

Thinking about Citizen Journalism: Perspectives on Participatory News Production at Community Newspapers

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*Paper presented at the International Symposium on Online Journalism
Austin, Texas • April 18, 2009*

Abstract

This study seeks to understand how community newspaper editors negotiate the professional challenges posed by citizen journalism—a phenomenon that, even in the abstract, would appear to undermine their gatekeeping control over content. Through interviews with 29 small-newspaper editors in Texas, we find that some editors either favor or disfavor the use of citizen journalism primarily on *philosophical* grounds, while others favor or disfavor its use mainly on *practical* grounds. This paper presents a mapping of these philosophical vs. practical concerns as a model for visualizing the conflicting impulses at the heart of a larger professional debate over the place and purpose of user-generated content. Moreover, these findings are viewed in light of gatekeeping, which, we argue, offers a welcome point of entry for the study of participatory media production as it evolves at news organizations large and small alike.

Keywords: citizen journalism, community newspapers, gatekeeping, professionalism, user-generated content

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Acknowledgements:

The authors wish to thank graduate student Harsh Kalan and undergraduate students Kaitlin Lawrence, Jordan Smothermon, and Thomas Upchurch for their assistance in interviewing newspaper editors for this study.

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Perspectives on Participatory News Production at Community Newspapers

The “digitization” of the print newspaper (Boczkowski, 2004) has been an ongoing process now for well more than a decade. Yet, for the U.S. newspaper industry in recent years, this extension of news production from print to online has taken on fresh urgency amid accelerating losses in readership and revenue in the core print product. As publishers and editors increasingly shift their operational focus to the Web (for recent perspectives, see Singer, 2008, and Thurman and Lupton, 2008), the transition is shaking up newspapers’ paper-first paradigm, not only altering the life cycle of news production, but also presenting new and vexing challenges to journalistic norms and values (Deuze, 2005b, 2008; Robinson, 2007; Singer, 2006a, 2007). Perhaps chief among these is that in the online environment there is a greater expectation for end-user engagement with and control over content, thus blurring traditional boundaries and roles of news producers and news consumers (Bruns, 2005; Jenkins, 2004, 2006) and threatening to undermine the gatekeeping function so central to the professional purpose of the press (Shoemaker and Vos, 2009).

Thus, in redeploying resources from print to online, newspapers not only have altered longstanding patterns of news production (Paterson and Domingo, 2008; Tremayne, Weiss, and Alves, 2007), but they also have opened the “gates,” in many cases, to user-generated content—enabling, if not always embracing, such things as comments, photos/videos, reader blogs, and even reader-assembled news articles (for examples and implications, see Domingo et al., 2008; Hermida and Thurman, 2008; Thurman, 2008). This evolving spectrum of user contributions to news content can be generically referred to as “citizen journalism” (Outing, 2005; Deuze, 2008).¹ What arises, then, is a tension for newspaper journalism in the 21st century: the economic logic of building participatory platforms to attract greater communities of users, versus the professional logic of retaining authority over information flow.

The rise of citizen journalism, and the assortment of challenges and opportunities it presents for newspapers in particular, has received increasing attention in the scholarly (e.g., Carpenter, 2008; Deuze, Bruns and Neuberger, 2007; Domingo et al., 2008;

Kovacic and Erjavec, 2008) and trade press (e.g., Cooper, 2008; Quart, 2008), and perhaps nowhere more so than in the blogosphere charting journalism's crisis in real-time (as a starting point, see Rosen, 2006, 2008). In most instances, however, the inquiry has focused on the extent to which large, mainstream news media have adopted practices of participatory journalism (e.g., Hermida and Thurman, 2008; Thurman, 2008). Seemingly lost in this discussion are community newspapers. Perhaps because their content is harder to gather, or because their size makes them less attractive to researchers, relatively little is known about how smaller newspapers are transitioning in the digital age—in particular, how they are incorporating (or not) elements of citizen journalism. Moreover, when the academic literature has acknowledged citizen journalism at smaller papers (such as in the case study of *Bluffton Today* by Deuze et al., 2007), it has done so by highlighting rather dramatic examples, without offering a more generalized perspective of “ordinary” community newspapers and their attitudes toward and adoption of user-generated (news) content.

More broadly, the democratization of media production online deserves further scrutiny to understand its effects on dialogue and participation in the public sphere (Haas, 2005), including the localized “publics” of rural communities. Indeed, this latter research is important because it is in rural settings, where there are fewer options for offline media and online use tends to be lower, that the community newspaper presumably has greater gatekeeping power—i.e., wider latitude in setting the community's agenda and defining the terms of public discourse.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to understand how gatekeeping community newspaper editors respond to the theoretical and practical challenges posed by citizen journalism—a phenomenon that, even in the abstract, would appear to undermine their control over content. Using evidence from qualitative interviews with top editors at 29 community papers in a large U.S. state, we explore the following research questions:

RQ1. In general, what do community newspaper editors think of citizen journalism, and how likely are they to incorporate some variation of it in their news operation?

RQ2. How do community newspapers negotiate citizen journalism, as a philosophical concept and a practical concern, in their role as community gatekeeper?

We proceed with an elaboration on the professional function of gatekeeping and its relationship with citizen journalism, while positioning this work in the context of community newspapers. After describing the interview methods employed, we analyze the major modes of editors' thinking on citizen journalism, highlighting the cross-currents of philosophical and practical concern, and conclude by placing these findings in the wider context of participatory news production in democratic societies.

