media, in particular Twitter, as less of a voice of the people and more as a tool for looking at topics from a macro level. Thus, Traditional journalists expressed using technology to help meet Constructionist ideals of privileging the voices of the oppressed, Interactive Race Beat reporters expressed those same Constructionist values, and Journalism 3.0 reporters expressed concern that technology might be more elite than democratic, so talking to people "on the ground" was the most important.

All three reporters in the Traditional paradigm gave similar answers about how much they monitored other news organizations' coverage — which was to say they read it, but viewed only Traditional journalists as competition. Traditional reporters noted friendships with and praise for the coverage of the work of reporters in the other two paradigms. None of them viewed cross-paradigm work as competition. All of them discussed Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 coverage as work that comes to them in their social media feeds. All of them discussed the new approaches as positive contributions and conceptualized them as different than the type of work they were doing. For example, the *Times'* Eligon said of Code Switch that its coverage "is about having conversations. I think that that's what should really drive racial coverage, is really about better understanding, and you only do that through the conversation about it. I think they've done a great job of that."

The responses from Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 reporters were similar. They read the coverage and knew journalists in other paradigms as friends. They primarily

monitored coverage to make sure they weren't repeating what had already been said or to look for a small angle to dig into deeper coverage, or, as The Undefeated's McDonald put it, "Just maybe try to find the things that they're just not looking at." One difference between Interactive Race Beat reporters and Journalism 3.0 reporters was the understanding of where those "uncovered" angles could be found. For Interactive Race Beat reporters, those angles were found largely in their own expertise, views, and conversations with other journalists. For Journalism 3.0 reporters, they were found among the people in the streets who would share their stories.

In summary, reporters in the Traditional paradigm discussed their media routines as driven by a desire to avoid event-driven coverage and instead provide context and connect individual events to larger issues and systems of power. Their interpretation of holding power accountable in the context of racial coverage meant showing how individual events connect to themes and how themes connect to institutions and structures that reproduce racial oppression. Additionally, Eligon's sense of news as something that gives voice to the voiceless directly speaks to a Constructionist value, rather than a Traditional approach to valuing elite sourcing. This mirrors that shift in awareness of structural racism found by the textual analysis in Chapter Three, where Traditional coverage was seen as shifting toward a Constructionist paradigm that looked more like Journalism 3.0.

Interactive Race Beat reporters also expressed a desire to privilege context in their coverage and expanded that to mean racial coverage that went beyond linking events to also take an intersectional approach that recognizes other key facets of identity such as class and gender. Further, Interactive Race Beat reporters expressed a desire for coverage that captures the nuance of racial identity and gets beyond a Black-White binary. Not only did they desire to seek out

untold narratives, but wanted to seek narratives that were specifically complicated in that they seemed contradictory or "messy." These codes mirrored values in the discursive paradigm.

Journalism 3.0 reporters emphasized grassroots approaches both to finding story ideas and as a reporting approach. Their answers were firmly within the values of the Constructionist paradigm, even so far as suggesting that the conversations on social media were perhaps too elite and that they should be vetted with "people on the street." That was a sharp contrast to the codes expressed by Traditional journalists and Interactive Race Beat journalists who felt social media provided a "voice to the voiceless" and described its democratizing effects.

In terms of monitoring others' coverage, the data showed nothing particularly compelling except perhaps a lack of perceived competition across paradigms. Journalists across all three paradigms described this part of their routines in a collegial way, noting how they admired the types of coverage produced in other paradigms and showing how each has an important place in the media ecology. Journalists across paradigms expressed an attitude of learning from one another rather than trying to "beat" one another to a story. This may have something to do with the fact that all of the reporters interviewed knew at least most of the other participants from social circles, professional encounters, or simply from reading their work. Some of them had previously worked together. It may also be influenced by the fact that the number of reporters who cover racial issues at the national level is relatively small.

Finally, it's important to note what was absent from reporters' answers about how they find things to cover: editor influence. Previous studies (Gans, 1972; Usher, 2014) have shown that reporters are keenly aware of and responsive to editor ideals and demands, but editor influence was absent from this data set. One of the primary tenants of new institutionalism is that it drives a top-down phenomenon, meaning that reporters who want to succeed try to impress

their editors, or, at least, mirror what they perceive their editors' values to be. In this data, editors were rarely mentioned. Reporters spoke with a sense of autonomy in terms of deciding what to cover and how to cover it. For example, news organizations dispatched reporters to cover Ferguson, but none of the reporters I interviewed mentioned editors telling them what to cover or how to cover it. Reporters in this study emphasized using their own news sense and reporting to determine what stories were worth telling and described their daily routines with a high degree of independence. Reporters frequently mentioned wanting to emulate work done by their peers, but did not mention any mandates from their editors. This sense of independence and seeming absence of assignments from editors has not been observed in previous studies.

Influences at the Level of Media Organization

The influence level of media organizations is different than the level of routines because it describes the larger occupational context, which includes newsroom policies, and explores how news organizations are set up. The key question in a study about coverage of racial issues at the level of media organization is how the news organization structures and allocates resources to this type of coverage. Newsrooms are structured around a beat system that involves key topic areas, sometimes including geographic beats such as a particular town or neighborhood. Beats show what is important to the audience in that area. For example, *The Seattle Times* has a reporter whose beat is dedicated to covering Microsoft and another to Boeing because those hometown corporations are important to the local economy and employ thousands of residents in that region. *The Los Angeles Times* has reporters dedicated to coverage of transportation issues because of the notorious traffic in that region.

Beats, by their nature, are designed to be singular and largely walled off, which makes covering something as overarching as race a tricky problem. For example, the sports reporter, not

the education reporter, covers high school football games, even though the event is at a school. As McDonald recalled from her days in a Traditional newsroom, reporters often are territorial and do not appreciate someone from another beat stepping on their turf. In the context of racial issues, lines are less clear. For example, Code Switch's Demby talked about a story he was working on housing inequality. It included race because of the historical policies that have prevented people of color from securing mortgages, it included business elements and politics because laws govern loan policies (i.e. first-time homeowner tax breaks), and it also contained education because schools are funded with property taxes. So, who in the newsroom covers that story? This study sought to explore how journalists working across three very differently structured paradigms think racial issues should be covered. Therefore, the key question that informed this level of influence had to do with journalists' opinions about newsroom structure in regard to a race beat.

Reporters' responses and self-reflection, their comparing of what was ideal to what was practical, the way several participants made arguments both for and against, showed that this question is being debated in newsrooms. For example, *The New York Times* made waves in the trade press in 2015 by terminating its race beat. That reporter, Tanzina Vega, then left to cover a race and inequality beat at CNN (Ip, Jan. 28, 2015). A year later, the *Times* began compiling some of its coverage into a weekly newsletter called "race related." Previous debates about whether news organizations should have a dedicated "race beat" have included the positions of: no, because it segregates news; no, because it often pigeonholes reporters who are people of color; no, because race should be part of every story; and yes, because if there is no race beat, issues of race won't be prioritized (Deggans, 2015; Powell, 2014; Smith, 2015; Yeoman, 1999). All of these were present in the responses of the reporters interviewed in this study; however,

participants also contributed new points of view including: yes, because race illuminates how our country works; yes, because covering race requires a specific expertise; and no, because "racial issues" is too narrow a beat definition.

Journalists in the Traditional paradigm said news organizations should have a race beat in terms of allocating resources to ensure that expertise exists in the newsroom, but also emphasized that all reporters should cover racial issues as part of their work. Most Traditional news organizations have not had race beats since the 1970s and only in the past seven years have these positions returned to a degree (Powell, 2014). The *Times'* Eligon said every reporter should have expertise on racial issues and bring that expertise to bear on their beat:

> In an ideal world, I would actually advocate that you don't have a race beat and that it's more so that journalists are trained to cover race across the paper on their beat. I think that's the better model because I think that—the fact is, I can't be an expert on Wall Street. I'm not smart enough. I don't have the wherewithal. That's not my beat. I'm not talking to people over there, but I bet you there are darn well some stories to do with race on Wall Street. There must be. It's going to be harder for me to find those being a race reporter.
>
> …I wouldn't discourage the race coverage, but the problem when you have race beats is that I think it fosters laziness among other people who think, "Okay, we have our people covering race, so we just don't cover it." I think everyone should be covering race. I think that's a better model. I don't think it's a bad model to have people covering race. We have a whole team now doing it. It's not bad, but I think it would be better if there was sincere and genuine efforts to train people throughout the paper.

The *Post's* Lowery expressed similar sentiments, but added that having a reporter with specific expertise on race issues provides an important "resource" to the entire newsroom.

> I think it's important in any newsroom to build thematic subject matter expertise, right? It should be someone's job to read every new piece of research on how race manifests or how gender manifests or sexuality manifests. Someone in the room should be tracking this thing. I think it's also something that everyone should be thinking about. How does it intersect with what I cover? I think it's a combination of both. Again, I don't like the idea of shipping that all off to one person... I think every reporter should be covering issues of race. It becomes a resource that services an entire newsroom. I think that should be the mindset is, how do we

> build specific levels of expertise in certain spaces, and then that person services everyone?

Both of these comments suggest that a reporter with experience covering racial issues is valuable, but also a concern that other reporters won't then cover racial issues. They reflect an understanding that racial issues cross beats such as education, business, the environment. Lowery, who was part of a Pulitzer-Prize winning team that created a national database that has been tracking police shootings for three years (a project cited by every other participant in the study as an example of valuable journalism), described his beat as "accountability reporting as it relates to law enforcement," adding, "I think about it not necessarily through a racial lens, but I think of it through a law enforcement lens…Frankly, every story has a racial component no matter what the beat is." Lowery views his beat as covering law enforcement and recognizes that race will be a part of that story.

Interactive Race Beat journalists, whose entire organizations are, by definition, devoted to covering issues of race, but both of whom have also worked in Traditional journalism, both said news organizations should not have institutionalized race beats and also found it problematic the way that many Traditional news organizations have created single-identity-oriented beats or "verticals." The Undefeated's McDonald said:

> …ideally, my vision of a newsroom that is doing this right—everyone is responsible for thinking about these things and how they affect their coverage, and folding it into their coverage…I think that's the only way you can really achieve true inclusivity. Otherwise, you're still sort of continuing with this model. Where the news is basically about straight, white people. Then everything else is, I don't know, sideline fodder that gets printed in some special section that people can ignore. That's insane, especially when you think about just the country as a whole… it's just absurd.
>
> … I think there were a lot of organizations who were like, "Okay, we're going to have this thing that is specifically Black. We're going talk about Black things." Okay, there are a bunch of other groups that are also underrepresented. Are you also going to have a Latino vertical? An Asian vertical? A Native American vertical? An LGBT vertical? I think if we were actually doing this

> right…we would actually be covering things comprehensively. As it stands, that is not what is happening... it should just be, "If this is important enough to dedicate this thing to, then why wouldn't we just cover it, period?"

Demby, who was in charge of the Black Voices "vertical" for The Huffington Post, echoed McDonald and added his concern about such spaces marginalizing journalists of color.

> I think there's this thing that happens...You end up having all of your talent of color sequestered into these places, in which they never get to be part of the mainstream news…This is the eternal question. There are plenty of Black reporters and Latino reporters who don't want to write about Black people and Latino people necessarily. They want to write about everything...They want to be brown people who talk about boring Senate judiciary hearings.

Overall, both Demby and McDonald said race should be covered as part of larger issues across coverage, whether that be issues of the economy or arts and culture.

Journalism 3.0 reporters were divided. McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed, had no strong opinion other than to say that editors should decide how to best allocate resources. Mashable's Daileda offered that a race reporter would always have strong stories to write. "I don't think there's any beat, any story, any genre of reporting that could get to the heart of why things work the way they do in this country more than stories of race," he said. "I think that if you don't have an outlet or at least one person reporting on that full-time…you're not discovering so many parts of what lie at the root of things we talk about every day." BuzzFeed's Sands, however, disagreed. While he said he was glad to see news organizations investing more resources in covering racial issues, "race" as a beat was too narrow and doesn't represent the way reporters of his generation understand coverage of racial issues. Sands cited Lowery and Eligon as two reporters he admires. Sands said Eligon "does really good work at that intersection of trying to figure out why — telling a story and then explaining how race is a part of it. Going, zig-zagging in and out the issue of race by telling the story. Which I think is the way to do it. Not enough reporters are doing that kind of work." Sands described a group of journalists now

working in the field who "came up under Obama" and therefore see racial issues "as central to the American story." This group of reporters who has only been aware of U.S. politics in the context of a Black president, Sands said, is unlike previous generations in how they understand coverage of racial issues as intrinsically tied to covering politics.

> I know that we all see it as really essential to understanding America. Understanding our country. I say our country because the story of race is like how we, essentially how we have to live together… I just think we definitely view it as central to the story of our country and how our country works… I think we're empowered more to work in that context of understanding race as part of every story and "not just something [Congressman and civil rights activist] John Lewis said."

