



Out of Struggle



**Strengthening and expanding
movement journalism
in the U.S. South**



Cover images (from top to bottom):
A young man learns audio mixing
from legendary producer, Leroy
"Precise" Edwards during a program
organized by Crescent City Media
Group; the hosts of Youth Speak
Truth on Atlanta's community radio
station, WRFG 89.3; A voting rights
demonstration in Eutaw, Alabama,
1965, from the Bob Fitch
Photography Archive at Stanford
University; the first issue of the
Southern Courier, July 16, 1965, from
<http://www.southerncourier.org>



"As the South Goes ...
... So Goes the Nation"
- W. E. B. DuBois

Table of Contents

Who We Are, 3

About This Report, 4

Introduction, 6

Summary, 8

History Tells Us, 12

Alternative Media in the South Today, 16

 Radio, 17

 Television and Video, 21

 Spotlight on Crescent City Media, 23

 Print and Online, 27

 Spotlight on *The Greene County Democrat*, 28

Models for Collaborative & Participatory Journalism, 34

The South in National News Media, 40

Mass Media and Grassroots Groups, 43

 Case Study: Prisoners on Strike!, 45

Funding and Sustainability, 47

Conclusion, 49

Resource List, 50

Notes, 54

Who we are

Project South Project South is a movement building organization founded in 1986 to strengthen community organizing, develop accessible political education, and build people-centered infrastructure in the U.S. South. Based in Atlanta, Project South cultivates productive space for social movement leaders, organizations, and collaborations to build people power from the bottom up. Our work is informed by historical legacy and root cause analysis of our social and economic conditions. Project South recognizes the powerful role of media and communication in educating and activating our communities to work for racial, economic, and social justice and remains committed to developing movement-driven communications infrastructure in the region.

Anna Simonton is the Movement Communications Fellow at Project South. She has worked as a journalist for eight years, from co-founding an alternative student newspaper at The Evergreen State College, to interning at *The Nation* magazine, to establishing a career as an independent researcher and reporter. She currently serves on the editorial board of *Scalawag*, a magazine of Southern politics and culture that has received wide acclaim. Anna has always approached journalism as a tool for social change. She works closely with grassroots organizations such as Project South, Southerners on New Ground, and Rise Up Georgia to develop media engagement strategies, elevate underreported stories, and bring political analyses generated by social movements to the news cycle.

About this report



Out of Struggle is a product of the Project South Movement Communications Fellowship. This fellowship was established in April 2016 to research, develop, test, and launch a media organization that produces rigorous investigative journalism, reporting that reflects current movement analysis of root causes to contemporary problems, and a heightened visibility of the power of people in action to transform our world. We call this approach to media and journalism “movement-driven.”

When we talk about “movements” we mean people coming together to build the power of all people to collectively control the conditions of our lives and our communities.

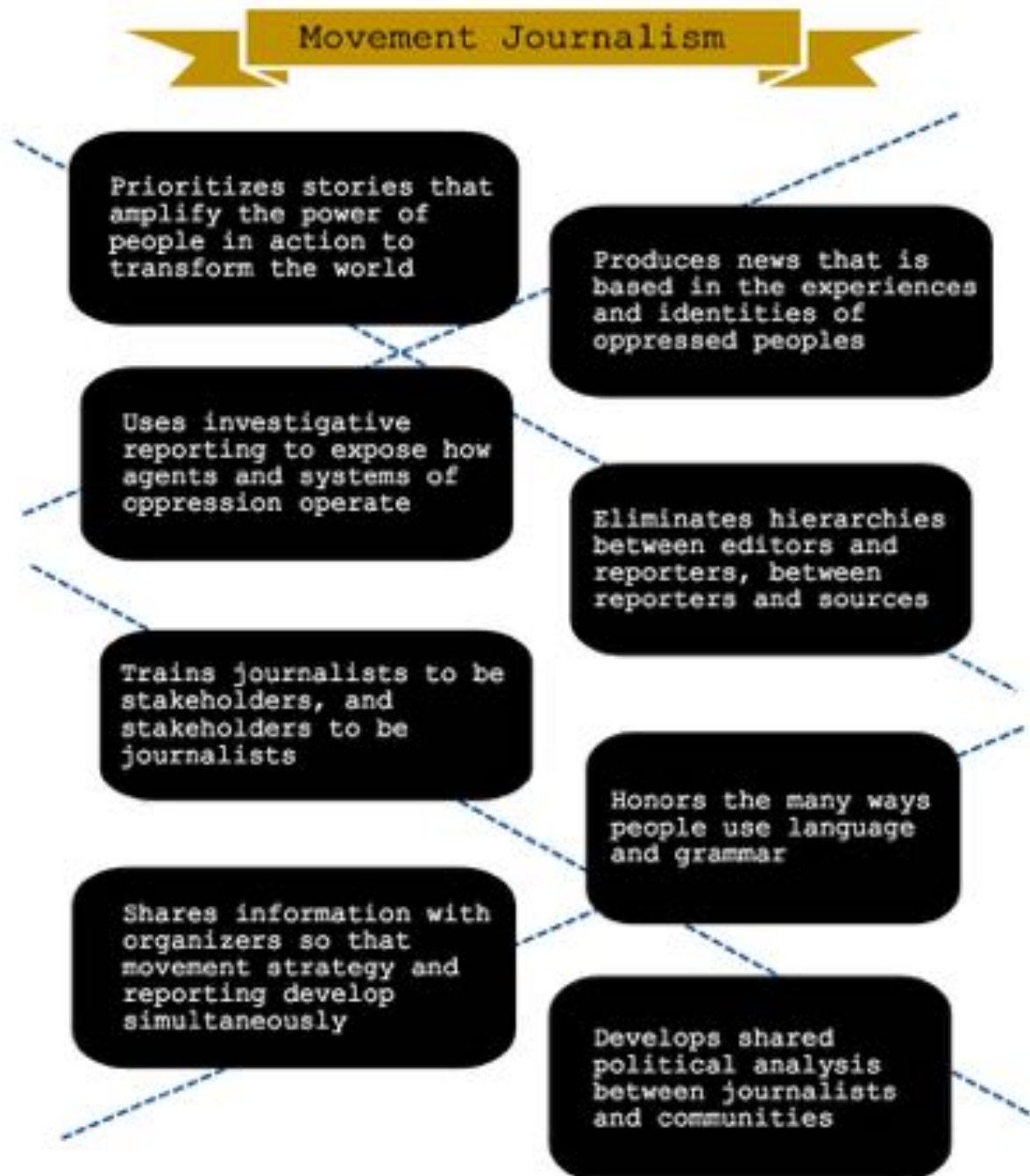
Movement journalism, then, is the practice of journalism in the service of this kind of social, political, and economic transformation. At the start of this project, we identified specific practices that we believe constitute movement journalism (*see facing page*).