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

Gatekeeping in the Digital Age

Since gatekeeping, as a theory, was first applied to the news setting (White, 1950; Snider, 1966), studying the role of journalists as information arbiters has been one of the most enduring lines of communication research (Shoemaker and Vos, 2009). Gatekeeping has been defined as the “selecting, writing, editing, positioning, scheduling, repeating and otherwise massaging information to become news” (Shoemaker, Vos and Reese, 2008, p. 73), and more broadly as the “overall process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed” (Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim and Wrigley, 2001, p. 233). In its early formulation, beginning with David Manning White's (1950) seminal study, gatekeeping was rooted in its focus on the *individual*, emphasizing the lone newspaper editor's role in choosing what to print—or, in another context, the influence of a powerful publisher in shaping the news (Breed, 1955). In the decades since, Gans (1979) and others have shifted attention to the organizational level of influence, highlighting the extent to which newsroom routines and professional norms figure into the ultimate selection of news (Shoemaker et al., 2008, p. 77). More recently, scholars have applied the hierarchy of influences approach (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) to study both the individual and routine levels to provide a more nuanced view of gatekeeping in comparative contexts of print and online (Cassidy, 2006; Singer, 1998).

Indeed, the emergence of a new medium for news and information has offered researchers a fresh angle from which to view the gatekeeping function. Initial studies suggested that gatekeeping has remained surprisingly stable despite the technological revolution (Arant & Anderson, 2001; Singer, 2006b). In fact, Singer (2006b) has argued that the ubiquity of information available online makes the gatekeeping role all the more important to an informed democracy; meanwhile, others contend that the Web, by its very (distributed) nature, makes gatekeeping less relevant (Williams & Carpini, 2004). While our primary concern is not with *online* gatekeeping per se—but rather with the broader issue of editorial gatekeeping in an uncertain phase for newspapers and community journalism—it is nevertheless important to recognize the emerging complications for and reconfigurations to traditional gatekeeping channels in the digital age (Shoemaker and Vos, 2009). In this study, we consider these challenges at the individual level of analysis (i.e., the editors themselves), but do so with a nod to the characteristics of social systems—namely, the culture of newsroom editors, or what has been described as a “we write, you read” mentality toward readers (Deuze, 2003).

That journalistic attitude of autonomous expertise (Anderson, 2008) has long been part of the profession’s ideology, which generally has incorporated five ideal-typical traits: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics (Deuze, 2005b, p. 447). The implicit thread running through each is that professional journalists derive much of their sense of purpose through their *control* of information in their various roles as watchdog, gatekeeper, and guardian for society (see Singer, 2003). Deuze (2005b) calls this “one of the most fundamental ‘truths’ in journalism, namely: the professional journalist is the one who determines what publics see, hear and read about the world” (p. 451). The Internet and its attendant Web technologies undermine this core value in part because, in a digital environment of 1s and 0s, information is no longer scarce, hard to produce, nor difficult to publish. Hence the setting for a citizen(s) journalism.

Of course, user contribution to the news product has been around for far longer than the Web itself (e.g., in the form of letters to the editor), but in the online environment something fundamentally different has emerged: The ease of accessing, creating, and sharing digital information has created the right conditions for commons-based peer production (Benkler, 2006) across a range of media—including journalism

and the online newspaper (Deuze, 2008; Witt, 2006). As the audience no longer need be passive observers online, readers increasingly can become co-creators with professionals in the news production process. Of course, such participation on an online newspaper site may exist more in potential than in actual practice, contingent as it is on two primary constraints: (1) the extent to which users are willing to contribute, and with varying levels of richness (e.g., comments on a news article versus full-length story submissions); and (2) the extent to which news organizations are willing to “open the gates,” and with varying levels of editorial oversight (e.g., heavy moderation of discussion versus reader collaboration in the reporting process).

Citizen Journalism

Because it can vary so widely depending on its purpose and formulation, and its relative positioning on traditional media Web pages versus independent sites (Carpenter, 2008), citizen journalism can be hard to define. For this study, we acknowledge the *participatory* (Deuze et al., 2007; Domingo et al., 2008) and *user-centered* (Hermida and Thurman, 2008) nature of this phenomenon, and draw on the articulation of Rosen (2008): “When the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, that’s citizen journalism.”

Just as the online domain has revived interest in gatekeeping research (Shoemaker et al., 2008, p. 78), participatory journalism has become a natural nexus for this kind of exploration: To what degree are journalists willing to make room for the active audience on their Web sites? In some of the earliest research, Boczkowski (2004) found that even online journalists adopted a “traditional” print mindset of gatekeeping, including a “disregard for user-authored content” (p. 103). More recently, Domingo and his colleagues, in a broad-based international study of participatory journalism, found that while online newspaper users have more opportunities to contribute, they nevertheless have little control over news selection: “The core journalistic role of the ‘gatekeeper’ who decides what makes news remained the monopoly of professionals,” even among comparatively “open” online newspaper sites they examined (Domingo et al., 2008, p. 335). Hermida and Thurman (2008) found that newspapers are nevertheless pushing forward with online venues for user-generated content, even as their editors express

professional concerns over reputation, trust, and legal liability—not to mention the simple “value” of reader-created content. The evidence, therefore, indicates that gatekeeping remains a compelling logic through which to examine citizen journalism online.

Community Newspapers in Context

What remains less developed, however, is a focus of study on community newspapers, defined here as *newspapers serving a defined geographic community, often in a small city or rural setting*. Previous examinations of community newspapers have largely involved analyzing technological innovations at newspapers in general, the aggregate conclusion being that smaller-circulation papers have lagged behind their larger peers in adopting Web sites and online interaction with readers. As Boyle (2008) concluded recently, circulation size was a primary predictor of a newspaper site’s level of interactivity—a finding that tracks with the general diffusion of innovations in newspapers (Boczkowski, 2004). Therefore, it’s important to recognize at the outset that many of the community newspapers under study here are years behind larger organizations in Web sophistication; nevertheless, the professional concerns in approaching digital journalism—be they legal, ethical or economic (Singer, 2008)—remain much the same.