In sum, Sands' comments get to one of the questions at the heart of this study, which is whether racial coverage has fundamentally changed. Sands attributed the change to reporters who have only ever known politics in an era of President Obama. To a degree, this is echoed in Interactive Race Beat journalists' views against singular, vertical identities and also in Traditional journalists' sentiments that covering race requires expertise, but that expertise should be held across the newsroom, rather than within a beat structure. The idea that racial issues should be understood systemically and as multi-faceted was true across all paradigms of journalists interviewed, thus all reflected a Constructionist value in regard to media organizations.

Influences at the Level of Social Institutions

The level of social institutions is broad and has been conceptualized in several ways, including how news organizations interact with other political institutions such as advocacy groups, with economic forces such as advertisers, and interact across the field with other news organizations. Because this study is focused on exploration of racial coverage across paradigms, questions in this category related to that last category examining journalism as a field. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) noted field theory (Benson, 2006; Benson & Neveu, 2005) as a

useful approach to examining different types of news paradigms as institutions. This study focused on a particular facet of that: inter-media influence. As Shoemaker and Reese noted, "The extent to which elite media transmit influence to other media is no longer as clear" (2014, p. 114). In this study, reporters were asked to look across U.S. journalism broadly and asked about coverage they admired, coverage they found problematic, and changes they had observed in the field. The goal was to ascertain whether reporters in one paradigm were trying to be like or unlike those in another. Responses in this category were remarkably similar across paradigms and showed a third option — they viewed a media ecology with room for everyone.

In the Traditional paradigm, reporters cited data-rich, in-depth reporting, stories with context that was both historical and showed larger themes or links to other events, and coverage that humanized the issues as the hallmarks of strong reporting about racial issues. *The Washington Post's* database of police shootings came up in every answer and was cited primarily as a way to put figures to what reporters, including Lowery who worked on the project, said they "knew anecdotally." Depth rather than frequency was a value expressed by all Traditional reporters. Additionally, Lowery cited the work of the *Times'* Eligon's coverage of the killing of 23-year-old Sylville Smith, an African American shot by Milwaukee police, as an exemplar of strong contextual coverage in a post-Ferguson era. Lowery spoke with a sense of self-reflection about how he wished he had approached the early Ferguson coverage in ways that more closely mirrored Eligon's later coverage:

> I thought he did a very good job very quickly of—I was jealous—of walking through the history of this place, of this neighborhood, Sherman Park, where the shooting had happened, as well as the kind of deep segregation issues and societal disparities in this place where the shooting had happened. I thought that was very smart. It made a lot of sense. I wish that we all had that foresight. I wish we all had that depth of understanding when we were covering Ferguson and Baltimore. We didn't. Again, at this point, we've all covered these things a few dozen times. I 100 percent wish I could go back and re-cover some of those first few stories.

In talking about his own work, Eligon recalled a story he had written for the one-year anniversary of Ferguson in which he showed how segregation was still a problem for Black residents in that city. He told the story of a family trying to use their public housing assistance money to get to a "better" neighborhood with better schools and less crime and the obstacles that family faced. "I liked that one because I think it really helped to humanize them. This is a theme that I hear over and over when I'm in poor communities, especially poor communities of color, is none of them like relying on the government for money." In addition to humanizing the coverage, Eligon's story angle also showed the ongoing problems in Ferguson after the national news media had left the scene, thus embodying coverage that shows the structural problems in that community.

Interactive Race Beat journalists also cited the *Post's* police-shooting database as an exemplar of strong coverage of racial issues. The Undefeated's McDonald said the *Post's* work was remarkable for being comprehensive and because the newspaper heavily invested in the resources necessary to produce it, ensuring coverage for "people who don't necessarily have the voice to be taken seriously and respected, on their own," and provided data evidence of racial disparities in police use of force. The impact of The *Post* creating "databases of death," McDonald said, "is that you have raw numbers to back things up. In terms of who is having more fatal encounters with the police? You can't fudge this. It's right in front of you." She also expressed admiration for Code Switch's approach to covering race "in ways that feel new. Instead of rehashing the same five arguments, over and over" and by writing about race in ways that go beyond talking about racism. Code Switch, McDonald said, is covering "the way that we talk about race, and what informs that. What the consequences of that are. What does that mean, in terms of what do we pay attention to? What do we not pay attention to? Why we think about people and things the way that we do?" Demby pointed out how reporting on the implications of

race in issues that have not always been seen as racialized can create new ways of thinking about things. He cited an example from NPR's "This American Life" in which reporter Nikole Hannah-Jones focused on how suburbs were organized and how that created school segregation. She used Ferguson and St. Louis County as an example. "Michael Brown went to this school that is considered one of the worst schools in the state of Missouri, if not the worst public high school in the state of Missouri," Demby said. Yet, a "couple miles away" there is a "school that is stellar in all of these ways, how is that possible?" Demby said Hannah-Jones' piece showed how structural racism manifests:

> One school's all black. One school's all white…it reached a lot of people who don't think of these things a lot. I think that's the thing. There are all these ways in which American Life—race is implicated in American life. I think there are all these issues that we tend to see as racial issues. There are all these issues that are actual racial issues that are camouflaged as something else. I thought that episode was a really good example of how these things work in people's actual lives.

Demby and McDonald both used examples of data-driven coverage explicating themes that are common in news coverage, but using the data to tell those narratives in new ways.

Mirroring the other two paradigms, Journalism 3.0 reporters also all pointed out the *Post's* database as a way to employ data to understand the existence of racism or at least of undeniable patterns of oppression. Mashable's Daileda cited that database as an exception to a journalism that is largely "dominated by the same power structure" that often obfuscates historical inequities based on structural racism.

> We, as a country, like to pretend that we were founded as a nation that was based on equal rights, that was freedom for all people. Then that's never been the case… I think for our nation, I think it's been so long lauded by ourselves, by the rest of the world for x, y, and z reasons that we've never really had to look at ourselves in the mirror and understand— our racial heritage. Also, the relationship that our racial heritage has to how power works in this country.
>
> I think in terms of how that relates to journalism. I think that journalism, because it's dominated by the same power structure, that same racial power structure that exists in other parts of America, because that is so hard for a

> predominantly White media industry to even understand that there are stories that—vitally important stories that lie in police brutality, but also in how the housing industry relates to issues of race in this country, how housing relates to policing. Why this is all related. How the prison industry relates to slavery and why there are—why is it so obvious when you look at certain elements of that trajectory why that is a giant race issue. You can see it chip away.

Daileda said journalism that serves to "chip away" at unexamined values and beliefs is the hallmark of strong race coverage — and that he sees very little of it.

Most of the reporters across all three paradigms described problematic coverage in ways that were opposite of strong coverage, but with a few more nuances. Overall, reporters could more easily point to hallmarks of bad coverage than to examples of good coverage, and in some cases, found these examples in their own coverage.

In the Traditional paradigm, reporters most frequently said poor coverage relied heavily on official accounts, ignored history, was reactive, was structurally unaware, and questioned the existence of racism. The *Post's* Lowery was the most self-reflexive in his responses about his own coverage, saying, "I think the hallmarks of problematic coverage are, one, being dismissive of the concerns of a community or of people. Two, being over‑reliant on official accounts often that are wrong and overweighting them." He talked about his disappointment in his own coverage when he first arrived in Ferguson:

> I wish I would have spent more time litigating the things people were telling me in the street…in my experience, I don't think people took the complaints of the residents of Ferguson seriously until the DOJ report, and the DOJ report came a year later, right? We had people on day one saying, "Actually, these cops are crazy and the way they give us these tickets and these warrants, and this one time, they did this crazy thing to me." We're like, "Okay, guys." We're writing those stories down. We're not even using most of these anecdotes because they sound too unrealistic. There's no way.
>
> In reality, a judicious reporter could have found and written about everything that was in the DOJ report beforehand. I think it says something about journalism and the media that we did not do that, right? That there were thousands of reporters covering Ferguson, and none of us found any of those stories that the DOJ found? That says something about, one, our desire not to believe the people

> in the streets, our inability to grasp the contextual realities, the fact that there were larger things at play here. There were a few stories… A handful of stories that really got at that context, but it was many fewer than there should have been, given how much coverage the story of Ferguson got.

Lowery also stressed the importance of context and tied problematic coverage to a lack of newsroom diversity.

> I think it's important—anytime you have 100 people, 1,000 people in the streets, they're not there just because of the thing that happened yesterday. They're always there because of a long history of things. I think coverage that is either ahistorical or misses historical context is—can be very problematic... All these places have very long histories, right? None of these towns were founded yesterday. Because of that not understanding and not placing into the context the reality of where this is and what has happened before, robs the reader of a real understanding of what's going on.
>
> I think those are some of the major hallmarks… I think a lot of it can be a dismissiveness that comes from a lack of empathy because many—oftentimes, many people writing and editing these stories do not actually have the real experience that is relatable to the people who they're covering.

Eligon said that even though he knew family members with lived experience of being ticketed unfairly by Ferguson police, that individual level experience did not override his sense of journalism norms in his early coverage of Ferguson.

> It had happened in my family. My father-in-law had been unjustly thrown in jail for the night in one of those north county municipalities for not doing anything, basically. I missed the ball on that. I dismissed it as I knew it was wrong, but I never followed up on it. I think we've been too reactive sometimes in terms of covering race. I think there's not been enough of a focus necessarily on accountability oftentimes when it comes to race.

Eligon's example shows the strong, but not insurmountable, pull of institutional norms on a reporter who has lived experience with racial oppression, who is conscious of structural racism, but whose reporting initially followed patterns of previous coverage. What is noteworthy is his self-reflexivity and the way he made changes in his later coverage to devote more attention to history and structural racism, as in the above example of Ferguson a year later.

> One of my frustrations in race coverage that I see, there's a lot of good stories out there, great journalism, that talks about how structures over the years, over decades and generations, have led to the racial tensions and disparities that we've had, but I think there's been not strong enough reporting saying how those things are perpetuating themselves and even playing out today still.
>
> Again, I think what that does, it allows people to say, "Oh, there's no more racism," and that racism was a thing of the past, and like, "Oh, those were all past things," whereas you don't have to look too hard to find how those things really still work in society... I don't think the media's done a good enough job in terms of really digging deeply in terms of how those same issues of race still play out today.

Finally, Lowery discussed the problem of what Demby called "is X racist?" coverage, which he also attributed to a lack of newsroom diversity.

> We live in a country that is still majority white and a media that is even more majority white. What we know is that with that comes a certain level of privilege in which people don't have to necessarily think about how their race may be limiting them or benefiting them, while for other people, that's something that's constant in terms of when something's being considered or thought about.
>
> I think that, very often, our coverage of race and how race interacts can go lacking, and it also I think can be very elementary. For example, after police shootings, we very often have this conversation about, what if the officer was black? In some cases, the officer was black. That was the case in Charlotte, right? Therefore, race must not have been an issue in this shooting because it was a black officer. That betrays a very basic misunderstanding of how race manifests in people's interactions with the criminal justice system.
>
> It's actually a laughably dumb point to be made, but that is actually where most of our media coverage sits in this idea that it could only—race could only be a factor if the officer was white and if the person was black. No. That's actually not at all how this works. I think that that—we very often fall into these false premises of how race works in part because, again, I think people calling the shots in a lot of these spaces haven't spent a ton of time thinking about how race manifests in their life because they've had the privilege of not having to.

Thus, reporters in the Traditional paradigm were self-reflexive about cases in which their own coverage fell into problematic traps and described the ways they corrected. They also strongly pointed to a lack of newsroom diversity as a contributing factor in problematic coverage.

Reporters in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm offered responses that most often fell into codes that described problematic coverage as "outrage of the day" or "is X racist?" and both

attributed these problems to a lack of newsroom diversity. The Undefeated's McDonald attributed part of the problem in coverage to what she calls "skittish" journalists.

> I would say the thing that probably annoys me more than anything else, because it's just so obvious and so simple, is that news organizations are really skittish and really loath to label something as racist. Even when it is nakedly racist. They'll get around it in a couple of ways.
>
> One, if they have to acknowledge that it has—if they can't say racist, but they can't get around acknowledging that it has something to do with race, then they will say that it is racial. Or racially charged. Racial, and racially charged do not mean the same thing as racist.
>
> Or, less frequently, but this also happens, if they won't say it's racist themselves, they'll rely on some other figure. It'll be like, "This act that such-and-such described as racist," or, "some have described as racist." As if this isn't something that you can call out on your own, at least, in the most egregious situation. If somebody's painting swastikas on a building, I think you can pretty much call that racist.

For McDonald, this belies deeper problems in the newsroom, where she said Whiteness is not acknowledged as an identity and therefore not understood as a structuring force in what is covered and how issues are covered, leading to a "colorblind" understanding of news that centers Whiteness. But, she added, increasing newsroom diversity is only the first step. Training for all employees in how to examine issues and explore conceptions of race is essential, she said.