These criteria were based on our shared experiences and practices, which themselves are influenced by many other people and organizations advancing movements, as well as journalists who cover them. With this basic premise, we began an assessment phase to:

- build a foundational knowledge of the South’s past and current alternative media landscape
- explore working models of media projects that incorporate some aspects of movement journalism (within and outside of the region)
- collect input from organizers, media-makers and cultural producers throughout the South
- identify under-reported or wrongly reported stories
- discern what forms and purposes a Southern, movement media organization could take

Our method was in many ways organic; we began consulting with people in our immediate network and built out from there. *All in all, we interviewed more than thirty people, conducted a literature review, developed a case study, and made site visits throughout the South and other regions.*

The information we have compiled is exciting in that it paints a picture we did not have before, illuminates myriad possibilities, and lays the groundwork for us to take our next steps.



Introduction

In the wake of the 2016 presidential election, national reporters frantically assessed why they failed to predict the election of Donald Trump, who now poses a heightened threat to oppressed communities as president of the United States. One widely agreed-upon conclusion, in the words of ProPublica reporter Alec McGinnis: “The media are so far removed from their country...[They] are all in Washington DC and New York now thanks to the decline of local and metro papers.”

McGinnis is right, of course, that newspapers have seen a steady decline in staff-power, journalistic quality, and readership since big corporations began buying up family-owned papers in the late '70s and early '80s. When the Internet gained prominence around the turn of the millennium, it began diverting ad revenue from papers, leading to serious financial challenges. In 2008, the Great Recession sounded the death knell of what had, at that point, already been pronounced a flagging industry. Altogether, we've seen the undoing of a field that popular consensus tells us is critical to democracy. We have yet to fully understand the implications.

In recent years, media-makers have begun

experimenting with new approaches to journalism in response to this sea change. Many of these burgeoning models prioritize “community engagement” and seek to produce reporting that is directly responsive to specific communities.

This is a critical moment for those who recognize that the problems with our news media go much farther back than the abrupt failure of newspapers' financial model in the 21st century. This country's news media have predominantly operated in the interest of the white, propertied, male elite since the first North American newspaper was published in 1690. But beginning with *Freedom's Journal*, a newspaper founded by free African Americans in New York in 1827, alternative media have flourished in the United States, often correlating with and helping to advance social movements for freedom.

As the journalism field is undergoing fundamental changes, we have an opportunity to build media infrastructure that serves as a two-way street for social movements, in which reporting opens pathways for civic engagement to disenfranchised communities, and those communities in turn influence and shape reporting.

This approach can also fill some of the void in local and regional reporting that the meltdown of mainstream newspapers created. We can thus develop a media platform that reaches audiences both within and outside of social justice movements, with reporting created by and centered in the interests of oppressed peoples. We believe this undertaking has the potential to broadly influence the journalism field as it continues to morph, and can help to shift the political landscape of the U.S. South, where we focus our work.

Our opportunity to do this work in the South is particularly important because the South's

politics drive national trends. Southern states account for one third of Electoral College votes for the U.S. president, and the Southern congressional delegation is a bastion of right-wing conservatism at the federal level. Yet the South is also a driving force of liberatory change, a place where the Black radical tradition seeded the ground for ongoing freedom movements.

If robust journalism which centers the interests of marginalized communities has the potential to push government and society toward justice, then that push has got to come from the South.

Summary



There exists a rich legacy of journalism rooted in struggle, globally, nationally and in the U.S. South. Within marginalized communities, journalism has often functioned as an “adjunct” to movements for social change. We can draw on this history to assert an approach to journalism that strives for accountability and accuracy, not “objectivity,” in producing news by and for oppressed peoples.

(pg. 12)



Across the South, alternative media are doing important local work. But some stories still aren't being reported.

We identified **91** community and minority-owned radio stations, **85** Black-owned newspapers, **28** alternative weekly papers, **25** community access television stations, in addition to online publications, magazines, street newspapers and other media that implement aspects of movement-driven journalism. Many of these organizations are under-resourced. Initial conversations revealed an eagerness for more quality content, greater capacity for local and investigative reporting, access to shared tools and resources, and opportunities for collaboration.

(pg. 16)



Connecting alternative news organizations and fostering participatory methods can make their work more broadly impactful.

There are strong examples of alternative media networks that facilitate collaboration and offer shared resources and services to bolster their members' work. Within these networks, some media are exploring ways to be more responsive to the communities they serve. Their methods include holding public forums, using crowdsourcing apps, and training up journalists from the grassroots. We envision drawing on these examples to assemble the “ingredients” that best fit our mission and our context.

(pg. 34)



We need to change how mainstream media cover social movements and how national media cover the South.

Both need to be more nuanced and reflective of what is happening on the ground rather than falling back on tropes and stereotypes. We found promising avenues for this work, including coordinating op-ed placements, creating a clearinghouse to connect journalists with grassroots sources, and working directly with editors to improve their coverage and, in turn, expand their readership.

(pg. 40)



Grassroots organizations need to be better equipped to engage with journalists and develop effective media relations practices.

In frontline communities, the people doing impactful work often have little capacity for garnering nuanced media coverage. In a case study, we see how one organization acquiring a designated media specialist turned the tide of media coverage to bring their issue to a mass audience. Our mission of fostering movement-driven journalism may involve supporting people in struggle to build their media engagement capacity.

(pg. 43)



It will take a well-resourced organization to tackle these issues.

We see potential in a member-owned cooperative model, which has worked for media outlets in other countries and is currently being piloted in the U.S. Member funding can be supplemented in several ways including, fee-for-service, advertising or underwriting, grants, real estate, and numerous other innovative approaches that other news organizations are testing.

(pg. 47)

What could it look like to build a vehicle to address these findings?



*envision
this*

Southern People's

News Production

Produce original multi-media reporting using movement journalism standards

Publish online and syndicate to public access TV stations, radio stations, and print platforms throughout the region

Cover news of the moment, beats, investigative projects

Media Relations

Provide media relations services and trainings to grassroots organizations using participatory methods

Solicit and place movement-driven op-eds

Create and maintain information clearinghouse to connect journalists with social movement organizations and community experts

Media Network

Create the news media we need

Impact the news media that exists

Strengthen the people-powered media infrastructure in the South

Journalism Resources

Foster local reporting through trainings at the outlets we syndicate to; solicit reporting from trainees for syndicated content

Convene regular gatherings of movement journalists

Provide shared and discounted tools and subscriptions, start-up assistance, investigative fellowships, and other services



History tells us

In 1690, two British colonists published the first multi-page newspaper in North America. Much of the reporting focused on confrontations between settlers and Native Americans, whom the editors called “barbarous” and “miserable savages.”¹ Throughout the 18th century, newspaper production in the American colonies expanded to become a critical source of information that shaped the politics of the day. Like that first newspaper, they often reflected and reinforced the ideology of white supremacy that undergirded colonization. Newspapers also became a concrete piece of the infrastructure of racial oppression in the American colonies and the United States; slave sales were advertised, and rewards for runaway slaves were posted in their pages.