Indeed, beyond mere adoption, the socio-cultural influence and economic implications of technology for community journalism are of greater importance here. For one thing, how smaller newspapers are responding to media trends should be of interest given the relative success and societal position of community papers. The present crisis in the U.S. newspaper industry has overwhelmingly affected the mid- to large-size metropolitan dailies, which saw average revenue declines of 15% in 2008; meanwhile, for newspapers with circulation less than 100,000, revenues fell an average of 2% (Mutter, 2009). The National Newspaper Association and Suburban Newspapers of America teamed to survey publishers and editors at smaller publications and found that community papers have largely been insulated from the competitive assault facing larger dailies—an assault brought on by a combination of the Internet, multiple local television newscasts, news radio, and specialty publications. By contrast, in America’s rural

communities, the local newspaper is often the best—and sometimes the only—source for local news. This, in turn, makes them a go-to source for local readers and advertisers. While major newspaper companies such as McClatchy plan more layoffs on top of recent 20% cuts in staff, 83% of community newspapers plan no job cuts in 2009 (Jesdanun, 2009; Mutter, 2009). These national trends hold true in the state of Texas, where our study originates. While total statewide circulation has fallen during the past five years, the state's major dailies have borne 99% of the losses, even as the circulation of semiweeklies and weeklies has held steady or even grown in recent years (Texas Press Messenger, 2007). Such commercial anomalies, coupled with community newspapers' natural place as local gatekeeper (cf., Demers, 1996), lend compelling practical and theoretical importance to this study.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Participatory media production in general and the notion of user-generated journalism in particular present philosophical and technical challenges to the professional logic of journalism. This is especially true as reporters and editors take on and operate within their role as gatekeepers for public knowledge. While such concerns are most frequently researched at the level of major mainstream news media, this issue of conceptualizing gatekeeping in the digital era is perhaps better addressed in the context of community newspapers. For it is in rural communities, where sources for local news and information are more limited, that journalists presumably wield greater authority over public dialogue. Therefore, in seeking to understand how journalists negotiate gatekeeping at a time when the news gates have become more fluid and ambiguous, it is important to consider how community newspaper editors reason through this process, given the centrality of gatekeeping to their role. Thus, we again pose the following research questions:

RQ1. In general, what do community newspaper editors think of citizen journalism, and how likely are they to incorporate some variation of it in their news operation?

RQ2. How do community newspapers negotiate citizen journalism, as a philosophical concept and a practical concern, in their role as community gatekeeper?

METHOD: INTERVIEWS WITH JOURNALISTS

Interviews have a long and rich history as a methodological tool for exploring the sensemaking of social actors, drawing out the rhetorical construction of their experience and perspective (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 173). In journalism and mass communication research, this has been particularly true in seminal studies of news creators (White, 1950; Breed, 1955; Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1973, among others) and in more recent work on professional identity (Deuze, 2005a), journalistic authority (Robinson, 2007), and emerging forms of newwork online (Thurman and Lupton, 2008).

This study relies on interviews with top editors at 29 community newspapers (dailies and non-dailies) around the state of Texas. (See the Appendix for a complete list of the editors interviewed and additional details on their newsroom position.) Using systematic sampling methods, we selected 50 community newspapers using a comprehensive database of media contacts (organizations and individuals) maintained by Cision Media Source, a commercial service with nearly 80 years of experience.ⁱⁱ In building our sample, we stratified both by frequency of publication and size of circulation.ⁱⁱⁱ Using a random-number generator online, we chose 25 of the 58 dailies and 25 of the 152 non-dailies (semiweeklies and weeklies),^{iv} and we only considered papers with circulations in the range of 2,500 to 25,000 to maintain a focus on smaller newspapers.^v After the 50 newspapers were chosen, we further randomized the list so that, even if an interviewer began at the top of his/her assignment list and worked down, we would not be biasing the research in any particular way.

Editors were contacted with an introductory e-mail asking them to participate in the study, with follow-up requests by e-mail and phone. Ultimately, 29 of the 50 editors agreed to be interviewed by phone. The interviews ranged from 10 to 45 minutes in length, with an average time of about 15 minutes. Three graduate students and three undergraduate students were trained to conduct the interviews, which occurred primarily in two waves, in April-May 2008 and August-September 2008. The interviews were

semi-structured: There was a defined battery of questions, but interviewers also were free to explore certain topics more than others as dictated by the flow of conversation.

One of the challenges posed by this study was the concern that these editors might not be familiar with the notion of citizen journalism, and that this lack of definitional consensus would hamper the validity of interview data. Thus, we began the questioning by starting with a baseline norm, asking editors to reflect on their efforts (past, present and future) to connect with and engage their community. That discussion was followed by this question: “One of the ways that newspapers today are trying to connect with the community is to actually let readers create some of the content—such as submitting photos online, writing blogs on the newspaper Web site, or writing news stories for print and online. This trend has been called different things by different people, but usually it’s referred to as ‘citizen journalism,’ or ‘user-generated content.’ How familiar are you with this trend?” This was followed with questions that sought to gauge editors’ perspectives of citizen journalism and the application of user-generated content in their news operations.

Each of the interviews was recorded and transcribed, and the resulting texts were analyzed for key words, phrases and passages that signaled the journalists’ perspectives on the theoretical and practical implications of citizen journalism. The ultimate aim was simply to understand: How are these editors *thinking* about citizen journalism?

RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which community newspapers (small dailies, semiweeklies and weeklies) engage in forms of citizen journalism and to obtain an overall assessment of these papers’ approaches to participatory news production. We expected the 29 sampled newspapers to align themselves more or less along a simple continuum from those who strongly disapprove of the use of citizen journalism to those who strongly approve of it. A careful reading of the interviews conducted with the editors of these community newspapers, however, revealed a more complicated alignment representing four relatively distinct perspectives on citizen journalism. Specifically, each newspaper tended to take one of four approaches toward the idea of participatory news production. Some editors either favored or disfavored the

use of citizen journalism primarily on theoretical (philosophical) grounds, whereas other editors favored or disfavored its use primarily on practical grounds (see Figure 1).

Editors who disapprove on theoretical grounds

A number of editors reject the notion of citizen journalism mainly as a matter of principle. These editors regard citizen participation as essentially incompatible with the news production process. These editors make a clear distinction between professionally trained journalists and everyone else, and they see journalism as the business of professionals only. These editors are not opposed to traditional forms of feedback, such as letters to the editor. Furthermore, most of these editors do not object to readers having the opportunity to comment online about items published either in the printed version of the newspaper or in its online version, if available. However, these editors tend to oppose anonymous comments, whether online or in the printed edition. While these editors tend to welcome ideas for stories submitted by citizens, they do not allow the citizens themselves to write the articles. All story ideas are handled by staff writers, not citizen journalists.

Typical of the sentiments expressed by newspapers in this group are the following:

Davis McAuley, editor of the *Bastrop Advertiser*, said of citizen journalism, “It does not make any sense. News is meant to be reported professionally, not through some random citizen.... Journalism is a profession and it cannot be done by anyone.”

Arthur Hahn, editor of the *Brenham Banner-Press*, said, “We have a comments section on our Web site but no citizen journalism, as such. We welcome suggestions from people, but we won’t publish something written by someone who is not a journalist.”

Brian Knox, editor of the *Wise County Messenger*, said, “We’ve never really done it. I don’t know if it’s egotistical or what, but I guess we kind of feel like since we’re the journalists we need to be the ones writing.”

Carroll Wilson, managing editor of the *Temple Daily Telegram*, said, “There is no citizen journalism at our paper. We’d rather our reporters do their job.... My publisher has no appreciation for that.”

Daniel Walker, editor of the *Rockwall Herald Banner*, said, “I have an understanding of (citizen journalism) and, really, we just don’t use it. We shy away from that.... I think citizen journalism detracts.... People see us as the authority news source.”

Gerry L. Dickert, editor of the *Silsbee Bee*, said that the newspaper’s editors and reporters “have to control the content.... We have a good idea of what’s newsworthy based on our experience.... When you have people who are not professional journalists they don’t have a grasp of the ethics involved.... You risk diluting the news to hearsay and gossip.... If you (a journalist) and I do a story, we talk to at least three sources. When we print something, we know it’s as close to the truth as possible (but) when you have a citizen who has a gripe about the police department, that’s going to be as much opinion as fact. It affects the credibility of your organization.”

Editors who disapprove on practical grounds

A number of editors reject the notion of citizen journalism not on philosophical grounds but because they regard it as primarily unworkable. Some editors, for instance, said they would feel the need to corroborate any article produced by a citizen. These editors maintained that citizen journalism would overwhelm their already overworked staff, detracting from their reporters’ primary jobs. Some editors said they had experimented with forms of citizen journalism but found them unwieldy and unsatisfying for a variety of reasons. Some said they became concerned about legal issues, such as being sued for libel. Others said they had trouble getting participation from beyond a small number of citizens, defeating the purpose of citizen journalism.

Typical of the sentiments expressed by editors in this group are the following:

Lillie Bush, editor of the *Mount Vernon Optic-Herald*, equated citizen journalism with opinion. She said, “I’m somewhat worried about (citizen journalism) because it’s opinion.... I’m concerned that ... things can be construed as fact when there’s nothing to back them up as facts.” She said that to make citizen journalism factual and useful would require “some background checks,” which would be onerous. “I think it would be pretty labor intensive,” she said.

Tony Floyd, managing editor of the *Henderson Daily News*, said, “We experimented with it. We had a feature with a phone line where readers could

anonymously leave comments about national, state and local issues, like a call-in blog.” The newspaper stopped using it because of problems of slander. “My principal concern is that I see a lot of the *citizen* but not a lot of *journalism*. There’s a lot of slander and personal anger or bitterness, but not news,” he said. Floyde concluded, “I think it’s irresponsible, and I’m not going to experiment with it again.”

Paul Whitworth, publisher of the *Raymondville Chronicle*, said his primary concern was the limited number of citizens who participate, saying they “are the same people over and over, and usually someone who has a political viewpoint or agenda they want to express.” He added that “they can be mean-spirited. Some of them get pretty ugly, so we don’t encourage that type of citizen journalism. Anyone who wants to write a letter and sign a name can, but I don’t like anonymity. I like the use of editorial discretion.”

Carol Kothman, editor of the *Uvalde Leader-News*, said, “We have a Web site, but we don’t have a blogging feature on it. We don’t want it to be there. We don’t practice something like citizen journalism. There are so many potential problems that could arise out of it. Things like editing issues, liability problems—they can go unchecked with this sort of thing. Also, the whole practice would be degrading, since our paper has a standard, and crudely written articles can affect that immensely.”