> I think for the mainstream news organizations as a whole, I think they have to do two things. One is they can't continue with having these newsrooms that are so enormously homogenous. Because they just don't reflect the communities that they're covering. That should be a huge credibility issue and crisis, that should really be bothering people.
>
> The other thing that I think is really important, is that this is not an easy fix. Covering race, I think, is just like covering anything else. In that you have to work at it. I think a lot of these organizations sort of mistakenly feel like, "Okay, we can just hire these people, and then they'll just be themselves. Somehow it'll just eke out into the coverage." Then, basically, you end up hiring people of color, with the expectation that they will be the ones who will do all the reporting and writing and heavy lifting about race.
>
> Just like if you were going to send me to cover the war in Afghanistan, then I have to read a bunch of stuff. I don't just become knowledgeable about that. About Afghani culture, and about military culture, and all, everything that informs what is going on in the war in Afghanistan. If you're going to cover race, it doesn't matter who you are. You still have to do the work. You still have to talk

> to experts, and report and read things. Have a level of curiosity. That's what's going to make it good. That's just a standard expectation for a reporter, no matter what they're covering. Because that's what good reporting is.
>
> I think there's this assumption that people of color have this innate knowledge that makes them better at covering race. I think there is a value to personal experience, but I think too often what happens is that that becomes a way for editors to say, "Okay, so we have these people to deal with the thing, and we don't have to think about it anymore." As opposed to, "No, this is something that is a part of and informs just about every facet of American life. We all need to be knowledgeable about it. It is part of all our beings."

McDonald emphasized that newsroom diversity is not enough. Being a person of color doesn't make one an expert and just hiring people of color doesn't mean they want to report about race.

Journalism 3.0 reporters expressed concern for coverage that was monolithic and process oriented without any real context. Mashable's Daileda gave the example of police shootings, after which "there's always a cacophony of stories that basically say that people are angry. This is why they're angry. Here's the trial…or whether this person will be tried... Officer isn't tried. Okay. Now we move on." McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed, said the most common complaint he has heard from sources has involved coverage that presumes to portray the thoughts or feelings of an entire racial group in a monolithic way due to "blind spots" in newsrooms that lack diversity. McMorris-Santoro gave the example of coverage in which a series of tweets from "Black Twitter" are curated and then presented as "This is what black people think." He said, "If I was on the reverse end of that, if I was on the receiving end of that kind of coverage and it was about people that looked like me and sounded like me, I would be pretty upset."

In sum, reporters expressed commonalties about exemplary and problematic coverage of race. All of them implicated a lack of newsroom diversity as to blame for problematic coverage, with McDonald adding that increasing diversity was just the first step of two and that training in how to cover racial issues was also important. Reporters across paradigms primarily agreed in the hallmarks of good and problematic coverage of racial issues.

In terms of over time, all participants spoke of significant changes in news coverage of racial issues over the past decade, particularly in the last five years. While some individuals differed as to why that happened, they overall agreed that technology played a role and that the election of Barack Obama initiated more self-examination of their organizations, and the later coverage of the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson was one major story where that manifest.

For reporters working in the Traditional paradigm, there was agreement that coverage of racial issues had changed and that the changes represented an improvement. The changes noted were an increased ability for reporters to write in the first person (the *Post's* Thompson mentioned her writing about blackness), the election of Obama as the nation's first Black president, and, most influential, technology giving stronger voice to people of color who were protesting the system, and Ferguson. The *Post's* Lowery noted the progression:

> I think there's just more of a focus in general [on racial issues]. Part of that's been because we've had a Black president that there's been a broad increased focus on issues of race generally… I also think that because of social media, there's a means for black and brown people who otherwise might not have been heard by media organizations to fight back against characterizations or coverage that they find problematic. Because of that, we are now hearing more frequently from those readers. I think that's a good thing. I think that democratizes news in a way. It allows you to say, "Hey, this representation is unfair or is wrong or is inaccurate."
>
> Previously, if you didn't live in the greater Washington area, you might not see what *The Washington Post* had to say about the shooting in your neighborhood or the issue in your neighborhood. Now you can provide that direct feedback. I think that that's a good thing. I think that that pressure has really helped marginalized groups of people because through social media, they've got a voice and a power that they might not have had with the mainstream media beforehand. Forever, black and brown communities have always complained about media coverage because media coverage has always been unfair to them.
>
> I think that we now have a different ability, we being black and brown communities, now have a different ability to pressure and to influence the way that they are covered by the media. We the media now have a different, I think, obligation to hear those voices.

The *Times'* Eligon echoed Lowery, saying he sees a pronounced and fundamental shift in journalism as a field.

> There is more of a critical eye toward race issues … I think a lot of that stems out of Ferguson…Whereas before, like I said—and I do think there's still a lot of dancing around the edges, but I do think there's a lot more explicit, like, "We will call racism 'Racism,'" and not just dance around it and use euphemisms and write about race when we're not writing about race.
>
> …I think technology, social media, and things like that have allowed us to really see more upfront what's going on in terms of some of the injustices… I think that has also … given more people a voice. As journalists, we are one-point limited, really interviewing the people we could find or see or touch or hear, whatnot. Now anyone can have a voice and be sitting there. They all see something goes viral and you see it, and then some person who no one ever knew was an anonymous person but now they've come to the fore because of something that has happened to them or something they witnessed. I think you have more people.

Journalism has moved far from the "post-racial" question posed prior to and just after the election of Obama, and not because race relations have changed but because that never should have been a question in the first place, Lowery said, adding that the post-racial narrative was fed by a lack of newsroom diversity.

> I think the initial question was idiotic, had been framed by white people. Come on. That's easy to say now, right? I think I also, even as a 17-year-old in…2007… I would have been like, what are you talking about? That's idiotic. No. We were never going to be in a post-racial world. That wasn't a thing that was going to happen. Our entire world, our entire society is premised on race. We built our entire economy off of racial distinctions, right? Our world cannot exist without race. It's baked into the fundamental core of what it is to be in America and to be American, right?
>
> I think the shift comes—one, I think you have actual earnest white people who were very confused. We elected Barack Obama. What's all this strife going on? They actually had no idea what was going on because they didn't understand how race worked I think is probably part of it.
>
> Two, I think …it's not that everyone thought that all of this was gone, but I do think that a large part of the center-left white people, and that is, in fact, the same set of people who the leaders of the media are drawn from, did believe that perhaps this meant something good about their nation, right? This meant that we have overcome those dark days of the past and that all of these things are gone.
>
> Again, the reality is that that just was never going to be true and was never true, that the President—having a Black President only sussed out with precise clarity all of the ways in which we have in no way achieved some type of racial understanding, and rather that we still have deep divisions.

Lowery said he has also seen a shift in the way the Black Lives Matter Movement has been covered, moving from portraying it as disorganized to portraying it as having legitimate power. This is consistent with my findings in Chapter Three. Lowery noted that initial coverage showed "a deep skepticism" that he attributed to the media being an institution that values "order."

> We, as much as every other institution, the government, the business community, we like order…We like covering people who have spokespeople and can tell us what they need to say and who have direct lines of bureaucratic chains of command, right?...
>
> These disorderly people in the streets yelling things, and who are we supposed to call? The media does not like that. We are deeply skeptical. Now it's intersecting with other organizations and institutions that we know well. A presidential primary, a presidential campaign, those types of things. It becomes a means for us to do the same type of process coverage we do of everything else.
>
> Which is how you end up having political reporters who for three years over drinks are essentially talking trash about the DeRay McKessons of the world who are then trying to cozy up to them so they can get the scoop about whether or not DeRay McKesson is going to endorse Hillary Clinton, right? All of a sudden, it becomes fashionable to know these people when, for years, the coverage not only was dismissive of many of these people and of their movement, but rather—but not only was it dismissive, but also often actively worked to undermine them.

Lowery said that the Black Lives Matter Movement coverage by BuzzFeed's Sands was different than Traditional journalism coverage in that it legitimated the movement, but he also described the Journalism 3.0 coverage in terms of Traditional coverage, saying that Sands covered the Black Lives Matter Movement "like a political campaign." In sum, Traditional reporters were critical of journalism as an institution, showing nuance in regard to resistance and change. Lowery explained that the Black Lives Matter Movement became legitimized in the eyes of journalists only after it began interacting with institutions and processes with which journalists were familiar. However, both Lowery and Eligon noted technology as an influence on journalists and a force able to enact change outside the boundaries of journalism.

Interactive Race Beat reporters agreed that coverage of racial issues had changed, but had different explanations as to why. Technology was one answer, but so was an increase in newsroom diversity, and, as Code Switch's Demby put it, "a newfound value in what was always there," meaning a new appreciation for coverage of racial issues and the reporters who attend to those stories as well as an increase in newsroom resources devoted to covering issues of race. Demby cited Obama's tenure in the White House as changing how race was discussed in ways that were less about narratives of conflict and more about structural racism. He said, "I think the way the coverage of race has changed in the last ten years or so—is that this idea that they're real—I think there's real understanding that there are constraints on the lives of people of color that are beyond their control, that they try and navigate." Demby also said he had observed shifts in Traditional coverage becoming more complex than it was four or five years ago, "when people could only think about race and issues of race in the cost of outrage." He feels contemporary coverage is "getting more sophisticated" in terms of understanding context and nuance. Demby attributed the change to two things: "mainstream news outlets dedicating teams to focus on issues of race" and to the presidency of Obama:

> I think Obama's presidency—President Obama's tenure in the White House changed a lot of the way race got discussed. I think broadly one of the … more frustrating inclinations of American journalism around race is always to frame issues of race in terms of conflict. Not just conflict—because obviously, race is about conflict in a lot of ways. Not conflict over political resources and stuff like that. Right? Which is important. Right? Not conflict over housing segregation and school segregation. These things that live where people actually live literally. Just testy encounters. Just there's often so much emphasis on testy encounters.

McDonald agreed, saying she noticed a change around 2010 when "news organizations started to realize that it looked really bad to have a black family in the White House, and not really be covering race very well." Demby sees the changes in coverage as partially attributable to new reporters bringing new ideas to news organizations. He said, "Newsrooms are a function of the

demographics. I do think that a lot of young Americans who come out of—who graduate from college have a very different understanding of racial issues." He also sees the changes as influenced by social media.

> By the time I got to NPR, we were having—I mean, when I say "we," I mean the collective America—we were having a very different conversation about race and violence, race and policing, race and—and a lot of that, a lot of the DNA of the way those stories got told came out of the way people covered Trayvon Martin, right? That was a social media story for a long time before it became a mainstream national news story.
>
> …To me, it seems like there's less of that than there was maybe four, five years ago, when people could only think about race and issues of race in the context of outrage or appropriate, right? I think there is much more understanding of how much more subtle these things are, that things that are often more complicated and have real consequences for people are things that are not even bright-lined as things being about race, even if they have racial consequences.

Thus, Interactive Race Beat reporters attributed the change to having a Black president, to younger reporters bringing new ideas about race into the newsroom, and to newsrooms finally valuing a type of expertise that has always been in the newsroom.

Reporters in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm noticed changes in coverage of race in terms of providing more context and looking deeper than confrontations and anger. Mashable's Daileda pointed to Ferguson as the point of change and noticed changes in his own coverage going deeper. He described writing a story about North Charleston, where unarmed African American Walter Scott was shot by White Officer Michael Slager, who was later charged with murder. Rather than covering only the reaction of the community, Daileda wrote about why it was important for a predominantly Black community served by a predominantly White police force to have a community board with subpoena power. Daileda said he has seen coverage change after Ferguson. "It was easy, I think, initially for me to just be writing those stories that I just panned a bit a second ago, where you got a protest and you write about why people are angry," he said. "They give you answers that are fine, but they're just the answers that you're going to

expect from interviewing protesters and asking them basic questions." Sands, the youngest participant among the participants, said he wasn't sure about changes because his generation of reporters had only ever worked in an environment in which the president was Black.

Thus, reporters were united in saying they have noticed changes in how journalists cover issues of race and most of them organically pointed to noticing this shift most strongly after Ferguson. While most mentioned technology as contributing to the change, several of them noted that having the nation's first Black president compelled a different way for news organizations to think about coverage of race in terms of resources and in terms of race being implicated in political stories rather than separate from it. As Demby said, news organizations began to value a type of knowledge that had always been present in their newsrooms. At this level of influence, all reporters used Constructionist values. One notable exception was that every participant pointed to the *Post's* database of police shootings as "proof" of systemic racism in cases of police violence. Data, it would seem, align with a Traditional paradigm value in "proving" race was a factor.