When *Freedom's Journal* hit the presses in 1827, it challenged white dominance of the news media in the United States for the first time. Owned and operated by free African Americans in New York, *Freedom's Journal* was published weekly for two years, and circulated in 11 states, Haiti, Europe and Canada.² In the first issue, the editors powerfully explained their purpose:

“We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us. Too long has the publick been deceived by misrepresentations that concern us dearly...”

This marked the beginning of the Black press, a milestone in a rich and ongoing tradition of alternative media that have given voice to this country's marginalized peoples and their freedom struggles for 200 years. The first Hispanic-owned newspaper in the U.S., *El Mensajero Luisianés*, was established in 1909, and in the decades leading up to the Civil War, more than 80 Spanish-language newspapers were launched across the nation.³ *The Cherokee Phoenix*, the first indigenous newspaper, debuted a year after *Freedom's Journal*.⁴ White dissidents were part of the alternative press as well, notably with William Lloyd Garrison's *The Liberator*, an interracial abolitionist and women's rights newspaper, first published in 1831.⁵

It was also in the 1820s that labor journalism emerged, giving a platform to unions and people fighting for better working conditions. The decades between 1880 and 1940 were a golden age for the labor press, with thousands of publications affiliated with various labor groups circulating worldwide.⁶

While today's journalistic norms tend to eschew news media produced by political organizations, the labor press of the 19th and 20th centuries was a source of hard-hitting reporting. For example, A. Phillip Randolph's *The Hotel Messenger*, a newspaper for a hotel workers' union, exposed widespread corruption within the organization, drawing ire from union officials. Randolph and his co-publisher dissolved and then relaunched the magazine as *The Messenger* which, for more than a decade, published incisive reporting and analysis on strikes, race riots, military operations and many other political issues, as well as cultural and literary topics. *The Messenger* was also an important tool in Randolph's work to organize the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the largest Black labor union in the country at the time.⁷

Randolph, who went on to organize and win major civil rights victories, is exemplary of Salim Muwakkil's assessment of the people who spearheaded the Black press. In a speech he gave in 1999, the senior editor of

In These Times explained, "The Black press was born in the spirit of protest, and for much of this country's early history most African-American leaders were also journalists."⁸

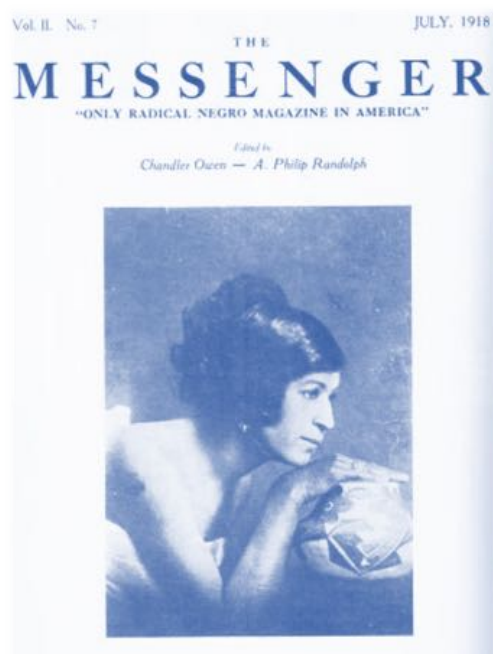
Another exemplar is Ida B. Wells, who co-owned *The Free Speech*, a Memphis newspaper, until her reporting on the lynching of three of her friends drew backlash. Whites burned the newspaper office and ran Wells and her staff out of town. This began Wells' career as an anti-lynching crusader and investigative journalist.⁹

Such dangerous conditions made for a brand of journalism rooted within

struggle, rather than observing it from the outside. "The notion of objective witness is a notion alien to Black journalism," Muwakkil said. "In fact, Black journalism was considered something of an adjunct to the movement for racial equality in this country until at least the late '60s."

Other movements during the '60s and '70s had a similar relationship to independent journalism. "Everybody had their publication," Alfredo Lopez, longtime organizer, journalist and founder of the progressive Internet provider, People's Link, said in an interview.¹⁰ Lopez worked at a commercial newspaper in New Jersey before becoming editor of *Claridad*, the publication of the Puerto Rican independence movement, in the 1970s.

"A lot of these organizations were community embedded...If you didn't have the Puerto Rican publications, no one would be writing about the Puerto Rican community. It naturally became part of our organizing work."



A. Phillip Randolph's *The Messenger*

The commercial press ignored communities of color to such a degree that the Kerner Commission, established by President Lyndon B. Johnson to investigate the cause of a string of race riots in 1967, found the overwhelming lack of diverse reporting to be among the contributing factors to the country's racial strife.

"By failing to portray the Negro as a matter of routine and in the context of the total society, the news media have, we believe, contributed to the black-white schism in the country," the Commission stated in its report.¹¹

Affirmative action policies eventually integrated newsrooms, which engendered more reporting on marginalized communities, but barely. In 2016, about 17 percent of journalists in the U.S. were minorities.¹²

The flourishing of alternative media in the '60s and '70s was not only about representing or reflecting communities that were invisible in mainstream media. It was about mobilizing them. Journalism was treated as a tool for social change. This was true for the Civil Rights Movement in the South, though Joshua Clark Davis, a history professor at The University of Baltimore, noted in an interview that the role of mainstream media is more often credited with having a pivotal impact on the movement's success.¹³

"The prevailing narrative about the Civil Rights movement in media is that reporters from up North—white men—came down South, got out their microphones, turned on their cameras, and thank heavens they did. Totally lost in that story is how activists were creating their own newspapers, magazines, and radio stations."

There were Black newspapers like *The Carolina Times* in Durham, and *The Louisiana Weekly* in New Orleans. There were New Left publications like *The Great Speckled Bird* in Atlanta and *The Kudzu* in Jackson, Mississippi. Community radio stations and Black-owned commercial stations across the region kept listeners informed about local politics and social movements. In 1973, the magazine *Southern Exposure* launched from the Institute for Southern Studies, and for three decades it would produce in-depth investigative reporting and publish writing by movement luminaries. In the '60s and '70s, media activists won policy victories that bolstered public access to the airwaves. In addition to radio, public access television stations became an important part of the movement media infrastructure in the region.

For a period of time, the South had a relatively large constellation of independent media that practiced movement journalism. But many of these projects struggled to stay afloat, and many folded. This is true of movement publications nationwide, which Lopez chalks up in part to a lack of collaboration. "There was no unity, no cross-fertilization. I'm certain that lack of collaboration held us back," he says.¹⁴

A number of factors—the government's assault on movement leaders and organizations, for example—weakened movements and thereby the publications they spawned.

Some media launched during this era did survive. Alternative weekly newspapers proliferated in the '70s and not only managed to stick around, but expanded. Throughout the '80s and '90s, these papers flourished in cities across the country. They were known as much for award-winning investigative reporting and coverage of issues that

mainstream media ignored as for their crass style, biting political analysis, and arts writing. While plenty of cities still have alt-weeklies, over the past decade, many have scaled back their operations or gone under entirely.