Editors who approve on theoretical grounds

Some editors regard citizen journalism as a distinct advancement over the way journalism has been practiced in the past. To these editors, journalism changes with the times and they perceive citizen journalism as a natural extension of traditional journalism, facilitated by technological changes that allow progress to take place. They regard citizen journalism as a way to connect better with their communities, and they make concerted efforts to engage citizen participation in a variety of ways that indicate a serious attempt at participatory news production. These efforts include mounting a Web site with strong interactive capabilities; encouraging citizens to submit stories, photographs, story ideas, and other items; welcoming reader comments; inviting local citizens with expertise on a particular topic to submit regular columns; giving readers the opportunity to participate in online polls; and allowing citizens to submit events for a

community calendar. Some newspapers say they look to technological developments to allow them to expand their citizen journalism efforts further, such as giving citizens the capability of submitting video to the newspaper's web site. While some of these newspapers reported relatively minor problems with some of their citizen journalism efforts, they have not allowed these issues to dissuade them from pursuing other citizen journalism efforts. The newspapers in this group often expressed confidence that citizen journalism will continue to grow in importance.

Typical of the sentiments expressed by editors in this group are the following:

Rachael Benavidez, editor of the *Brownsville Herald*, said of citizen journalism, "I think it's vital to engaging a community that wants to have more ownership of their local media. I think that newspapers have been reluctant to embrace some forms of citizen journalism because I think that the first forms of citizen journalism were meant as a vehicle to maybe criticize the local media or be alternative media. So now the task of the traditional media is to evolve that citizen journalist instinct to be something that is collaborative and not counter-productive to what the local media efforts are. So, it's coming around—short answer." Benavidez said her newspaper has partnered with a local university in "an experiment in promoting civic engagement in the community. We conduct community surveys. We conduct accountability exercises with local government. We hold community forums and debates with the university and all of that stuff is interactive on the Web. Our readers can participate in the forum by submitting questions. They can watch it on streaming video. They can vote on the survey. They can do polls." She said the newspaper extended the idea to a program where all 78 schools in the county area voted online in a recent local election. "It's the kids participating in the process and we report their results along with live results, so I think that's a form of citizen journalism where they're speaking out, they're using the newspaper for accountability and other exercises and things. It's not traditional ... but they all offer feedback and comment on the project and that gets published, as well."

Shelly Gormey, editor of the *Bay City Tribune*, said she thinks citizen journalism represents an important aspect of the future of journalism. "I think journalism will not be replaced by it," she said, "but it will be supplemented by it." She said that "with tools like citizen journalism, actual journalism will be well-assisted." She said her newspaper

employs citizen journalism “every chance it is possible. We have people getting involved and contributing.”

Greg Little, publisher of the *Gonzalez Inquirer*, said of citizen journalism, “The way I perceive it right now is it’s a great thing.... I think it’s in some respects the wave of the future. The biggest thing is getting younger people involved. Our circulation continues to go up but it’s not from younger people. It’s because we’re doing a better paper and it’s the older crowd. We’ve got to figure out a way to get the younger people involved and I think that’s the way to do it.... The unique thing that we offer is we’re the only place in town where you can get the news. You can’t get it off the television. You can’t get it from online except for our Web site. So, in some ways, we have a captive audience.... All you hear about is the death of newspapers. In a lot of cases it’s true: the big daily newspapers are losing readers.... You can get the news anywhere. But for the smaller papers I think that’s the way we’ll survive.... We’re the only place they can get what they need.... So I think smaller papers are actually at a bigger advantage right now.”

Jessica Hawley-Jerome, managing editor of the *Bandera Bulletin*, said of citizen participation in the production of the news, “We’re always open. We have an open-door policy. We’re always encouraging (readers) to bring us information and news that’s important to them, either as a group entity or as individuals.” She gave examples of the newspaper’s efforts to get citizens to participate in the news. “If we have any active military who are coming home either on leave or for good, come tell us what you did.” “We even have students, student journalism. We encourage 4H leaders ... to contribute (monthly) and they’ll get a byline in the paper. Elementary school students, and they have their own byline.... We clean it up as much as we can but still leave it in the style that they wrote it so that it’s their words, it’s their style and we always encourage stuff like that.” Furthermore, she said: “Last year we ran a teen-to-teen column. We had a panel of four teenagers and we gave them an issue each week and each teenager contributed their perspective on whatever that week’s issue was.”

Editors who approve on practical grounds

Some editors take a decidedly pragmatic approach to the use of citizen journalists, without focusing much on the ways it might influence the news production process, either positively or negatively, or the ways it might influence community engagement in local affairs. These editors tend not to view citizen journalism as a way to encourage citizens to participate more in their community, or as a way for the newspaper to connect better with its readers. Instead, these editors tend to regard citizen journalism as a useful way for a newspaper with a limited staff and budget to obtain news that it otherwise would not acquire. Looking for sensible methods to improve their newspaper's ability to surveil the environment, these editors approach citizen journalism as a workable solution to their primary function. To these newspapers, citizen journalists mainly help them cover their communities.

Typical of the sentiments expressed by editors in this group are the following:

DD Turner, managing editor of the *Marshall News Messenger*, said the newspaper relies heavily on material it receives “over the transom.” The paper has “community pages for our outlying areas and that stuff is mostly submitted by the townspeople, or the school districts, and such. We have those. A lot of sports stuff is brought into us.... As long as they're willing to be edited, that's fine.... Because we're a small paper, it allows us to get stuff in that we wouldn't be able to send a reporter to.” Turner said, “We really don't have any programs in place to encourage it... (but) I don't think it's bad for the paper, at all. Like I said, it gets you into areas where normally, especially for small papers like us, where we don't have the personnel to go.... As far as what we do here, we edit it, just make sure there's nothing libelous that can come back and haunt the paper.”