Influence at the Level of Social Systems

Because this study examined distinct models of news organizations that at the paradigmatic level might have different values, this study considered a longtime norm closely associated in scholarship with reproducing problematic coverage: objectivity. Shoemaker and Reese (2014) identified objectivity as a "key feature" of Traditional journalism essential to understanding the level of social system. They asserted, "Even if the world has changed, media workers act as though it hasn't, and the underlying principle of reporter detachment remains firmly entrenched" (2014, p. 84). Therefore, in my interview questions I sought to explore definitions of and thoughts about the concept of objectivity across paradigms. Chapter One

explained how objectivity became a journalism norm (Schudson, 2003) and although it was removed from the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics decades ago in favor of language that acknowledges the positionality of lived experience and the potential for individual bias, it persists in newsrooms today. This is an especially important concept in terms of coverage of race for three reasons: 1) a longitudinal body of research shows that news coverage has for decades reproduced negative racial stereotypes that are anathema to an ideal of objectivity, 2) the concept of "colorblindness" as explained in Chapter One maps on to a concept of objectivity that is inherently racist (Bonilla-Silva, 2003), and 3) race is a lived experience for reporters as well as a topic about which they write.

In the Traditional paradigm, the two reporters who had been in the field less time answered differently than the veteran reporter. The *Times'* Eligon said objectivity was not possible, the *Post's* Lowery called objectivity a dangerous lie, and the *Post's* Thompson, who has been in the field twice as long, expressed values consistent with objectivity but associated it with a particular story format rather than general coverage. Thompson laughed as she said, "I'm a little bit older, so I still value [laughter] objectivity, but I have written first-person pieces, and they connect with readers, I think, in a particular and special way." Thompson said there is "room for" first-person pieces "as long as there's transparency in the writing and reporting," but added, "I wouldn't want to see that to the exclusion of more Traditional pieces that hold to some of those standards of objectivity, but I think that they also work, that they're also a compelling story form." Thompson's views contrasted sharply with those of her *Post* colleague, Lowery, who touched on issues of individual influences, on who is making editorial decisions, and on how the readers react:

> I don't believe in objectivity. I don't think it exists. I believe that my job is to be fair, and I think what aids me in being fair is beginning by understanding and

> accepting the reality that I'm not objective. When I accept that and I understand that and I can articulate the ways in which I am not objective, it then allows me to interrogate those things and to make sure that I am checking myself and very actively interrogating my own potential biases. The biggest lie the American media has ever told itself is that such a thing exists, some type of media objectivity, right?
>
> In any story we write, there's a series of subjective decisions being made by people based on their biases before the story's even written—the first subjective decision of those being, is this a story worth covering or not? That is a subjective decision. There is not an objective list of, these things are worth covering, and these things are not, right? That is based on the opinions, the biases, the desires, the interest of a set of random editors somewhere. What we know, based on all the available data, is that those editors do not reflect the diversity and nuances of our nation and rather are a bunch of white dudes, right?
>
> Because of that, I think that that—I think we just have to disabuse ourselves of this idea that our media has ever abided by some type of strict objectivity. Our media coverage has always relied on a bunch of subjective decisions. I think that once we understand that, we can start to undo that, and we can start to think, how might this—how might we cover something in a way that's more fair? How might we cover something in a way that's more measured? My coverage, again, I think my job is to be fair. I think that requires a lot of reporting. It requires a lot of asking questions. It requires trying not to make assumptions. Doing that extra interview. Making that extra call.
>
> I think that that—I also think it's my job to be willing to say things that are difficult for some people to hear. I don't think that we have a history in American media, especially mainstream American media, of valuing the views and experiences of people of color, and so I think it can be very shocking for a White reader to all of a sudden encounter coverage that does that. What do you mean that you're taking these protestors seriously? That's very confusing to people. They're not used to media that somehow acknowledges the humanity of people of color and the agency of them, right?
>
> I also think that it's not my job to make readers happy. It's not my job to be liked. It's not my job to be noncontroversial. It's not my job to be not divisive, right? It's my job to tell the truth. I think that that's something that we have to—I just think that we have to remember, and that's something I try to think about.

The *Times'* Eligon talked about objectivity in terms of something that is fading away as a value and the benefit of reporters who tell stories they interpret through their own lived experiences:

> I think part of what makes where journalism is going now and … I think it does make journalism stronger is when you really have folks of different experiences, of diverse experiences, kind of injecting their own experience into their coverage. That's really what we're here—we're here to tell the story of America, and we can't just ignore who is telling that story. Who is telling that story can bring it to life…

Thus, there were differences among the Traditional reporters, but the thread through all of them was an understanding that journalistic norms were shifting, perhaps opening, perhaps going against, the long-held norm of objectivity.

The reporters in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm were unified in their view of objectivity as a journalistic norm. It's worth recalling from Chapter One that the Code Switch blog "about us" section is intentionally unobjective by Traditional journalism norms, introducing readers to itself with the words, "Remember when folks used to talk about being 'post-racial?' Well, we're definitely not that." Reporters in this paradigm said that not only is objectivity not possible because news coverage is filtered through the lived experiences of journalists, but also that objectivity as a norm is problematic in terms of coverage of racial issues because it centers Whiteness, particularly elite, male Whiteness as a norm. This has the dual impact of making everything else "other" and ignoring that Whiteness is a racial identity of lived experience, thus not objective. Adherence to a norm of objectivity is also a problem because it may obfuscate racial elements of stories because they can't be "proven," because it sets a tone of colorblindness, and because it facilitates problematic questioning of racial oppression.

Code Switch's Demby said he sees the field's adherence to the problematic norm to be shifting:

> …there's no way I can step outside of myself as a black man in my mid-30s who grew up in South Philly in a single-parent family… I'm an accumulation of a bunch of experiences. I don't pretend that I'm not. I do think that there is a tendency—the way that the people in our newsroom and other newsrooms that I've been in have responded to the idea that they are— somehow not in accumulation of their own experiences… I do think that more people are interrogating that idea. I do think there is—especially in the most—the journalism with which most people interface with still is guilty of that…
>
> My old editor and I, she and I used to always say this. We'd be like, "Objectivity is bullshit." We would always say that. It was funny, because we understood where we were coming from. Whenever we stepped outside of the

> context of our team at NPR, there was always like, [Gasp] "Why would you say that?" ...there's a centering of whiteness at NPR and the way we cover things, and there's a very specific social location that our listeners tend to be in. We treat everything else as exotic.
>
> The newsroom is super, super White… that stuff obviously trickles out into our coverage. There's nothing about the coverage of these things at NPR that is objective. There's no such thing as… objectivity in journalism. There's fairness in journalism. Right? This idea that objectivity is often camouflaged and positioned as this thing that people can achieve. I don't think a lot of people have really thought through the implications of having white people decide that this is objective and not emotional or—and these are things that where everyone is on this. These set of facts that are most pertinent.
>
> That notion of objectivity in newsrooms that don't look like anything like our country, in terms of race, in terms of education attainment, in terms of social class, is really dangerous and needs to be interrogated as often as possible. It's troublesome… It presumes that the way we talk about things in our popular press is the natural order of things, the natural way that everyone should think about.

The Undefeated's McDonald echoed that sentiment that "objectivity" centers Whiteness to the point of reinforcing it as a norm. "I think a lot of this has to do with the makeup of American newsrooms... in too many places, basically, the definition and framework for objectivity is still centered around color-blindness." She said journalists don't acknowledge that Whiteness is an identity and fail to acknowledge the role that plays in what they cover and how they cover it because Whiteness becomes "just the default. It's just like this is normal. This is the way things are, and then everything else is the deviation from that. That informs everything."

The normative conception of journalistic objectivity facilitates problematic "is X racist?" coverage in which a reporter's sense of "balance" is to begin by asking whether racism is a problem, Demby said. "The way it's I think dismissively characterized, and big journalistic outlets are often guilty of this, 'On the one hand this. On the other hand, this'," he said. "Racism literally with a question mark in the headline in a lot of cases.... 'Was X racist?'...First of all, besides that question being useless in a lot of ways, there's often a flattening of the consequence" of the impacts of structural racism. In sum, Interactive Race Beat reporters were critical not only

of the notion that individuals could and should not be influenced by their own lived experiences, but also that racial coverage that tries to be "objective" only privileges a dominant perspective.

While reporters in the Traditional and Interactive Race Beat paradigms spoke back to objectivity in its normative sense, Journalism 3.0 reporters defined the term differently. McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed said:

> Objectivity is a journalism word. It doesn't mean everybody has a point, which is what people think that it means. Objectivity means I go into a story and I find out what's going on, and I don't go in there and say, "I'm going to go in there today and I'm going to prove that X is X." I'm going to go out there and I'm going to find out what's going on. I'm going to check it out, and I'm going to tell you to the best of my ability what I had learned. At least in the case of political reporting.
>
> ...Honestly, this is one of the things where it's like, this concept, which is so basic to doing the job of a reporter, honestly, if you don't care about being objective, you don't go on the journey. You do something else. You literally would go into advocacy in some way, or you'd go work for a political party or for a candidate or something like that.

McMorris-Santoro's description of his concept of objectivity began with the broadest question of, "What is the story?" rather than "How do I tell this story without relying on my own understanding, opinions, and experiences?" To ascertain what the story is, McMorris-Santoro said he uses a system that relies somewhat on his professional experience as a political reporter, but also is heavily informed by grassroots sourcing — more in person than on social media — and vetting his ideas with colleagues who are people of color. By his definition, his own insights play a role in determining what is news, but he also relies on opinions and experiences outside of his own. Thus, his definition of objectivity is contingent on relying on multiple sources at the phase of deciding what the story is.

Mashable's Daileda also characterized objectivity differently than participants in the two other paradigms. For Daileda, objectivity was something that was conveyed — or not — in the writing process and something that served to make reporting less emotional and therefore

perhaps have a wider appeal. It's important to note that Daileda made this comment with the presumption that coverage began from the perspective of "those with less power in our society." Daileda said Journalism 3.0 outlets were more likely to feature strong emotions than coverage in Traditional outlets and that sometimes it might be to their detriment.

> I think that some of these outlets like Mashable or Mic… do get to the issues of this righteous anger where we're preaching, or in our case, often yelling to the choir. … I just wonder who we're talking to and why we're bothering if we don't—if it's clear by our tone that we think no one will read this unless they certainly agree with what we're trying to write.
>
> I do think that we at least try to convey that we are on the side of those who have less power in our society…I think we try to take on those perspectives as best we can. At least I certainly do, and if that means sometimes reflecting a sorrow or an anger a little bit more in the writing than you might see in a traditional news outlet, then that's what happens.

Sands, the only journalist of color interviewed in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm, had little to say about objectivity except to note that journalists should be careful not to repeat stereotypes.

Thus, journalists across all three paradigms showed firmly Constructionist values in regard to the journalistic norm of objectivity. This is a particularly compelling finding in the Traditional paradigm, which is said to value "detachment" (Ferree, et al., 2002). Discursive values align more closely with deliberation, but Interactive Race Beat journalists also expressed views that were strongly Constructionist. Journalism 3.0 reporters, as with previous questions, were consistently Constructionist in their views about objectivity, including Daileda outwardly stating his coverage begins by taking "the side of those who have less power," thus mapping directly on to Ferree et al.'s 2002 definition to "privilege the oppressed."

Discussion

At the heart of this dissertation is the question of whether coverage of racial issues in U.S. journalism is changing — not only in terms of formats afforded by new technologies, but also in

terms of fundamental changes in norms and values. To seek insight into these questions, Chapter Four drew on interviews with journalists who cover racial issues and explored five levels of influence on their coverage. The data showed Traditional journalists talked about their routines and values in ways that represented a shift away from Representative Liberal criteria and toward the Constructionist values of Journalism 3.0. For Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 journalists, who are working in emerging professional spaces that haven't been subject to longitudinal newsroom sociology research, this study represents a benchmark. Data showed Interactive Race Beat journalists expressed a blend of discursive and Constructionist values while Journalism 3.0 reporters expressed values that were purely Constructionist. Interpreting the findings through the lens of new institutionalism suggests that Traditional journalists who cover racial issues are breaking from entrenched routines and values that have held sway in newsrooms for decades. The data also suggest that reporters in the Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 paradigms, all of whom in this study have worked in the Traditional paradigm, are not carrying the rules and values of Traditional journalism into those emerging environments. They are forging new paths in the new paradigms.

In discussing my interpretation of this data, I acknowledge the possibility that the order in which I asked interview questions may have influenced how some of the respondents answered questions or influenced the examples they chose to highlight. For example, when I asked reporters how they defined the "post-racial" question that emerged with Obama's election, the question may have brought reporters' focus to that issue or to that point in time and this may have influenced their responses to the questions that followed. It is possible that interview questions or prompts may have called respondents' attention to things that might not otherwise have emerged for them organically. This could cause certain racial moments to be mentioned

more frequently in interview data. I now turn toward a discussion of the data patterns at each level of influence.