Also in the '80s and '90s, activist media-makers took to television, creating Deep Dish TV and Free Speech TV. These networks brought progressive programming to millions of viewers throughout the U.S. In 2001, they teamed up with Amy Goodman to produce the first television episode of *Democracy Now!*, which had been a radio program on the Pacifica network since 1996. *Democracy Now!* remains a potent model for syndicating grassroots journalism across the airwaves. Public access television and community radio have played a critical role in disseminating this content in the South. But because these networks and programs are national in scope, they have not filled the need for grassroots journalism focused on local and regional issues.

As the Internet became ubiquitous, marginalized voices gained greater access than ever before to a platform with the potential to reach a mass audience. The power dynamics of public discourse have shifted dramatically as bloggers, “citizen journalists,” and social media users from disenfranchised communities have shaped discussions of race, migration, poverty,

gender, and every other issue imaginable. As journalism’s financial model has simultaneously imploded, it has become less likely that these media-makers will have the resources to report, as opposed to analyze or aggregate. And it must be said that while the Internet has democratized how we produce and consume information to some extent, there remains a glaring digital divide separating those with Internet access from those without. The disparity is greatest in the South, especially for people with low-incomes and communities of color.¹⁵

A decade into the journalism crisis, we are in an opportune moment to participate in re-shaping this field.

All over the country, journalists are forming new organizations and experimenting with different ways of practicing—and funding—journalism. The examples that we draw on in this report emphasize collaboration and connectivity between different media organizations, participation of the public in the reporting process, and training up journalists from the grassroots. We believe that by drawing inspiration and lessons from movement journalism of the past, and implementing emerging practices, we can develop and sustain a robust network of movement media in the South.

What are current ways movement journalism is practiced in the South?



Alternative Media in the South Today

From the outset of this project we discussed the potential to disseminate new reporting through existing media platforms to accomplish two things: ***reach existing audiences, rather than building one completely from scratch, and develop relationships with media-makers across the region to create a network for collaboration and support.***

To start, we explored the alternative media landscapes of thirteen states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. We looked for community radio stations, low-power FM, independently-owned commercial stations (especially those that are people of color-owned), public access TV stations, independent print publications, and alternative online news sites. From this initial scan, we honed in on those that seem to implement or align with at least some of the practices we identified as movement journalism standards.

We found that across the South, people are using these media to share news and information that is important to their communities. At the same time, many face numerous challenges to producing original reporting with a local impact. From initial conversations with a small number of the organizations we identified, we learned that community media-makers are hungry for quality content, resources, and collaborative opportunities.

Radio

There are over 900 noncommercial, full-power radio stations in the South. Many are religious and many espouse a hardline conservatism. **For example, the anti-LGBTQ American Family Association owns at least 100 stations in the region.**

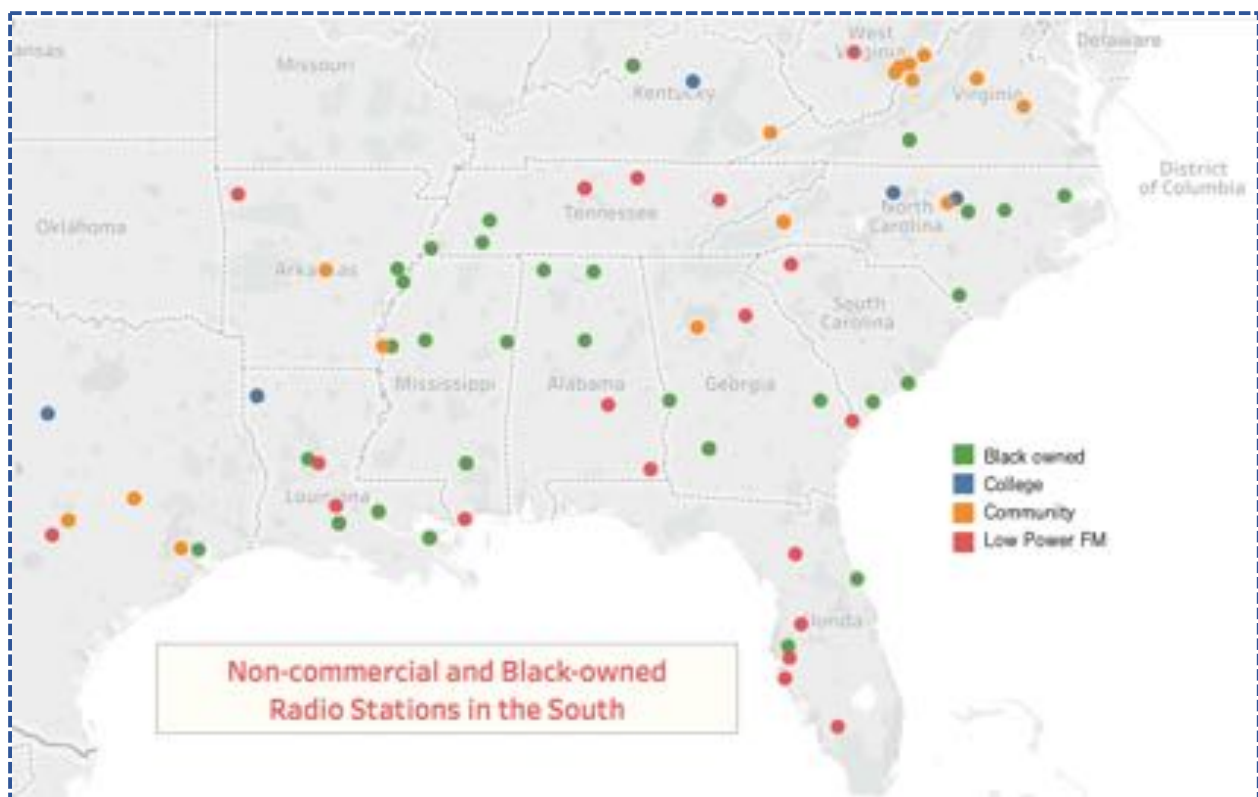
More than 150 noncommercial stations are local National Public Radio affiliates. A handful are college radio and community radio stations that lean progressive.¹⁶ In addition, there are over 300 Low Power FM (LPFM) stations, which have a limited broadcast range.¹⁷ These also fall on a spectrum in terms of content, but a significant

number, at least ten percent, seem to focus on civic issues with an orientation toward social justice.

Thanks to the Local Community Radio Act of 2010, LPFMs have recently proliferated.

Between 2014 and 2016, **the number of LPFMs in the United States doubled, with a high concentration in the South.**¹⁸

These stations, which are now easily licensed to nonprofits for educational purposes, present a promising platform for movement journalism in the South.



Besides these noncommercial stations, we looked for stations that are people of color-owned, whether they are commercial or noncommercial. We know that Black-owned radio stations, in particular, have played an important role in social movements in the past, and continue to uplift community issues that are ignored by mainstream news media. We found an initial 32 Black-owned stations, some of which have legacies as community pillars dating back to the 1950s.