Mark Gwin, editor of the *Smithville Times*, said, “We focus on local news and try to cover the community as much as there is to cover, but we don't have any initiatives to involve the community.” Furthermore, he said his newspaper has no plans to try to find ways to connect better with the community. At the same time, however, “We involve citizens extensively. It is very much a part of our paper. We have columnists writing about nature, humor, gossip, etc. There are about nine of them, I think. These citizen contributors are very important. They bring about unique angles of coverage.... It's especially important for local papers such as this one because we need help in covering

everything that's required to be covered. It becomes impossible for us to get to every piece of news on our own. So, it's important for the future, as well."

Karen Saught, editor of the *San Saba News and Star*, said of initiatives to involve the community in the production of the news, "No, we don't do any of those things. We are more concerned about staying on top of the news. That's the only way we engage the community." However, Saught said she thinks citizen journalism is the future of journalism: "Yes, it has to be. There is so much more to cover and (only) so many people who are in a position to cover it. So, I believe it is."

Richard Nelson, editor of the *Jacksonville Daily Progress*, said of his paper's efforts to connect with the community, "We occasionally do a 'man-on-the-street' type thing to get more informed perspectives on our community. Plus, we have letters to the editor that are quite essential and, nowadays, we even have blogs on our Web site." Despite his paper's limited efforts along these lines, Nelson said he favors citizen journalism: "Yes, we are fine with citizen journalism.... If someone is willing to take on responsibility and identify themselves, then we are fine with it.... This sort of thing would help (the newspaper) penetrate more into the community happenings."

Robert Wright, editor of the *Mexia Daily News*, said he believes his newspaper connects well with the community: "We're community-oriented. I know we miss some things on our limited staff (but) we're pretty well-connected, especially with schools and sports. We do pretty good, given that we don't have many people." He said, "I always find the time to cover the school board or the city council. Those are two big stories in town. I won't press anybody into service or request anyone to cover those kinds of stories. But if someone comes to me with a feature, sometimes I'll say, 'That's a pretty good story. Why don't you write it up and I'll put it in the paper.' I'll give people bylines." Wright said, "If it's of human interest, we'll use it. Sometimes I'll rework it. I do want to make sure it's readable."

Tom Hawkins, editor and publisher of the *Groesbeck Journal*, said of citizen journalism, "I think we're very involved in it. I think we do a good job of letting people participate in the paper, in the content of the paper.... I think anytime you get input from your readers, it's good." However, Hawkins said, "We don't really make much of an effort to get citizens involved, but we get it anyway. I think it's hard to explain. Every

newspaper has its own personality and people have always had ease submitting things to us, and we pretty well take most of their information.... We're pretty short on staff."

Chris Lundstrom, editor of the *Jackson County Herald-Tribune*, said, "We are hindered by our small staff. Yes, we have huge ideas of things we would like to do but ... our time limits us from covering as many things as I would like to do. I would like to go to more events and reach out." Lundstrom sees citizen journalism as a way to alleviate the problem, saying, "Newspapers are struggling to survive in this new world of online journalism, their staffs are being cut, and I think if they're able to get articles generated by people on the outside.... I think that's probably not a bad idea, as long as the people are able to write.... We do have stringers that cover our sports because we can't get to all of them and we do encourage that. We are not averse to having guest journalists.... The main thing is it has to be relevant to the people here in Jackson County."

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

We do not want to leave the reader with the impression that all 29 editors fit securely into one of the four quadrants of the citizen journalism model (see Figure 1). Some editors were more neutral in their positions than others. Some editors explicitly expressed conflicted positions, and indicated that they were struggling with the place of citizen journalism at their newspaper. While an attempt was made to locate editors within one quadrant, membership in each group was not mutually exclusive, with some editors falling mostly into one category but straddling another. This was especially true regarding the theoretical–practical dimension. In some cases, it was difficult to decide whether an editor was being (un)favorable toward citizen journalism for mostly theoretical or practical reasons. In those cases, we tried to identify editors with the group that appeared to represent their position most strongly. Risking the threat of forcing the 29 editors into a Procrustean bed, we identified 7 editors who rejected citizen journalism primarily on theoretical grounds, 4 editors who rejected it primarily on practical grounds, 9 who approved of citizen journalism mostly on theoretical grounds, and 9 who approved of it mostly on practical grounds.

While some editors regard citizen participation in the news production process as anathema to sound journalism, other editors see it as a central component of the future of

journalism; and while some editors recall with regret failed citizen journalism efforts of the past, other editors appear eager to experiment in the future with new ways to try to make citizen journalism work in their newsrooms. Regardless of their position, though, one thing is clear: Editors of community newspapers are *thinking* about citizen journalism.

It is worth noting that in these interviews none of the editors ever mentioned the word “gatekeeping,” and yet the concept was an implicit thread running through much of their reasoning. This was true both in arguments for and against citizen journalism at the community newspaper level. For editors opposed to citizen journalism, they emphasized the importance of safeguarding the integrity of what passed through their gates pre-publication—of guarding traditional routines of newsgathering and reporting, and of truth-value and legal protection that could only be ensured under the steady hand of trained professionals. Meanwhile, for editors who supported citizen journalism, they saw real practical advantages and philosophical reasons for easing restrictions at the gate in order to make the news more of a participatory process than a static product. They believed that this, in turn, would make the news itself more meaningful and thus more effectual, for commercial and/or civic purposes. As one editor put it: “We’re always open. We have an *open-door* policy” (emphasis added). The spatial metaphor of gatekeeping, therefore, offers a welcome point of entry itself for the study of participatory news production as it evolves at news organizations large and small alike.

CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Ultimately, the complexity in attempting to categorize these editors—mapping them onto a pro-con matrix—provides what is likely this study’s most obvious but nevertheless important finding: that community newspaper editors have widely different opinions about and rationales for rebuffing or embracing citizen journalism. While clear delineations generally emerged along practical and ideological continua, editors’ positions were not mutually exclusive, nor did one strain of thought emerge predominant. Additionally, the intensity of editors’ opinions varied substantially, and could not always easily be captured in a relatively short interview. Nevertheless, our representation in Figure 1 offers a novel and promising model, like that of Domingo et al. (2008), for

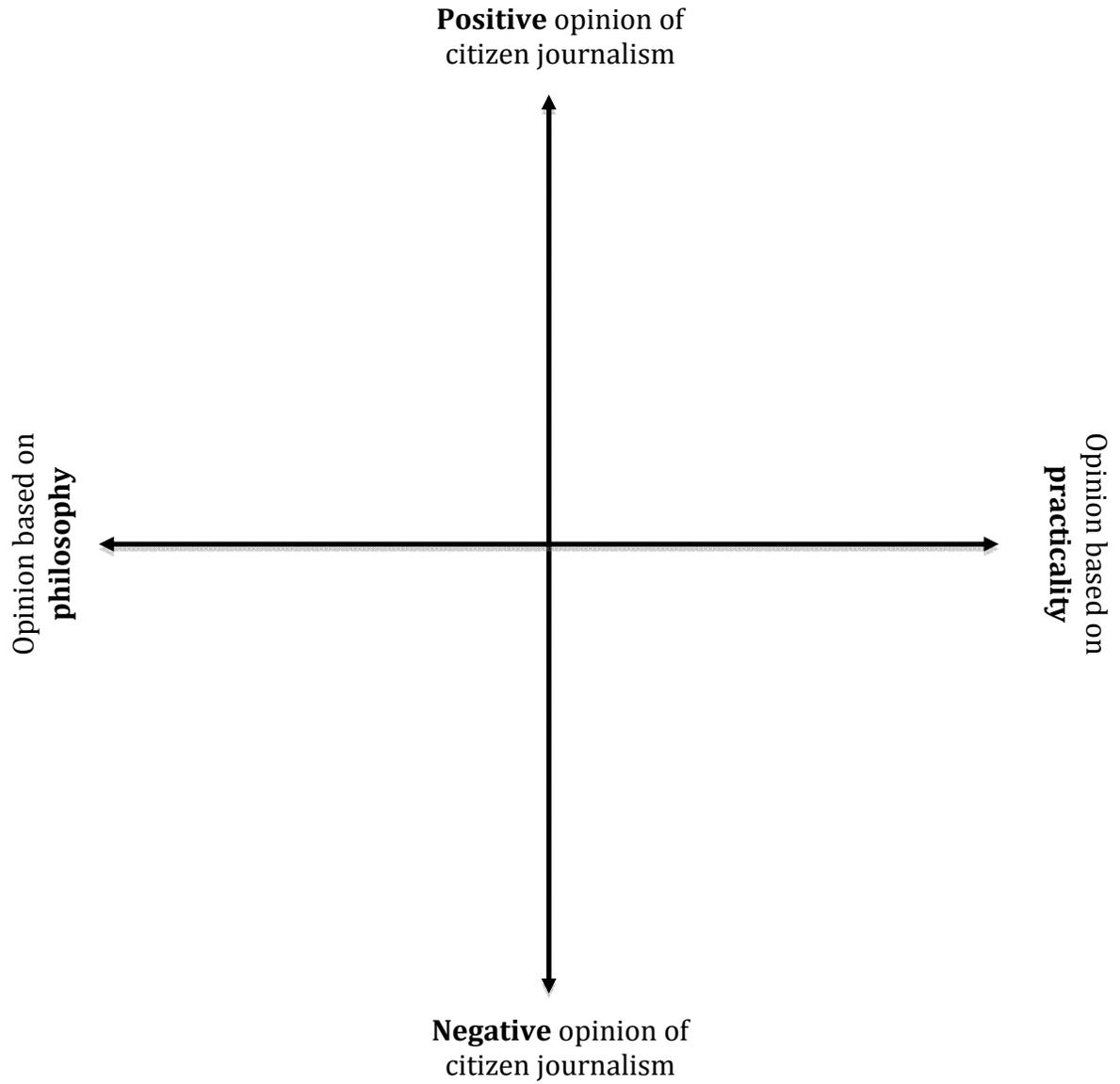
visualizing the competing and complementary interplay of participatory and traditional modes of journalistic work.

While it might be difficult to generalize these findings to the nearly 1,500 daily newspapers in the United States, let alone to community news organizations around the world, it's nevertheless apparent that editors interviewed in this study expressed professional concerns (of objectivity, accuracy, ethics, and so on) shared by colleagues at larger organizations—even as news professionalism itself becomes a more cross-national phenomenon (Reese, 2001, 2008). In the cases in which community editors guarded against citizen participation, it was overwhelmingly because of concerns over the quality and integrity of contributions, much like Hermida and Thurman (2008) found in the British press. In cases in which citizen journalism was embraced—out of either enthusiasm or necessity or both—some contributors were carefully selected for their expertise or ability to extend the community reach of the paper, and were often still subject to an editor's review. This pattern of modified gatekeeping was evident in the work of Domingo and his colleagues (2008).

Finally, while it's true that the community newspapers studied here are qualitatively different from larger news media, the commercial success and agenda-setting influence of smaller papers could hold key lessons for the press broadly as the formerly mass audience is increasingly fractured and clustered around narrow communities of interest. The experience of community newspapers and the sensemaking of their gatekeeping editors, therefore, offer a new vantage point on the changing nature of participatory media production and its relationship to democratic publics. Whether and how citizens play a greater role in shaping their community's news and views remains to be seen. What appears unchanged, however, is that a local newspaper editor, in large measure, still guards the gate.