Table 4.1
Hierarchy of Influences by Paradigm

Level of Influence	Traditional	Inter. Race Beat	Journalism 3.0
Individual	Constructionist	Discursive	Constructionist
Routines	Rep lib & Constructionist	Discursive	Constructionist
Media Organization	Constructionist	Constructionist	Constructionist
Social Institution	Rep lib & Constructionist	Discursive	Constructionist
Social Systems	Constructionist	Constructionist	Constructionist

Using the Hierarchy of Influences Model shown in Table 4.1, the data show several patterns. At the Individual level influence, examined in this study as career path and desire to be a journalist, Traditional journalists talked about their paths in Constructionist terms. This was reflected in the journalists' desire to increase representation of people of color both in the newsroom and in the stories they thought weren't being told. Their explanations, however, went beyond representation to view journalism as an agent of change. This was reflected in *The Washington Post's* Wesley Lowery's powerful description of using journalism as a tool to help eradicate racial violence. Traditional journalists' responses did not reflect the Representative Liberal sense of "detachment," which would have been simply to report the news or to inform the audience. Rather, they represented career choices with a Constructionist sense of showing the experiences of the oppressed to shine light on problems and, hopefully, fight racism. Interactive Race Beat journalists were more discursive in their responses and described seeking jobs that allowed them to pursue complex, "messy" issues of race that would start a dialogue among audiences and facilitate a depth of conversation they viewed as lacking. Journalism 3.0 reporters' Constructionist responses were primarily aligned with technology in terms of meeting readers

where they were (on their mobile phones) and in leveraging social media to bring new voices into the conversation and pick up on what the audience was discussing. Both Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 journalists expressed individual values that aligned with their paradigms. Only reporters working in Traditional journalism shifted into another paradigm.

At the level of routines, Traditional journalism was again the only paradigm to move outside of its paradigm, although not completely. Traditional journalists expressed a mix of Representative Liberal and Constructionist values in deciding what to cover, finding sources, and interacting with the audience. Some of this was attributable to Traditional journalists' self-reflexivity about producing news that fell into old paths of event-driven, context-poor coverage of racial issues. The move toward Constructionist values was seen in routines that leveraged social media to find new points of view, looked to African American oriented news media, and sought sources from marginalized communities to show how structural racism was manifest in their lives. Interactive Race Beat reporters were consistent with discursive values in terms of seeking out stories without easy answers and delving deeply into complex racial issues, including a commitment to exploring issues intersectionally. Journalism 3.0 reporters were consistent with Constructionist values of taking a grassroots approach to finding stories by going to the scene and talking to the people in the street and monitoring social media to know where to go.

The level of media organization was one of two levels in which reporters across all three paradigms expressed Constructionist values, though opinions differed about whether news organizations should have reporters devoted to coverage of racial issues. That represented a shift for both Traditional and Interactive Race Beat journalists. This level of influence was among the most difficult to characterize because many of the participants had "on one hand, on the other hand" views rather than firm opinions. Most said that every reporter should understand the

dynamics of race in America and that should be part of every story, but they also realized that might not be a realistic expectation. Reporters across all paradigms expressed concerns that without a reporter dedicated to covering racial issues, those issues might not be covered in newsrooms where most reporters are White and there are few editors who are people of color. Additionally, Traditional and Interactive Race Beat reporters both expressed that deep knowledge of how race functions in the United States is itself a specific expertise. All reporters concluded that while newsroom diversity was important, it was not in and of itself the answer to better racial coverage. This level of influence was the most difficult to interpret because the individual reporters had their own conflicting views about how things should be structured. I categorized these responses as Constructionist because of the strong feelings that the voices of the oppressed should be included in coverage and because, regardless of beat structure, all the reporters said that the entire newsroom staff should be accountable for awareness of diversity issues, rather than just the beat reporters.

At the level of social institutions, which asked reporters to explain what constituted good and bad coverage and whether they had seen changes in the field, Traditional journalists again expressed a mix of Representative Liberal and Constructionist values. All the journalists interviewed said they thought coverage of racial issues had changed for the better, particularly over the past five years, and all identified social media as playing a role in that shift. *The New York Times'* Eligon noted as positive that news coverage was taking a "more critical eye toward race issues" and showing more willingness "to call racism 'racism.'" That, coupled with Traditional journalists' statements about the importance of listening to "everyday people" and putting issues into context to show systemic racism represented a shift away from the Representative Liberal paradigm's elite dominance and detachment and toward Constructionist

values. Interactive Race Beat journalists noted more detail and complexity in contemporary coverage of racial issues, which aligns with discursive values. Journalism 3.0 reporters noted a move away from coverage about people being angry and toward a broader understanding of injustice. This view aligns with Constructionist values. So, at the level of social institution, data again show Traditional journalism retaining some vestiges of the Representative Liberal paradigm and some movement toward Constructionist values while Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 reporters' statements remained within paradigmatic expectations.

Finally, at the level of social systems, journalists in all three paradigms expressed Constructionist values, which represented a shift for both Traditional and Interactive Race Beat journalism. The key question regarding this level of influence was about objectivity, one of the longest and most tightly held journalistic norms and one that is essential to interrogate in terms of coverage of racial issues. Reporters in each paradigm said that not only was objectivity not a goal and not possible, it was dangerous as a norm when writing about racial issues. Objectivity ignores Whiteness as an identity, casts it as normative and positions other racial identities as aberrant. This serves to hide the structures that drive racial oppression and further stereotypes in news coverage. Thus, this most broadly defined level of social systems has a distinct impact on coverage of racial issues. For Traditional journalism, this is a remarkable shift, while Interactive Race Beat journalism describes itself upfront as not objective and Journalism 3.0 embraces an empowerment narrative.

Across levels of influence, we see some important patterns. First, it appears from the interviews that the Traditional paradigm is shifting at every level of influence. This is a significant finding because research has shown how new institutionalism has maintained Traditional journalism routines and values across decades and news organizations (Kim, 2010;

Singer, 2014; Weaver et al., 2007) with technology contributing slightly to some changes in some reporters under certain circumstances (Boczkowski, 2000; Lewis, 2012; Powers, 2012; Usher, 2014). These data show how, in coverage of racial issues, Traditional journalism may be breaking with norms about what makes a story, who gets to tell it, whose perspectives are represented, and how racism is presented not as a question, but as a given structural influence present in everyday life. The influences brought to bear are lived experience, including a more diverse newsroom, new technological tools used to monitor the social media conversation of a community more diverse than most newsrooms, an increase in attention to issues of race at the level of the newsroom, an understanding of "good" coverage as that which underscores structural racism (paired with a recognition that goal is not always accomplished), and a willingness to say that objectivity should be eschewed as an ideal that perpetuates hegemonic racial narratives. Taken together, this shows a significant shift in Traditional coverage of racial issues that goes beyond a "moment" to constitute a "movement" in institutional rules and norms.

It is also significant that reporters in the Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 paradigms, all of whom in this study previously worked in Traditional newsrooms, did not carry Traditional norms and values into the emerging environments. This could indicate that these reporters never ascribed to those Traditional news norms and values in the first place, and it could also indicate that elite-centric routines and professional norms such as objectivity are beginning to be more critically examined. Interactive Race Beat reporters described their routines and values primarily in discursive terms and sometimes in Constructionist terms. Journalism 3.0 reporters were strongly and consistently Constructionist in their statements about their routines and values. That suggests these emerging platforms are not imbued with the long-standing norms of the field, which is particularly compelling because the journalists working in

Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 described themselves as "journalists" without any qualifiers. They did not, for example, call themselves "online only" journalists. They did not say that journalism norms have a place in Traditional journalism. Their statements reflected that *all* journalists should reject objectivity and *all* news coverage should call out racism — and they said they have seen movement in this direction. To assert that Traditional journalism is changing because of the influence of new paradigms is potentially overreaching, but it's fair to note that Traditional journalists are influenced by the new paradigms, particularly because Traditional journalists said they pay attention to and admire coverage in Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 news outlets. Thus, the digital-first news organizations' break with Traditional institutional rules raises compelling questions about how these new paradigms created different cultures. Journalists in both Interactive Race Beat journalism and Journalism 3.0 pointed to newsroom cultures that put a premium on creating and maintaining diverse staffs and allocated resources to covering racial issues.

In summary, the data point to a weakening of new institutionalism in regard to coverage of racial issues. It is fading in Traditional newsrooms and appears not to have been established in the two emerging paradigms. There are several possible explanations for this, but the most compelling appear to be the election of the nation's first African American president drawing news organizations' attention and resources to more deeply covering issues of race, the rise of technology enabling new and powerful voices to gain a larger role in the conversation and allowing journalists to be able to more closely monitor what audiences are saying, and an increase in newsroom diversity, including staffing newsrooms with reporters of color who came into the field in the Obama era and have only covered politics as overlapped with race.

Chapter Five

New Values in Contemporary Coverage of Racial Issues

Journalism plays a key role in shaping public understanding of key issues, particularly when that understanding is based in lived experiences different than one's own. When it comes to understanding of racial issues, people's opinions are strongly informed by journalistic narratives (Gandy, 1998; VanDijk, 1987). In 2014, the civil unrest in Ferguson, Missouri that followed the shooting death of unarmed African American teen Michael Brown at the hands of a White police officer attracted the attention of journalists, who for the first time in decades selected a racial issue as the top story of the year in a poll conducted by the Associated Press. Brown's killing was, sadly, not unique. It was not the first or only of its kind that year — not even in Ferguson. Yet, it appears to have served as a catalyst for journalists to attend to issues of racial violence in new ways. Journalists who cover national issues began to go beyond chronicling disparate incidents in what became a weekly, sometimes daily, litany of names of people of color who died at the hands of law enforcement — Tamir Rice, Anthony McKinney, Eric Harris, Walter Scott, Samuel DuBose, Freddie Gray, Philando Castile, Alton Sterling, Sandra Bland, and others. News outlets began to examine these deaths in ways not observed in previous studies of news coverage of racial issues — recognizing the deaths not as individual incidents but as a national symptom of a systemic problem. We know that racism isn't new, racial violence isn't new, police killing unarmed people of color isn't new, so it is important to examine what made these incidents national news.

This dissertation asked whether news coverage had changed over the past decade, in what contexts, and what may have influenced those changes. To address these questions required looking wider than solely Traditional journalism to include new types of digitally enabled

journalism that were paying attention to coverage of racial issues. Using a combination of (a) narrative analysis of news coverage across three paradigms and more than eight years and (b) interviews with the journalists who reported that coverage provides compelling insights. I examined content in and interviewed reporters working in legacy and emerging news outlets and interpreted those paradigms through the lenses of Democratic Theory, Critical Race Theory, and theories of new institutionalism. This broadened the scope of research applying Democratic Theory to journalism by extending Democratic Theory into a contemporary digital environment and by applying it in the context of racial issues. It adds to the growing body of research evaluating new institutionalism in a digital journalism environment with an examination that delves into the context of coverage of racial issues. The findings help illustrate what facilitated the shift in Traditional journalism, how the two emerging paradigms took different approaches, and what this might mean for the future of reporting on race.

In this final chapter, I bring together the findings from the narrative analysis in Chapter Three and the interviews with reporters in Chapter Four to put the values expressed in the stories journalists tell in conversation with the stated values of the storytellers and examine how they align within each of the three paradigms. I want to first note a couple important elements that bound and limit this particular research. First, there was only one news organization in the Interactive Race Beat at the time the narrative analysis began. I chose to include a paradigm of one because although it was obviously limited, I saw NPR's Code Switch as an approach that might grow within other news organizations. By the time I began my interviews, ESPN had launched The Undefeated. The paradigm remains small, but as this study shows, it represents something quite distinct from the coverage in the other paradigms. Another limitation is that interview participants were primarily male and African American. Two of the participants

identified as African American women and two identified as White men, but seven were African American men. I would have preferred to include more women of color, and to have included Latina/o and Asian American voices. Although I tried diligently to recruit participants with those identities, they did not respond to interview requests. Only one participant declined. In future studies, I will continue to try to access greater diversity among participants. Third, within all of the paradigms, my selection of news organizations is necessarily selective and cannot represent fully the paradigms. That said, the news organizations I examined are important leaders in these paradigms and, therefore, what I found in their coverage is highly meaningful. In sum, I recognize that this research is bracketed in its approach and findings.