Altogether, we mapped an initial 91 stations as potential partners in producing movement journalism.

We have relationships with some of these stations, such as **WRFG**, a 43-year-old community radio station in Atlanta, whose board includes two Project South staff and the author. The station provides a platform for people and ideas that are underrepresented in mainstream media, and it is home to several longstanding, interview-format news shows, including *The Labor Forum* and *Beyond Borders*. But the station does not have field reporters. With so many critical issues going under-reported in Georgia—income inequality, nuclear development, voter suppression, a failing public defender system, and much more—that is something that the board has indicated it would like to change but lacks the financial resources to maintain a dedicated news team.

That's true for another radio station we have begun a relationship with, **WMXP**, which operates out of the Malcolm X Center for Self Determination in Greenville, South Carolina. The center was founded in the early '90s by Efia Nwangaza, who was a part of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during

the Civil Rights movement and went on to become a "people's lawyer" and an advocate for community media; she currently serves on the national board of Pacifica.

With the help of **Prometheus Radio**, she launched WMXP in 2007 as a tool for "community education and capacity building," as she put it during an interview. The station airs shows like *Democracy Now!*, offering perspectives that are hard to find in most of South Carolina's news media. Nwangaza said she would like to offer more local programming.



Efia Nwangaza in the WMXP studio

The station is located in Nicholtown, a predominantly Black neighborhood that is undergoing gentrification and has been a flashpoint of police brutality. Nwangaza wants to do more to engage community members in telling their stories and reporting on the issues that impact them. But she often has to prioritize the station's financial and administrative challenges. "Every month that I keep the lights on I feel like I have succeeded," she says.¹⁹

This is not a unique position, according to Sally Kane, director of the **National Federation of Community Broadcasters (NFCB)**.

In an interview, she said that “**community radio stations struggle to sustain their operations, especially when it comes to funding local journalism efforts.**”²⁰

We partnered with the NFCB to develop a community radio station survey to assess how many stations are producing local reporting, what they are covering, and how they would expand or deepen their coverage if they had additional resources. We are also gauging interest in the idea of producing a Southern-focused syndicated news show.

This idea has garnered interest from community radio producers.

In Nashville, **Worker’s Dignity/Obrera Dignidad**, a group that advocates for the rights of Latinx workers, is in the process of starting an LPFM station. Set to launch in the summer of 2017, their station is inspired by **Radio Conciencia**, a station founded by the

Coalition of Immokalee Workers in Florida.

“Our focus is on working-class listeners,” says Diana Lopez, an organizer with Worker’s Dignity. “Our idea is for our message to get to this audience as a way of educating people.”²¹

Lopez and other Worker’s Dignity organizers discussed the news coverage of their movement, and what’s missing, in a group interview.

Jack Willey says that when reporters covered their campaign against wage theft in hotels, they framed workers as individual victims. “They don’t want it to be about how workers in seven hotels came together and demanded and won better pay. The problem is the focus. The media should focus on the fact that people stood up.”²²



*envision
this*

Southern-Regional Grassroots Radio Show

There are great examples of radio news shows that use grassroots reporting from people with and without formal journalism training. *Making Contact* and *Free Speech Radio News* are two such models. What if there was a program like these that focused on the South?

We could partner with local community radio stations to host forums and trainings that would generate story ideas, bring journalists into community settings, and build the skills of new and emerging reporters. The show would bring their local reporting to a regional audience.

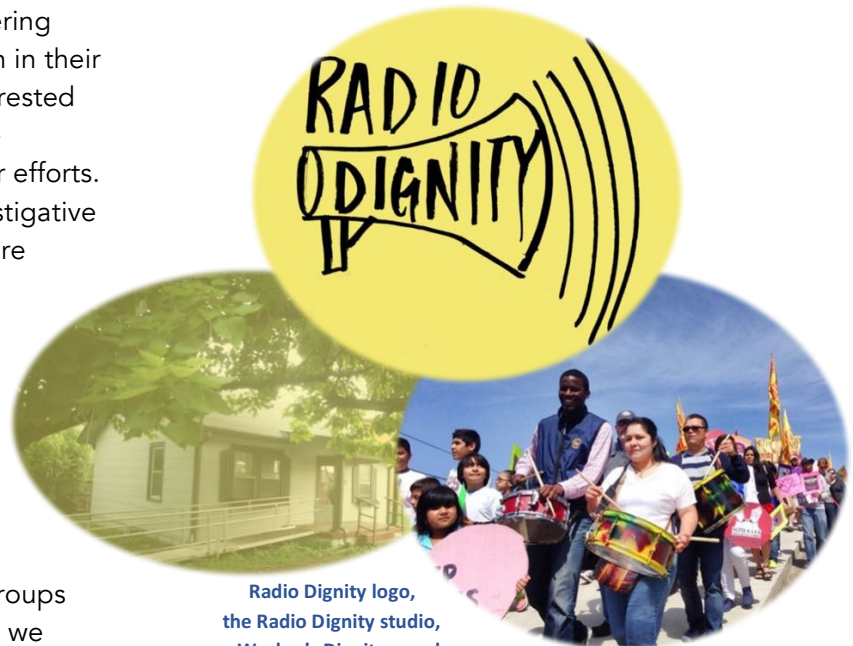
Worker's Dignity will provide empowering narratives and educational information in their radio programming, and they are interested in a partnership that could bring more journalistic resources and skills to their efforts. They would like to be able to do investigative reporting to expose how companies are exploiting workers.

"We need independent community journalism," says organizer Neptali Perez. "Imagine if, in every city, there was an organization of independent journalism."²³

The possibility of collaborating with groups like Worker's Dignity necessitates that we consider the importance of producing multi-lingual movement journalism. **Radio Bilingue**, serves as an excellent model and potential resource.

It is the leading Latino public radio network and content producer in the U.S. In addition to producing award-winning programming, *Radio Bilingue* partners with other media outlets, like *Democracy Now!* to produce a Spanish version of its daily news show to air on stations in the Radio Bilingue network. Radio Bilingue has 12 affiliate stations in five Southeastern states.

Nwangaza, from WMXP in Greenville, was also open to the idea of a syndicated radio show focused on movement journalism in the U.S. South. So was Pastor Kenneth Glasgow, a leader in the formerly incarcerated peoples' movement (see page 45 for more on his work), who recently launched **WKCG**, an LPFM in Dothan, Alabama.²⁴ We are also building relationships with:



Radio Dignity logo,
the Radio Dignity studio,
a Worker's Dignity march

- **WUTU**, a community radio station founded by civil rights leaders in Albany, Georgia;
- a network of stations in Mississippi that are connected to the **Southern Rural Black Women's Initiative**;
- and **WMMT**, a community radio station within **Appalshop**, a cultural hub for grassroots media training and production in Eastern Kentucky.

In addition to connecting with stations, we have consulted with independent radio producers.