Figure 1

Mapping Patterns of Newspaper Editor Perspectives on Citizen Journalism



Appendix: Interviewees and their Community Newspapers in the State of Texas

Editor*	Newspaper (City)	Type[†]	Circulation
Jessica Hawley-Jerome	Bandera Bulletin	Weekly	3,500
Davis McAuley	Bastrop Advertiser	Weekly	5,400
Arthur Hahn	Brenham Banner-Press	Daily	5,626
Hal Brown	Burnet Bulletin	Weekly	3,200
Rosa Delgado	Del Rio News-Herald	Daily	4,852
Bob Hanael	Fort Bend (Rosenberg) Herald & Texas Coaster	Daily	7,179
Tom Hawkins	Groesbeck Journal	Weekly	3,600
Tony Floyd	Henderson Daily News	Daily	6,039
Chris Lundstrom	Jackson County (Edna) Herald-Tribune	Weekly	4,000
Richard Nelson	Jacksonville Daily Progress	Daily	3,900
DD Turner	Marshall News Messenger	Daily	6,687
Robert Wright	Mexia News	Daily	3,000
Lillie Bush	Mount Vernon Optic-Herald	Weekly	3,100
Elizabeth Sweeten	Port Isabel/South Padre Press	Weekly	4,860
Paul Whitworth	Raymondville Chronicle & Willacy County News	Weekly	3,400
Brad Stutzman	Round Rock Leader	Weekly	6,000
Tim Fleisher	Salado Village Voice	Weekly	2,500
Rowe Ray	San Marcos Daily Record	Daily	6,464
Karen Saught	San Saba News & Star	Weekly	2,700
Gerry L. Dickert	Silsbee Bee	Weekly	6,200
Carroll Wilson	Temple Daily Telegram	Daily	19,007
Daniel Walker	Rockwall County (Greenville) Herald-Banner	Daily	8,283
Shelly Gormey	The Bay City Tribune	Weekly	5,200
Rachel Benavidez	The Brownsville Herald	Daily	15,559
Greg Little	The Gonzales Inquirer	Weekly	4,000
Mary Madewell	The Paris News	Daily	9,302
Mark Gwin	The Smithville Times	Weekly	3,100
Carol Kothman	Uvalde Leader-News	Weekly	5,453
Bryan Cox	Wise County (Decatur) Messenger	Weekly	7,015

* The 29 editors above were interviewed in two waves, in April-May 2008 and August-September 2008. Each was selected for having the greatest control over editorial content, and thus most held titles such as editor-in-chief, executive editor, or managing editor—i.e., all top editors in their respective newsrooms. In rare cases, those interviewed called themselves “publishers,” reflecting the fact that at community newspapers the publisher often presides over editorial and business decisions.

[†] The distinctions of “daily” and “weekly” are employed here because they match official categorizations, although some of the weeklies publish more frequently, such as twice in a given week.

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Footnotes

ⁱ As Deuze (2008, p. 107) rightly notes, the emergence of user-generated news content has been described in different contexts as public/civic/communitarian journalism (Black, 1997), people’s journalism (Merrill et al., 2001), open-source journalism (Deuze, 2001), network(ed) journalism (Bardoel and Deuze, 2001; Jarvis, 2006) and participatory journalism (Bowman and Willis, 2002). While that final term is the one most preferred by scholars studying this phenomenon of late (e.g., Deuze et al., 2007; Domingo et al., 2008), nevertheless for this paper we will primarily use *citizen journalism* because it is the more commonly understood term in the newspaper trade discourse—and, as such, it was used in our interviews (e.g., editors were asked what they thought of *citizen journalism*, not *participatory journalism*). Thus, to be consistent with our interviews, citizen journalism is the preferred phrase, even if, like the others, it has limitations as a construct.

ⁱⁱ The Cision Media Source commercial service uses direct contact by telephone, mail and e-mail and proprietary online search technology to maintain a daily-updated database of more than 900,000 journalists worldwide. For organization-level data, we searched by state (Texas) and newspaper type (community). To test for the reliability of its contact data at the individual level, we searched by a particular reporter type and found that the contacts distributed neatly across media outlets of different sizes (e.g., *The Los Angeles Times* accounted for 26 contacts, *The Miami Herald* had 16, and *The Anchorage Daily News* had 3).

ⁱⁱⁱ In seeking community newspapers, our focus was on “geographic community.” Thus, we tried to identify and choose only the primary newspaper in a locale, and thus excluded free shopper papers and other locally oriented publications in the state’s four major cities: Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin. Moreover, we also excluded ethnic, minority (e.g., Spanish-language) and other niche publications that, while serving distinct communities, often existed within those larger cities and did not serve as the primary news source for a geographic locale.

^{iv} We oversampled daily newspapers in order to achieve a fairly balanced representation of daily and non-daily newspaper editors in our sample. As it turned out, of the 29 editors who agreed to be interviewed, 12 were from daily newspapers and the other 17 from non-dailies (see the Appendix).

^v We settled upon the 2,500-to-25,000 range after considering patterns in circulation broadly. If we had included newspapers with circulations of up to 50,000 in our sampling frame, we might have ended up with dailies in Lubbock, Waco, and other cities not readily identified as “rural communities.” On the other hand, when we looked at those papers below 2,500, very few of them had any significant presence on the Web, and thus fell out of the scope of this study. Therefore, 2,500-25,000 seemed to be a “sweet spot” for this endeavor.