Nonetheless, two overarching commonalities emerged that I think are important for scholarship in journalism studies. First, the journalists I interviewed described consuming and respecting their counterparts' work in each paradigm. It was easy for all of them to name coverage they admired in each paradigm. The interviews with the journalists revealed a sense of working together toward a common goal of bringing light to issues of racial injustice rather than competing with one another for "scoops" in a Traditional journalism sense. They talked about spending time together in the field, too. For example, *The Washington Post's* Wesley Lowery talked about seeing Mashable's Colin Daileda in Ferguson and discussing with him the use of the new livecasting technology Periscope. There was a strong sense of collegiality, mutual respect, and learning from one another although journalists working in different paradigms described their news organizations' goals as different from the other paradigms. Second, interviewees across paradigms described "good" or "problematic" coverage of racial issues in nearly identical ways. The "good" ways centered on including voices of lived experience and the "problematic" ways centered on "is X racist?" coverage and over-reliance on elite sourcing. Thus, despite

different paradigmatic values and different influences in each paradigm, I found threaded through all the interviewees responses a sense of mutual respect, working toward a common goal of including voices of lived experience, and acknowledging that racism was a regular part of life and not something aberrant, which is a key tenet of Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1995). These commonalities are good and valuable for the future of journalism, I believe. I now turn toward exploring in detail the findings in the narrative analysis of Chapter Three and the interview data of Chapter Four.

Narrative Analysis in Conversation with Interviews

Overall, the findings showed strong shifts in Traditional journalism, one minor shift in Interactive Race Beat journalism, and consistency in Journalism 3.0. In Traditional journalism, the narrative analysis showed a significant shift in coverage of racial issues over time from Representative Liberal to Constructionist, and interview data mirrored that transition. These findings mark a significant departure from the body of research that has found Traditional journalism entrenched in long-term patterns reliant on elite sourcing, reporting of events of racial violence as episodic and surprising, an avoidance of discussion of racism as systemic, and an adherence to norms of objectivity as a goal (Apollon et al., 2014; Iyengar, 1989; Rhodes, 2007; Shoemaker & Reese, 2013; Stabile, 2006). In the cases of Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0, these findings represent a new area of research and provide a baseline for future analyses of these emerging paradigms in the context of coverage of racial issues.

One of the key findings was that journalists in the Traditional paradigm did not initially produce coverage that aligned with their stated work routines and values. However, this changed over time during and after the civil unrest in Ferguson. Journalists in Traditional and Interactive

Race Beat paradigms said they noticed shifts in coverage of racial issues after Ferguson. In that way, the narrative analysis and the interview data aligned. For example, *The Washington Post's* Lowery was self-reflective in talking about his disappointment with his own early coverage of Ferguson as episodic, dismissive of Ferguson's African American residents' claims of historic and ongoing police unfairness, and not focused on the bigger issues of ongoing discrimination, which appeared in later coverage. Lowery went on to be part of a team that won the 2016 Pulitzer Prize for exploring police killings. My analysis of Traditional journalism coverage showed that sourcing, narrative of the conflict, and level of systemic awareness all shifted to Constructionist values after Ferguson. Sourcing went from elite to popular inclusion, narratives of the conflict went from detachment to empowerment, and awareness of systemic racism went from the level of open question to showing how it manifests.

In interviews with journalists in the Traditional paradigm, all of whom covered Ferguson, they expressed a mix of Representative Liberal and Constructionist values in their routines and ideals. For example, all interviewees expressed the importance of having "everyday people" in their coverage and all decried the practice of "parachute journalism" in which journalists unfamiliar with a place arrive from out of town and try to characterize that place; but initial Traditional coverage of the post-racial question, the Black Lives Matter Movement, and Ferguson did not portray these articulated values. Only after Ferguson did the news coverage and the interview responses both reflect Constructionist values of privileging the voices of the oppressed and showing racism as systemic rather than surprising. The *Post's* Lowery expressed his own deep regrets that he had not listened to the stories he was hearing on the streets in Ferguson and had not given credence to protesters' accounts of how the Ferguson police were targeting African American drivers and putting them in jail when they couldn't pay fines. Thus,

Traditional coverage during the later weeks of the unrest in Ferguson and thereafter showed a strong and sustained move from Representative Liberal to mostly Constructionist. Some vestiges of Representative Liberal values remained in regard to how reporters described their daily routines and what constituted good and bad coverage. Those were seen in Traditional reporters highlighting government accountability as part of their routines in deciding what was a story and in them pointing to coverage that was data rich rather than "emotional," which is a strongly Representative Liberal value in news coverage (Ferree, et al., 2002). They talked about data as a form of proof of the existence of racism, which is an understanding with Representative Liberal underpinnings because "proof" of racism ties to a kind of detachment in which the reporter is the expert source. In the Traditional paradigm, shifts were pronounced and tied to later coverage of Ferguson.

The narrative analysis of Interactive Race Beat coverage stayed mostly within the Discursive paradigm. The exception was when Code Switch moved from a Discursive sourcing pattern of popular inclusion in coverage of Ferguson to a Constructionist value of privileging the voices of the oppressed. In the interviews, reporters expressed Constructionist rather than Discursive values in terms of social systems. This was seen in Interactive Race Beat reporters decrying the journalistic goal of objectivity as reinforcing Whiteness as normative and failing to acknowledge Whiteness as an identity. In this paradigm, shifts were negligible. Interactive Race Beat coverage primarily aligned with Discursive values of keeping the conversation going and progressively adding in new elements to complicate the answers. It's important to note that my Interactive Race Beat analysis began in 2013, while this study examined Traditional coverage dating to 2007. Nonetheless, Traditional journalism shifted during that four-year window while Interactive Race Beat journalism stayed mostly the same.

In Journalism 3.0, the narrative analysis and interviews with reporters found the paradigm consistent across all facets. The coverage matched the way the journalists talked about their routines and values in Constructionist terms. At the fore was an understanding of systemic racism portrayed through the narratives of those with lived experience, which is a primary value of the Constructionist paradigm. This was the only paradigm in which there were no shifts or inconsistent alignments. However, this Constructionist paradigm is also relatively new, meaning there have not been decades' worth of research examining coverage as there have been in the Traditional paradigm. Yet, this born-digital paradigm was established with a particular set of values and has, in the context of coverage of racial issues, thus far adhered to them.

Potential Factors Affecting Shifts and Consistencies

These shifts and consistencies raise questions about why Traditional journalism changed, how Interactive Race Beat stayed mostly Discursive, and why Journalism 3.0 remained consistently Constructionist. This study identified several factors that may have influenced the patterns, and I wish to discuss these in this section: increased newsroom diversity, technology especially Smartphones and Twitter, the election of the nation's first African American president, the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement, and finally, the civil unrest in Ferguson for more than a year after the killing of Michael Brown. I turn now to my interpretation of to what degree these factors influenced change or sameness.

Newsroom Diversity

To what extent newsroom diversity played a role in the shift in Traditional journalism's shift from Representative Liberal to Constructionist values is a complex matter. To evaluate this influence, I examined the narrative analysis data, compared it to historical patterns found in

previous studies, and considered the interview answers from the participants, then concluded that increased diversity in the newsroom played a role in the shift, but may not have played a role without the influence of other factors. News organizations may have made progress toward the goal of their staffs mirroring the racial and ethnic demographic of the communities they serve, but newspaper newsroom diversity peaked in 2006 (ASNE, 2015, July 28). Even during the time newsroom diversity was growing, coverage of racial issues was shown to reproduce problematic patterns, reinforce stereotypes, and remain largely systemically unaware (Apollon et al., 2014; Heider, 2000; Hunt, 1997; Lind, 2009; Santa Ana, 2002). Despite the growth in newsroom diversity, journalists in the annual Associated Press poll year after year did not vote police killings of African Americans among their top 10 most important stories until after Ferguson. For example, the 2009 killing of 22-year-old Oscar Grant, an African American resident of Hayward, California, by a White Bay Area Rapid Transit officer in Oakland, was the subject of the 2013 biographical drama "Fruitvale Station," which won the Grand Jury prize and Audience Award at the 2013 Sundance Film Festival and Best First Film at the 2013 Cannes Film Festival. Grant was shot in the back as he lay handcuffed on the floor of a subway car. The story was not widely covered and did not make the AP's top 10. But in 2014, 2015, and 2016 racial violence made journalists' top 10 list for stories of the year. In that time, newsroom diversity rates declined (ASNE, 2015, July 28). In the two years the American Society of Newspaper Editors has been taking a census of "minorities" in newsroom leadership roles, the percentage of people of color in newsroom management roles dropped to 12 percent in 2015, which is 3 percent lower than it was in 2014 (ASNE, 2015, July 28). Thus, both reporters and newsroom managers who are people of color have lost numbers and influence in newsrooms, yet there were shifts in in terms of increased attention to racial violence and in terms of how racial issues were covered. As

noted by The Undefeated's Soraya McDonald, hiring reporters who are people of color is not enough to change newsroom culture. And as noted by Code Switch's Gene Demby, people of color shouldn't be pigeonholed to cover issues of race because, for some, "They want to write about everything...They want to be brown people who talk about boring Senate judiciary hearings." Thus, newsroom diversity plays an important role in bringing lived experience into the newsroom and providing non-hegemonic perspectives, but newsroom diversity alone cannot account for the shifts in Traditional journalism.

Interactive Race Beat journalism reflects newsrooms staffed entirely or almost entirely by reporters and editors who are people of color. For the most part, these journalists have moved out of Traditional newsrooms. In the case of the two reporters interviewed in this analysis, both identified a lack of newsroom diversity as a reason for their moves to this paradigm. Both focused on intersectionality and the multi-faceted identities of the people with whom they worked as important to providing depth, breadth, and nuance in their coverage. In this paradigm, newsroom diversity was seemingly a strong factor in coverage that was mostly consistently Discursive. Interactive Race Beat was the only paradigm to focus on intersectionality both in coverage and in interviews and to tie this understanding directly to the newsroom staff. Therefore, newsroom diversity may have contributed to the consistency, or sameness in Interactive Race Beat's Discursive commitment to exploring complex questions.

Newsroom diversity may also be important to explaining the sameness of Journalism 3.0. Journalism 3.0 relies on a heavily young, heavily mobile audience, which aligns with a more diverse demographic as younger people of color are the heaviest users of mobile technology and are increasingly using their phones to access civic affairs news (Media Insights Project, 2015; Pew, 2014). In 2014, BuzzFeed Editor-in-Chief Ben Smith, who is a White man, posted a

"manifesto" on the website that stated, "Diversity in BuzzFeed's editorial operation isn't a side project or a special initiative. It's core to how we operate and how we hire" (Smith, 2014, October 1). BuzzFeed's report on editorial staff diversity shows it to be more than twice as racially and ethnically diverse as Traditional newsrooms, with 33% of its staff identifying as people of color. The value of diversity was specifically noted by the only two White respondents in this study, both of whom worked in Journalism 3.0. Colin Daileda of Mashable and Evan McMorris-Santoro, formerly of BuzzFeed, both regularly cited the importance of diversity on their staffs as essential to covering stories of lived experiences. Both also noted vetting story ideas with colleagues who were people of color. Thus, newsroom diversity seems to plausibly be a strong contributing factor to Journalism 3.0's consistently Constructionist coverage and to its journalists' interview responses.

Technology

This study also considered technology, especially Smartphones and Twitter, as a potential factor influencing the sameness or change in paradigmatic consistency. Traditional journalism has been shown to be at least partially reluctant to interact with the audience via technology (Deuze, 2005; Lewis, 2012; Singer, 2014). In the two emerging paradigms, technology is necessary to their existence as digital-only news, but how they interact with the audience via technology is not a given. Whether they would carry Traditional values into new paradigms was an important question.

In Traditional journalism, again as with newsroom diversity, technology considered singularly is not enough to explain the shift within this paradigm. It's important to avoid technological determinism; technology is not a force that creates change in isolation. Technology may enable change depending upon how the users foreground their values on the technology. In

this case, the users are both the journalists and audiences. One important finding in this study was that journalists who write about racial issues are more active users of technology than has been found in studies of journalists generally (Deuze, 2005; Lewis, 2012; Singer, 2014; Usher, 2014). Traditional journalists indicated that they use social media, but do so primarily to monitor the work of other journalists, monitor the most popular conversations on Twitter, and to distribute their own work. Their work shows that they do not, for example, quote sources from Twitter or curate Twitter content for incorporation into their articles as Journalism 3.0 journalists often do. The *Times'* John Eligon said his editor encourages him to use Twitter to promote his own expertise in covering racial issues, which is a strongly Representative Liberal value. Eligon noted that he sees journalists using social media "to really see more upfront what's going on in terms of some of the injustices" and to pay attention to what goes viral. Twitter has a higher percentage of users who are people of color than the percentages of people of color in the U.S. population. Thus, the influence of technology was present, but only mildly significant influencing the shift in Traditional journalism.

In Interactive Race Beat journalism coverage, technology was a factor influencing consistency. Code Switch seeks to carry on a conversation with its audiences about diversity issues. When that conversation moved off its NPR.com website because NPR shut down online comments on its website, the conversation continued and, according to Demby, flourished more robustly on Twitter because Twitter was where Code Switch's audience was. Code Switch reporters use social media to monitor the larger conversations taking place about racial issues, including those outside of Traditional journalism. They then leverage social media to begin a dialogue about those issues by digging deeply into their complexity rather than providing daily chronicling of ongoing events. Again, Interactive Race Beat coverage is not seeking so much to

push back against Traditional coverage as it is to expand its parameters to include more context and viewpoints. Technology plays a strong role in maintaining that Discursive element.