Chenjerai Kumanyika was a media studies professor at Clemson University in Clemson, South Carolina at the time of our interview; he has since taken a position at Rutgers University. His podcasts have called out the whiteness of National Public Radio and made other important contributions to the national discourse on race. He expressed interest in contributing reporting, connecting

communities in South Carolina with this project, and mobilizing students to get involved.²⁵

Lisa Rudman, Executive Producer of **Making Contact**, an award-winning, weekly, social justice radio show that airs on more than 140 stations, offered encouragement, historical knowledge of activist media, and advice. She suggested we produce short segments that public affairs programs can air without significantly changing their current format. These segments would also be conducive to sharing as a podcast.

During this process, we began developing a pilot reporting project. Project South houses a youth program that produces a radio show called **Youth Speak Truth**, which airs in Atlanta on WRFG. We are conducting journalism trainings and guiding the youth in producing a radio documentary on the impact of police in schools.

We found that radio is an important medium for bridging the digital divide. AM/FM radio accounts for 54% of the time that Americans over the age of 13 spend listening to audio—far more than any digital platform. At the same time, the number of Americans who listen to podcasts is steadily growing.²⁶ It is increasingly likely that radio programs which are also available in podcast form can easily be heard by audiences with and without regular Internet access.

Considering radio's wide accessibility, the relatively low production cost of reporting for radio, the increasing popularity of podcasts, and the numerous radio stations that are currently engaging communities and in need of resources throughout the South, we found that radio is a medium we should prioritize.

Television and Video

When it comes to movement journalism on television, **Deep Dish TV** and **Free Speech TV** offer illustrative models. The first national grassroots satellite TV network, Deep Dish has served as “a hub linking thousands of artists, independent video-makers, programmers and social activists” since 1986.²⁷ The network has produced documentaries and television series covering battles for social and economic justice.

Headquartered in New York City, Deep Dish has ties to the South through producers like Kali Akuno, co-founder of **Cooperation Jackson**, whose current documentary-in-progress explores the roots of anti-Black racism in the U.S. Deep Dish's programming airs on public access television stations nationwide.

Lisa Rudman, who contributed programs to both networks, explains that the initial idea for Deep Dish wasn't just about creating yet another show.

"It was trying to put some glue among people who were already way too fragmented and under-resourced. People with aligned intent," Rudman said.²⁸

Free Speech TV is another national, independent television network. Its content includes daily and weekly news programs, as well as documentaries that air on satellite channels, public access channels, and digital platforms like Roku. Free Speech TV and Deep Dish worked together to launch the television debut of *Democracy Now!* in 2001.

We consulted with Laura Flanders, an independent reporter and creator of *The Laura Flanders Show*, which airs on Free Speech TV and other platforms. She encouraged us to consider scaling up to produce television news slowly if we tackle it at all, starting with lower-cost media like print and radio. "There's baggage to budget and production values that come with broadcast to TV," she cautioned.²⁹

Webcast news organizations like *The Real News Network (TRNN)* and *The Young Turks* offer models that could address some of the material challenges of producing grassroots television news. Founded in 2007, TRNN provides video news programming available on their website and through Comcast On Demand and Roku. Their reports vary in length and are not pegged to a news cycle, allowing them to produce at a pace and format tailored to each story and to the organization's sometimes fluctuating capacity.

The Young Turks similarly offers a variety of formats: short videos accessible to anyone on YouTube or hour-long programs accessible only to paying members.

The Real News Network makes its content available for free, but paying members can make a playlist so that numerous video segments play consecutively, more like a traditional newscast.

A similar approach could work for a multimedia movement news source that produces print, radio, and video reporting. The costlier and skill-intensive video production could potentially be infrequent and still be distributed through platforms like Deep Dish, Free Speech TV, online platforms, and public access television channels.

The South is home to video and television producers who are already creating movement-driven media by and for their communities.

Appalshop, mentioned earlier in reference to its radio station (see page 20), has been a site for cultural organizing and place-based media training and production in Appalachia for 48 years. Based in Whitesburg, Kentucky, their catalog now includes over 100 documentary films exploring "the culture and social concerns of Appalachia and rural America from the perspectives of those who have lived it."³⁰ Every summer, Appalshop trains youth in video and audio production and guides them in creating media about community issues and traditions.

In New Orleans, the *Crescent City Media Group (CCMG)* works at the intersection of media and civic engagement.



spotlight
on

Crescent City Media Group

“An informed electorate is an engaged electorate,” says Trupania Bonner, the founder and director of Crescent City Media Group, which produces media to inform marginalized communities about the political process, catalyzes them to action, and equips them to create and use media as an advocacy tool.

Last year, Loyola University students who participated in CCMG’s Democracy and Power trainings carried out a campus Get Out The Vote initiative which included a video campaign. But they did not stop there. The students used the videos they created to successfully push for a new law, which Bonner helped draft, that enables students to use their university ID at the polls, expanding voter participation in a state with strict voter ID laws.



Still from a student-produced GOTV video

Another of CCMG’s programs, the Oscar Micheaux Institute, uses an African proverb to sum up its purpose: **“Until the Lion tells his side of the story, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter.”**

The Institute, named after an iconic African American filmmaker, trains

people to make media that boosts the voices of communities that are in the lion’s position.

In the past, groups like Cease Fire New Orleans and the Black Men and Boys Initiative have partnered with the institute to teach young men video and audio production skills that can help them generate income and creativity.



A young man from Cease Fire New Orleans learns audio mixing from legendary NOLA producer, Leroy “Precise” Edwards.

The Institute is now launching a three-year project to train several fellows as they produce a documentary series about a historically working class, Black neighborhood in the throes of gentrification.

Through CCMG, Bonner has produced documentaries about the struggles of frontline communities affronted by changes to state and local policies in the wake of Hurricane Katrina and the BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill. He has also created public service videos that inform viewers on myriad issues from domestic violence, to citizens’ rights during interactions with police, to voter suppression.



spotlight continued

Crescent City Media Group

CCMG's media production isn't limited to video. Bonner produces an email newsletter that goes out to thousands of subscribers, with explainers on pending legislation, current elections, and other information to spark civic engagement. He also produces and contributes to research briefs and reports.



Fishermen in Plaquemine Parish discuss the BP oil spill in CCMG's "BP Gulf Crisis: Prelude to an Economic Disaster."

Altogether, CCMG is a powerhouse of grassroots media that communities are strategically using to create social and political change. CCMG's latest project aligns in a big way with the idea of creating a Southern movement media network: Bonner is working on developing a local television news channel on a satellite network. He's interested in the potential for this channel to air content produced by members of a regional movement media group.

"If we could build a network, folks would have a place to tune into, a consistent way to engage in social justice discourse that's not sensationalizing, just telling the truth," he says.³¹

Manzoor Cheema, a regional organizer at Project South, has also created robust movement journalism in the South.

Cheema produced a television show called **Independent Voices** that aired on 70 stations across the country between 2004 and 2009. Based at The People's Channel, a local community access station in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Independent Voices was produced by an all-volunteer crew that fluctuated between thirty and forty people.

Grassroots reporting was the show's bedrock; it covered the anti-war movement and the "Historic Thousands on Jones St." (HKonJ) marches that would eventually coalesce into the Moral Monday movement. It documented local struggles for labor rights and healthcare, and against racism. The show covered

struggles outside of North Carolina, from New Orleans to Palestine.

"The stories really mobilized and inspired people," Cheema said in an interview.³² "The biggest challenge was sustaining it. There was no budget. Everyone used their own money."

Independent Voices discontinued in 2009, and there hasn't been a public affairs show featuring original reporting on The People's Channel since. Cheema said he learned that ***"Bottom-up grassroots is good, but this is intensive work that needs some coordination. You have to have some dedicated folks who can keep abreast of technology changes. Some resources have to be centralized."***

The lack of resources was not the only factor in the show's end; Cheema's other lesson is perhaps less intuitive and more imperative to absorb.

"The biggest thing that sucked the energy out of Indy Voices was the election of Obama," he said. "It seemed all of a sudden the whole movement, the energy went out. The antiwar movement collapsed, the labor movement, they were all thinking Obama was going to pick up everything. It took Occupy Wall Street to bring that movement back."

Cheema's view of the correlation between the strength of movements and the tenacity of movement journalism echoes Alfredo Lopez's analysis of the 1960s and '70s.

Building infrastructure for movement journalism in this moment must mean breaking this boom-bust cycle to develop not just a new program or publication but a system that can withstand fluctuating resources and changing political environments.

Where television production is concerned, that means considering the plight of public access stations like The People's Channel, which did not have the infrastructure to keep Independent Voices going once its volunteer base dispersed.

According to the Community Media Database, there are over 400 Public, Educational, and Government Access (PEG) television channels in the South.³³



Independent Voices logo and stills from the show

Most are operated by local governments and public school systems. These channels typically broadcast public meetings, educational content, and programming created by students.

Only 25 television stations in nine Southern states are operated by nonprofit organizations for the purpose of enabling members of the public to produce original programming.

These stations, often called community media centers, are important sites of civic media production. Many offer trainings and production resources at low or no cost. They air shows by community producers that cover topics ranging from the religious to the cultural to the political. Some air content from Deep Dish and Free Speech TV. But an initial review of the programming on these stations reveals that shows like *Independent Voices* and other forms of movement journalism are rare. Many local public affairs programs do not feature original reporting of any kind.

Financial constraints are a huge piece of the puzzle. Public access TV has been dealt legislative blows that have significantly curtailed funding, especially in the South.

For many years, public access TV was funded by fees that cable companies paid to local governments as a part of franchise agreements. A series of policy changes beginning in 2005 eliminated a significant source of that funding—fees paid by cable subscribers—and restructured how the franchise agreements are forged, giving more power to state rather than local governments. These changes “led to a lot of stations going dark,” according to Antoine Haywood, a board member of the Foundation for the Alliance for Community Media, which is the

nonprofit arm of the **Alliance for Community Media**, a trade association for public, education, and government TV operations. Haywood is currently the Membership and Outreach Director at **Philadelphia Community Access Media**.

Haywood says PEG stations were particularly hard hit in the South. He pointed to **PeopleTV**, the public access station in Atlanta, where he worked for several years.

PeopleTV lost as much as 70 percent of its funding each year between 2010 and 2016, forcing it to significantly restructure and scale back.³⁴

“It’s a double whammy of policy woes and political structure change that fluctuates on top of your own internal issues. It’s a crusher,” Haywood said in an interview.³⁵

Still, PeopleTV remains a vital resource for Atlantans, and it carries on a rich legacy of movement media. Civil rights leaders like Hosea Williams have had shows on PeopleTV, alongside community members like Patricia Crayton, whose talk show has covered a wide range of local issues since 1988.

It is clear that public access TV in the South could benefit from a movement journalism revitalization that incorporates the lessons from programs like Independent Voices and networks like Deep Dish.

At the 2016 Alliance for Community Media Conference, only two stations from the South were represented. ACM has regional groups, but there is not one for the South.

And yet the Southerners who were there—from Nashville, Tennessee and Lafayette, Louisiana—expressed enthusiasm for the potential to collaborate, to garner quality news content focused on local and regional issues, and to combine forces toward the policy work that will be necessary to sustain public access television in the South. There are already organizations in place to help with that, like ACM and Media Action Grassroots Network, a national organization dedicated to media democratization.

We need a regional entity to bridge the national and local levels. This may be part of our work, in addition to potentially incorporating video and television into a multi-media newsroom dedicated to movement journalism.



Public access stations in Lafayette, LA and Nashville, TN

Print and online

We found that, throughout the region, there is a wide variety of print media that serve marginalized communities and practice movement journalism. They include, Black-owned newspapers, alternative newsweeklies, street newspapers, regional magazines, and countless local, independent publications, blogs, and news websites.

Throughout the South there are at least 85 Black-owned newspapers, according to the National Newspaper Publishers Association.³⁶ Not all are explicitly movement-oriented, but they nevertheless serve as important resources within their communities.

(continued on page 30)



spotlight
on

The Greene County Democrat

Carol and John Zippert live and breathe social justice. They met in Louisiana during the Civil Rights Movement, when John was working for the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE) and Carol was working with Black farmers facing discrimination. Their romance seemed doomed by the state's anti-miscegenation laws, but the couple challenged the ban in court and eventually became the first interracial couple to marry in Louisiana.

They later moved to Eutaw, Alabama, in Greene County, to organize agricultural cooperatives in the Black Belt. It was in Eutaw that they became newspaper publishers, not as a career change, but for the very same reasons they were organizers.

“The Greene County Democrat exists because of what we do and what we started in the Civil Rights Movement. The paper came out of a struggle here in Greene County,” John explains.

It was 1984 and, at that time, the *Greene County Democrat* was a local newspaper owned by a white family. John says it “presented the news from one perspective. It was white-run and white-controlled in a county that’s eighty percent Black.”

That friction came to a head as more and more Black people were elected to local

office, thanks to the tireless organizing of people like the Zipperts. When Black officials moved to annex a public housing complex into Eutaw city limits, the *Greene County Democrat* aided opponents by neglecting to interview anyone who was in favor of the plan, not even people who lived in the housing development.

“We organized boycotts and pickets of the paper,” Carol says. Eventually they were granted a meeting with the editors. In that meeting, the Zipperts and their allies offered to buy the paper, but their offer was refused. After several more months of protests, though, the paper had lost significant revenue and agreed to sell.

The *Greene County Democrat* has been a Black-owned, progressive community newspaper serving Alabama’s poorest county for over 30 years.

The paper’s impact cannot be understated. The year after the Zipperts acquired the *Democrat*, a U.S. attorney named Jeff Sessions, who is now U.S. Attorney General, charged eight Black organizers from the area with voter fraud for allegedly misusing absentee ballots in a voter registration drive.