Technology in Journalism 3.0 serves as a key influence of maintaining its Constructionist approach. Reporters are leveraging technology to know what the conversations are, to find the people who are having them, to curate social media posts of the voices of the oppressed, and also to do something very untechnological — to go there and talk to people in person. Journalism 3.0 journalists use technology but also go to the scene and interview everyday people who are in the places where the news is happening. This is a more grassroots approach than was seen in the other two paradigms. Thus, technology is a strong influence in consistently keeping Journalism 3.0 in the Constructionist paradigm both because journalists are leveraging and because they are not relying on it alone, but using it to find the people on the street.

President Obama

The election of the nation's first African American president is best addressed in the Traditional paradigm because the Interactive Race Beat paradigm did not exist until several years into Obama's presidency and Journalism 3.0 was not yet covering racial issues when Obama ran. That said, there are insights across all three paradigms about the post-racial question that emerged with Obama's candidacy.

In Traditional journalism, Obama's election appears to have been a strong influence on how journalists cover race, but in a way I had not considered: generationally. The journalists I interviewed were mostly in their 20s and 30s, meaning they entered the field in an Obama era. In that sense, politics and race were always co-present. Covering politics meant writing about race. In that way, early coverage was strongly within the Representative Liberal paradigm which has been shown to cover issues that affect the oppressed only when they are also in the interest of the

elites (Bennett, Pickard, Iozzi, Schroeder, Lagos, & Caswell, 2004). Early coverage of Obama labeled him unquestioningly as "post-racial," but then began debating whether the nation was, in fact, post-racial, before making a sharp Constructionist turn away from the question to decide that was not the case and probably never would be. As the civil unrest in Ferguson flared and sustained, the question all but disappeared from the Traditional news narrative. In this way, Obama's election brought racial issues to the fore, at first in a narrative that asked if the nation was now colorblind, but later in a way that showed how much racism deserved renewed critical scrutiny. It illustrated a shift from Representative Liberal to Constructionist. Thus, the post-racial question that emerged with Obama's candidacy and election represented a strong influence of change in Traditional journalism.

Interactive Race Beat journalism's Code Switch seems to have emerged almost in response to the post-racial question. Code Switch's "about us" section begins, "Remember when folks used to talk about being 'post-racial?' Well, we're definitely not that." The project was funded by a Knight Foundation grant in response for more attention by news media to racial issues. Three years later, ESPN launched The Undefeated to address what it saw as missing from Traditional coverage. Thus, the post-racial question was a factor underpinning not only Interactive Race Beat coverage, but the existence of the paradigm itself. Without the post-racial question, or the attention brought to issues of race after Obama was elected, it is possible that such attention to racial issues might not have risen to the level it did. It would seem, at least in the case of Code Switch, that the existence of the question showed a need for more thoughtful and deep news coverage of racial issues. The subsequent development of ESPN's The Undefeated is not enough evidence to constitute a trend, but it does show growth and interest in this paradigm.

Journalism 3.0 didn't pay much time or attention to the post-racial question. That is likely partially because BuzzFeed was still focused on cat videos and Mashable was covering only high tech issues at the time Obama was first elected. However, Journalism 3.0 outlets never took up the post-racial question, even as Traditional outlets were calling it to the fore and explaining how the U.S. had "not yet" achieved post-racialism. That Journalism 3.0 never took up the issue is an indication that the question was considered not worthy of addressing. Thus, the influence of the post-racial question on Journalism 3.0 could be considered in two ways: it had minimal influence because it wasn't covered, or it had strong influence because Journalism 3.0 refused to pick up on a narrative so prevalent in Traditional journalism. My interpretation bends toward the latter with Journalism 3.0 showing editorial independence in ignoring the post-racial question, thus maintaining its Constructionist values.

The Black Lives Matter Movement

The influence of the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement is a complex one because it was always covered in the context of other issues, from Ferguson to the presidential election — though not, notably, in the context of the killing of Trayvon Martin, which was the catalyst for the movement's formation. Initially, the movement received little attention in any paradigm. After Ferguson, however, it received a substantial amount of coverage, mostly in the Journalism 3.0 paradigm.

The Black Lives Matter Movement didn't make Traditional news headlines until the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, with most Traditional coverage misattributing the birth of the movement to a reaction to Brown's death, rather than to Martin's. Traditional journalism initially portrayed the movement as rowdy, ineffectual, disorganized, and divisive in comparison with the mission of the more well-established NAACP. The movement gained respect in

Traditional coverage when it began to interact with more official systems, such as the presidential primary. As with the post-racial question, this is in line with the Representative Liberal paradigm (Bennett et al., 2004). The *Post's* Lowery attributed this to Traditional journalism values of "order" and said Traditional journalists "like covering people who have spokespeople" and hierarchy. When the movement was just "people in the streets yelling things," it was not legitimized in Traditional coverage. Only after it began intersecting with institutions journalists knew well, like campaigns, did it receive serious coverage. Lowery's sentiments aligned with the findings in my narrative analysis. Thus, it appears that the Black Lives Matter Movement was only influential in the context of Ferguson and the presidential election. So, although sourcing, narratives, and systemic awareness of racism in Black Lives Matter coverage all shifted from Representative Liberal to Constructionist, this occurred largely in terms of other newsworthy events. In that way, the Black Lives Matter Movement seems to have contributed to a shift in Traditional journalism, but one that was only influential in the context of other events.

In the Interactive Race Beat paradigm, the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement presented an ideal opportunity for the kind of multi-faceted dialog valued in the Discursive paradigm. Interactive Race Beat coverage was the only paradigm to focus on the movement itself and the only one to examine its intersectional roots and goals. A decentered movement with a complex mission was difficult for Traditional journalists to write about, but fit well with the Discursive paradigm's desire to explore issues that are non-binary. Code Switch covered the movement in a way that went beyond Traditional coverage of competition among Civil Rights groups, questions of whether the movement was effective, questioning what the movement's next steps might be, or covering events. Code Switch covered the movement more from a historical and philosophical perspective by focusing on its roots and also how it was different

from previous Civil Rights movements in that it was intersectional and decentered. Interactive Race Beat coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement did not seek to debate whether it was effective, focus on arguments over identity politics, or question the movement's lack of hierarchy. Instead, it focused on the fact the movement existed — that there was a need for a decentered, intersectional, reinvigorated Civil Rights movement that was more inclusive, more grassroots, and more radical. Interactive Race Beat coverage focused on the concerns of the movement itself, thus showing how racial oppression has continued to be a problem and how the struggle for Civil Rights has grown to encompass issues of gender, sexuality, class, and citizenship. In this coverage, the onus was not on the movement to make change, but to bring awareness of and debate about these issues. Thus, the Black Lives Matter Movement influenced paradigmatic consistency in the Interactive Race Beat paradigm.

Journalism 3.0 coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement was the most substantive. The *Post's* Lowery said he admired BuzzFeed's Sands' coverage of the movement and felt Sands covered it like a political story or a political campaign, in other words with a sense of legitimacy, rather than as a series of clashes of protestors. My narrative analysis and interviews both showed that reporters in Journalism 3.0 valued and included "everyday" people at the grassroots, even curating rather than filtering and paraphrasing protestors' social media posts. Unlike Traditional coverage, which questioned the legitimacy and efficacy of the movement, and Interactive Race Beat, which focused on the broadness and inclusiveness of the movement, Journalism 3.0 coverage focused on the power of the movement as a disruptive force, particularly in political contexts. In that way, it was the opposite of early Traditional coverage. Journalism 3.0 coverage of the movement consistently showed it as an actor on a presidential political stage while also focusing on how the movement's power came from grassroots support generated by the passion

and sheer number of those involved. In this way, it was legitimated by its size and rapid growth and shown as empowering the disenfranchised to earn the attention of presidential candidates and other powerful elites. Coverage of the Black Lives Matter Movement aligned with Constructionist values in Journalism 3.0 throughout the study period, thus influencing sameness in this paradigm.

Ferguson

Finally, I turn to the influence of the coverage of Ferguson, which is the site of confluence of all the factors that I considered. It brings together the largest civil unrest to be covered using new technologies that allowed everyday people with Smartphones (particularly a younger, more racially diverse audience more attuned to news) to broadcast live feeds on Twitter, participate in hashtag activism that drew links to events or problematic coverage. The unrest in Ferguson happened during an Obama presidency, after the creation of the Black Lives Matter Movement, took place after the creation of new journalism paradigms devoted to national coverage of racial issues, and was reported on by more diverse newsroom staffs than seen in previous decades. Ferguson was the ideal site of investigation to examine what influenced reporting about racial issues across all three paradigms. Overall, it mapped on to a significant shift in Traditional journalism, a slight shift in Interactive Race Beat journalism, and strong consistency in Journalism 3.0.

Both the narrative analysis and the interview responses of the journalists show that something changed in Traditional journalism after the people of Ferguson took to the streets, and that this change in coverage remained long after protesters and police tanks disappeared. Although the initial Traditional coverage of Ferguson showed Representative Liberal values, that quickly changed to show Constructionist values. In terms of work routines, Traditional

journalists described an initial mix of Representative Liberal and Constructionist values. The *Post's* Lowery described his regret at initially not listening or giving credence to the accounts of everyday protesters complaining about racial profiling, something which he later corrected. Other Traditional reporters described relying on their own lived experiences to help their reporting. The *Post's* Krissah Thompson first contacted the African American-oriented newspaper in St. Louis to learn the lay of the land because she had worked for an African American-oriented newspaper in her hometown of Houston and knew where to find that voice. Eligon wrote about stories of motorists who couldn't pay traffic fines being thrown in jail in part because he had a family member with a similar experience. Traditional reporters relied on technology to find the voices of the people to talk to, to know where to go to interview "everyday" people. And while they began covering Ferguson like an aberration, a place where racism had inexplicably flared, they switched to note its systemic foundations and how those were present in communities across the country. Journalism about Ferguson brought together all aspects of influence not only to tell this story, but to tell the larger stories that followed not just for months, but for more than a year afterward. Thus, Ferguson strongly contributed to shifts in coverage in the Traditional paradigm.

Interactive Race Beat coverage showed a slight shift in coverage of Ferguson in that it privileged the voices of the oppressed in ways it did not across the other events, but the shift was not huge. In coverage of Ferguson, Interactive Race Beat journalists used technology to curate social media responses of protesters. They also wrote a considerable amount of first-person coverage in which they discussed their experiences as people of color covering issues of race. For the most part, however, Ferguson was a piece of an ongoing Discursive conversation about racial issues. It was a flash point, but other than in terms of sourcing, did not substantively

influence Interactive Race Beat coverage. This sameness is still a significant finding because it shows the strength of paradigmatic values and identity within the Interactive Race Beat paradigm.

Journalism 3.0 remained strictly Constructionist in response to Ferguson. This is noteworthy, again, because although the reporters working in this paradigm largely come from Traditional newsrooms, they did not bring those Representative Liberal values into the Constructionist paradigm. Again, paradigmatic identity was strong. Because there has not been scholarly focus on Journalism 3.0 coverage of racial issues, this study presents an important benchmark for future research to see whether Journalism 3.0 values patterns remain consistent.

Moment or Movement

I believe that this research captures a movement, not a moment, in Traditional journalism. As indicated by the 2014 deaths of unarmed African Americans at the hands of police officers being named as the top story of the year, Traditional journalists began attending to coverage of racial issues in a new way. This study concludes that the shift in coverage after Ferguson represents a new trajectory for Traditional news coverage of racial issues. Both narrative analysis and interviews with journalists show how news coverage after Ferguson was different in terms of what was produced and how Traditional journalists thought about their coverage. That said, the shift was a movement that built slowly over time, beginning with the election of Barack Obama, enabled by Smart Phones and Twitter, moved only minimally by gains in newsroom diversity that later receded, aided somewhat by the voice — both online and in the streets — of the Black Lives Matter Movement. When taken together, this convergence of influences facilitated a movement in journalism about race.

The study concludes that new paradigms such as Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0 did not "push" Traditional journalism to be different, nor was Traditional journalism responding to the emerging paradigms. Rather, it was responding to changing demographics, technology, and the political landscape. To return to Columbia University political science professor Fredrick Harris' *Washington Post* column, which posed the question that formed the title of this dissertation, whether Ferguson would be a "moment or a movement": Ferguson crystallized a movement in journalism. The movement was characterized not only by changes in Traditional news coverage, but also by changes in the way reporters viewed and conducted their work to better reflect the lived experiences of people experiencing oppression and to contextualize those experiences into a larger narrative of widespread racism. In doing this, Traditional journalism shifted from Representative Liberal to Constructionist values. Journalists shifted away from reliance on elite voices, detachment, and questioning of "Was X racist?" to privileging the voices of the oppressed, an empowerment narrative, and a greater degree of systemic awareness. But why toward Constructionist rather than Discursive? I hypothesize that this is because Traditional journalism is still largely about telling a story rather than beginning a discussion. In this case, the sourcing shifted from elites talking about people to "everyday" people talking about their own experiences. The narrative is the most important in the Constructionist paradigm, which values those everyday voices (Ferree et al., 2002). People who live the issue and people who study the issue offer different types of expertise, but both largely speak to specific issues rather than opening theoretical debates.

Ferguson also represented a movement in terms of a widening news media ecology that now includes Interactive Race Beat and Journalism 3.0. Because Journalism 3.0 has a larger, younger, and growing audience share, I posit that the public is embracing this new type of

Constructionist coverage of racial issues and will continue to do so. In consuming this type of coverage underpinned with Constructionist values, audiences may come to demand those values in Traditional journalism. That demand would likely take the form of a younger audience migrating away from Traditional journalism if it continues to embrace Representative Liberal values and increasingly toward new paradigms. News organizations such as BuzzFeed may still be struggling to be seen by some as serious, but are becoming increasingly legitimized because of the quality of their coverage, the rate of their growth, and because they have captured the elusive and desirable 18-to-25-year-old demographic — and not just with cat videos, but with hard news coverage constructed and delivered in new ways. Interactive Race Beat journalism has a less certain future, but at least for the time being has contributed the conversation by starting conversations. It has less in common with the other two paradigms and only time will tell if this new kind of journalism about race will continue to grow or will be viewed more as niche-oriented. One advantage for news organizations such as Code Switch and The Undefeated is that they are housed within Traditional outlets and thus have access to the larger NPR and ESPN audiences that trend older and Whiter than Journalism 3.0 audiences. This means they are less likely to be seen as verticals produced for niche audiences and more likely to be seen as part of the overall news priorities of their parent organizations. Given this new ecology of reporting about race and the distinct routines, values, and ideals of those who produce it, paired with the increased newsroom diversity and importance of diversity in the growing Journalism 3.0 paradigm, the ability of the audience to leverage social media to bring attention to particular issues, and the growing diversity of the younger, tech-savvy audience and its increased attention to civic issues, I predict that coverage of racial issues will continue to be a salient topic for journalists and that this trend toward Constructionist values will continue.

Critical Race Theory tells us that showing the lived experiences of people who experience oppression has the power to rupture stereotypes (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001) and thus push narratives in new directions. One of the tenets added in 2014 to the Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics seems to have been a harbinger of the change. SPJ called on journalists to "Boldly tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience. Seek sources whose voices we seldom hear." In the wake of Ferguson, there has been a shift in Traditional journalism to honor that tenet. In the creation of Interactive Race Beat coverage, there are daily examples of that type of coverage. And in the mission of Journalism 3.0 coverage, issues of diversity have been declared and positioned at the forefront. Because news narratives play a strong role in how audiences understand people whose lived experiences are different from their own, these values shifts seen in Traditional coverage and the values present in emerging paradigms have the potential to influence larger societal narratives about racial issues. Coverage that questions or critiques stereotypes rather than repeating them informs audiences' understanding, questioning, and conversations. Coverage that broadens the conversation and privileges the voices of the oppressed empowers those who are oppressed and it shows new perspectives to those who don't experience that kind of oppression. As this understanding becomes more widespread, it has the potential to affect policy decisions, and to weaken systems and institutions that have for decades served to reinforce institutionalized racism.

That leaves, then, the question of new institutionalism. Theories of new institutionalism deal with the development and maintenance over time of organizational culture and unofficial rules. For decades, they have been shown to play a role in facilitating problematic coverage of racial issues in Traditional journalism. This study shows something quite different. Journalists, both in coverage and in work routines and values broke away from old rules in the context of

covering racial issues. Journalists working in the new paradigms are establishing what appear to be consistent new rules, which raises the question of whether this is itself is a form of institutionalism. However, in all cases, these new cultures are critical, self-aware, explicit, questioning and less hierarchical than institutionalist structures. Therefore, I conclude that the confluence of technology and increased newsroom diversity has ruptured new institutionalism in Traditional journalism coverage of racial issues and what has taken its place is more democratic, more representational, and more Constructionist that anything we have ever seen. Because technology can have a democratizing influence, because that technology is widely available, because the nation is growing more racially diverse and newsrooms, some more than others, are becoming increasingly diverse, this movement will continue.

Ideas for Future Research

Two unexpected findings in this research, and things not yet addressed significantly — if at all — in the contemporary body of journalism studies research offer opportunities for future study building on this work. The first is the self-reflexivity in Traditional journalism about racial issues, which was seen both in analyzed news content and in the interviews. This type of behind-the-curtain look is new in a field that values expertise and has been reluctant to let the audience in, much less behind the scenes. Exploring this phenomenon from a newsroom sociology standpoint and comparing that to what, if anything, news organizations publish about these issues, could show keen insights into what appears to be a change in Traditional journalism norms. It would also be important to examine whether technology enabled audience influence to spur these conversations — much in the way that was seen in #IfTheyGunnedMeDown. How do Traditional news organizations respond to social media responses such as Twitter hashtags that

call their coverage to account? Do they address it in coverage? Do they discuss it in the newsroom? Do they ignore it? This type of hashtag activism has given audiences a new power and a new voice that is instant, public, and pushes beyond news organizations' gatekeeping abilities. Examining Traditional journalism's response through a lens of new institutionalism could provide important insights into how Traditional journalism is responding in a digital environment in which users have their own platforms that are unfiltered and outside the control of the newsroom.

A second area for future research suggested by this dissertation is the strong level of rejection of the long-journalism norm of objectivity among interviewees. One compelling question here is whether that rejection of objectivity is unique to reporters who cover racial issues or whether it can be found throughout the newsroom. Interviews with journalists working in a variety of beats could inform this answer. In examining reporters who cover racial issues, "objectivity" is tied directly to identity and lived experience. But what about with other beats such as education, for example, where race is an important aspect, but not the central topic. In education, institutional racism is also a serious problem, but whether and how reporters who cover education issues address those factors and how they view objectivity would provide insights into how objectivity and identity interact in broader contexts. The generational aspect is also important to consider. The journalists I interviewed were almost all younger than 30, so it's possible there has been a shift in the newsroom culture that mirrors the shift in the Society of Professional Journalists Code of Ethics to acknowledge news as socially constructed. Another important aspect to consider is the role of journalism education in reinforcing this norm, something also tied to generational issues based on when journalists were introduced to the concept. Although the word "objectivity" has disappeared from the Society of Professional

Journalists Code of Ethics, objectivity is still highlighted as a key journalistic value in most undergraduate journalism textbooks. Examining the role of undergraduate journalism educators and how they teach paired with the treatment of objectivity in the current textbooks they use would inform future journalists' first exposure to this concept. There is a reason that objectivity has been cemented in newsroom culture for decades — and there is a reason this study found fissures in that foundation. Further research into this key question would provide important insights into why, how, and to what extent the field is experiencing this fundamental shift.

Journalism as a field is in transition. New paradigms are emerging and beliefs and practices that have been entrenched for decades are evolving into new ways of understanding and doing. How these changes might continue to manifest — or ways in which things might nonetheless stay the same — are crucial to examine. Journalism serves a larger cultural role than simply documenting daily events. It's about creating deeper understanding around the most important issues of the day and facilitating public understanding about what is at stake. In that way, journalism is essential to a healthy democracy. News coverage feeds conversations at dinner tables and in the halls of power. The shifts in journalism suggested in this research may indicate societal changes or the emergence of new belief systems. Journalism serves to reflect what is going on in society, but society also influences journalism. This iterative loop is even more complicated with the advent of social media. From the level of the individual to the level of social systems, how journalists understand their roles, how their beliefs are situated within the field, how they interact with or resist interaction with their audiences, the pressures within their news organizations, and the type of coverage that results from all of that contributes to wider discourses that have the power to influence change or maintenance of the status quo. Decades of previous studies have overwhelmingly found that news coverage has worked to preserve the

status quo. This study found something different, which in and of itself merits further investigation in other contexts. Deeper examination into reporters' values and the coverage they produce moves us toward a better understanding of how the field is transitioning, what is influencing those shifts, and how that might shape larger public discourse.

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

Semi-structured interview instrument

INTRO: THANK YOU FOR TAKING THE TIME TO TALK WITH ME. I HAVE SPENT SEVERAL MONTHS READING NEWS ARTICLES ABOUT RACIAL ISSUES AND AM INTERESTED IN LEARNING MORE FROM JOURNALISTS WHO COVER RACIAL ISSUES.

BROADLY, I'M INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT YOUR DAILY ROUTINES, HOW YOU WORK ON STORIES, WHAT TYPES OF COVERAGE OF RACIAL ISSUES YOU ADMIRE, AND WHAT TYPES YOU DON'T ADMIRE, AND FINALLY I WOULD LIKE TO ASK SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR IMPRESSIONS OF THE FIELD OF JOURNALISM. I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN WITH SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW YOU GOT WHERE YOU ARE…

Biographical questions

Please tell me about your career path as a journalist and how you arrived at your current job.

[Prompt if needed: were you a journalism major? What was your first journalism job?]

Follow-up: How is writing for X different than working at Y (traditional paradigm)?

Routines

In a typical day, how do you decide what to cover?

[Prompt if needed: For example, I saw your story on X. Where did you get that story idea, how did you pitch it to your editors, know which sources to use?]

Sub question: When you are working on a story, I'm curious whether you follow other news organizations coverage of that story?

Can you take me through the process of covering a story? How do you decide if it's worth pursuing? Once you decide to pursue a story, what do you do next?

Sub question: Have you ever had the experience of discovering a new story angle or source via social media? (If so, please describe what happened.)

Sub question: To what extent do you interact with the audience (via social media, email, phone)?

Sub question: Does social media have a role in how you work?

When you have covered an ongoing story, something you had written about over a period of time, how did you know when you were done? What led you to stop?

[Prompt if needed: For example, I've read your Ferguson coverage and it was striking to me how much attention the Ferguson City Council election continued to receive in national news. Why do you think that was?]

Coverage of racial issues

Broadly speaking, what is your opinion of coverage of racial issues in U.S. journalism today?

Sub question: Can you recall examples of coverage of racial issues you felt were particularly strong?

Sub question: What about your own coverage? Do you have a story you covered in which you were especially proud of your work?

Sub question: Can you point to coverage you have seen, or perhaps written yourself, that you think is problematic?

Over time, do you think there have been changes to how reporters are covering racial issues? [Be sure to ask specifically about the time scale they are considering.]

Sub question: Have you changed anything about how you cover racial issues?

[Prompt if necessary: For example, have you changed anything about how you find sources or the amount of background you provide? My analysis suggests that there was a shift over time in how racial issues have been covered and I'm wondering what you think might account for that?]

How did you get involved in covering Ferguson?

The killing of Michael Brown was not the first or only such case of a White officer killing an unarmed African American person in 2014. In your opinion, why did it become a major story?

To what degree, if any, do you feel your coverage is responsible for calling out or explaining racial stereotypes?

In my analysis one concept has come up is whether the U.S. became post-racial after Obama's election. There seems to be agreement on the answer to that question, but there are competing definitions of what being post racial means. Can you tell me what this means to you?

I WOULD NOW LIKE TO TURN TO SOME BROADER QUESTIONS ABOUT JOURNALISM VALUES AND YOUR VALUES AS A JOURNALIST

Values and Ideology questions

In your opinion, should news outlets have reporters whose beats are dedicated to covering racial issues?

When you read other outlets' coverage of racial issues, what do you notice that is similar or different from your coverage?

Follow-up: To what do you attribute that difference/similarity?

Follow-up: Do you read NPR's Code Switch blog? If so, what is your opinion of that type of coverage of race?

Follow-up: Do you read BuzzFeed or Mashable? If so, what is your opinion of how racial issues are covered in those outlets? If not, is there a reason you do not read them?

When you cover a story about a racial issue, what is the goal of your coverage?

What is your view of the role of objectivity in journalism?

Sub question: **Interactive Race Beat only** in reading Code Switch, I have noticed that sometimes journalists insert their own voices and sometimes they do not. How do you decide when and whether to insert your own voice or personal experiences in your writing about racial issues?

Finally, why did you want to become a journalist?

THANK YOU SO MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND FOR SHARING INFORMATION WITH ME. AFTER MY INTERVIEWS HAVE BEEN TRANSCRIBED AND I HAVE ANALYZED THEM, I WOULD LIKE TO CONTACT YOU AGAIN TO DISCUSS MY FINDINGS WITH YOU AND ENSURE I HAVE ACCURATELY PORTRAYED YOUR THOUGHTS.