Organizers understood the charges as an act of racist backlash to the increasing electoral power of Black people. Whereas the trial might have gone unnoticed, “By having the newspaper, we were really able to respond to those accusations and print the truth of what happened in that trial,”

John said. All the defendants were eventually acquitted.

The Zipperts have continued their social justice work and frequently report on issues they address as organizers. John is Director of Program Operations for the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. He has produced critical coverage of a rural electric cooperative that has held annual meetings without quorum for decades, in effect perpetuating an all-white board in a supposedly democratic organization that serves mostly Black electric consumers.



The Greene County Democrat team

The reporting undertaken at the Democrat is even more impressive given its financial limitations. The Zipperts have never drawn an income, and they employ only one full-time staff person. John says that with more resources and opportunities for collaboration with other journalists and organizations, they would take on bigger investigative projects. For example, gambling was recently legalized in Greene County with a mandate that some of the revenue go to government and charities. But the county Sheriff has sole discretion over the allocation of the funds, a situation

begging for an investigation into issues of transparency, conflicts of interest, and good government.

The Zipperts have also grappled with how to expand their reach, envisioning a paper with numerous bureaus covering the entire Black Belt region. They would like to pursue reporting projects that delve into regional issues like the lack of Medicaid expansion. And they need an online presence, which has been a struggle to manifest. They say they would be interested in contributing to and

publishing low-cost or free content from a Southern, progressive newswire if such a thing existed.

As the couple nears retirement age, they say they are thinking about the future of the paper and how to ensure that it continues. It is overall



clear that the Green County Democrat has much to teach and contribute to a new, Southern media organization. The paper also has clear needs that any such organization should seek to meet if its goal is to strengthen and expand movement journalism in the South.³⁷

In Southern cities, alternative weekly papers, or alt-weeklies, have provided a space for dissident reporting since the 1960s and '70s, when papers like Atlanta's *Great Speckled Bird*, and Jackson's *Kudzu* were founded by activists.

*Today, there are at least 28 alt-weeklies across the South.*³⁸

Some Southern alt-weeklies are currently considering a model pioneered by a group in Boston called the *Boston Institute for Nonprofit Journalism (BINJ)* which launched in 2015 to remedy what they saw as a lack of investigative reporting in their city. (Since then, their mission has expanded to fill other gaps in the local media landscape, including coverage of municipal and state politics, and local arts.)

Chris Faraone is a co-founder of BINJ and the editor of DigBoston, the city's alt-weekly. He explains that investigative journalism is important because it "tries to change what happens, not just cover what happens."³⁹

To foster such change-making journalism, BINJ brings together freelancers of all experience levels to generate story ideas, form reporting teams, and crank out hard-hitting work for publication in DigBoston or one of BINJ's partner publications (both local and national).

In its first year BINJ raised \$100,000, produced 25 long-form features and over 100 columns, and held numerous events aimed at involving community members in their work. The work has indeed made an impact. From exposing how the city's liquor licensing system disadvantages people of color, to creating an inventory of surveillance cameras



Some of the South's alt-weekly newspapers

in the Boston area, BINJ's reporting has led to city officials and residents taking action.

In the South, the *Arkansas Times* recently launched something similar, called the *Arkansas Nonprofit News Network*. The organization hires writers, editors, fact-checkers, photographers, and videographers on a contract basis to produce deep-dive reporting that is distributed for free to statewide partners—including radio, TV, newspapers, and websites. ANNN also serves as an "incubator" for emerging journalists and prioritizes journalists of color, as well as reporting that affects "groups that are often ignored in Arkansas media, including rural, immigrant, LGBTQ, Latino, and African American communities."⁴⁰

Another vessel of movement journalism in print is the street newspaper. These are typically produced by nonprofits for distribution by unhoused or unemployed people as a form of income.

For several years beginning in 1990, **Street Heat** was published by Project South and the Georgia Citizens' Coalition on Hunger. The paper "created revenue for homeless men and women, provided information and interaction for the community at large, and helped to develop grassroots writers desiring to perfect their craft," wrote *Street Heat* editors in an article commemorating the paper.⁴¹

In its heyday, *Street Heat* was 32 pages long, featuring "words of truth, voices of the poor, and written retaliations from...people feeling disenfranchised by the political leaders of the times."

When Atlanta hosted the Olympics in 1996, *Street Heat* published a special 51-page issue focused on how City Hall and the Atlanta Olympic Committee waged a war on the homeless in the lead-up to the games. *Street Heat* no longer exists, but today **there are nine street papers published in five Southern states**, according to the International Network of Street Papers.⁴²



For regional movement coverage, Southerners have looked to the **Institute for Southern Studies** since 1973, when it first published the journal **Southern Exposure**. Known for its sharp investigative reporting, "unsentimental portraits of Southern life,"⁴³ and writing by movement organizers, the journal was in print for over thirty years. The Institute now publishes an online magazine, **Facing South**, that carries on the rigorous journalism of *Southern Exposure*.

The literary magazine **Oxford American** is a source of long-form reporting and essays that frequently deal with issues of social justice from across the region. And a new publication, **Scalawag**, launched in 2014 with a mission to "amplify voices of activists, artists, and writers to reckon with Southern realities."⁴⁴

Scalawag has published reported pieces and first-person narratives on extractive economies in Appalachia, queer resistance to anti-LGBTQ legislation, the Southern origins of contemporary policing, gentrification in Nashville, and farmworker advocacy in the Carolinas, among numerous other topics.

The magazine recently launched a State Politics Reporting Initiative to demystify what goes on in Southern statehouses, and foreground stories from communities directly impacted by the policies crafted there.

In addition to fostering reporting that in many ways aligns with movement journalism, *Scalawag* hosts events that build on the conversations and investigations started in its pages. Through film screenings, panel discussions, readings, and parties, *Scalawag* is a vehicle for information and cultural exchange in many forms.

(Author's disclosure: I am on *Scalawag's* editorial board.)

The *Scalawag* team is in a phase that is ripe for collaboration on building a Southern movement media network. We've discussed the possibility of launching a podcast, convening likeminded journalists from across the South for an annual gathering, and other ideas that have also surfaced in Project South's exploration of movement media.

Blogs and independent news websites are critical spaces for Southern movement journalism.

From the widely read *Black Agenda Report*, to the lesser-known but deeply informative writings of a former private prison guard who blogs at *The 270 View*, people from all walks of life are covering underreported news, exposing injustice, and creating space for marginalized voices to assert their experiences. *Auntie Bellum*, based in South Carolina, provides a platform for progressive Southern women; Atlanta's *Wussy Mag* is a voice for the city's queer community, and sites like *Roane Views* in Roane County, Tennessee and *Atlanta Progressive News* offer local news and analysis through a progressive lens. There are also conservative bloggers who conduct good "watchdog" reporting on government and corporations.

There are also freelance journalists throughout the region whose work aligns with movement journalism. People like Wendi C. Thomas in Memphis, who is a 2016 Harvard Neiman fellow, a writing fellow for the Center for Community Change, and a freelancer who reports for *numerous outlets*. In April 2017,

Thomas launched *MLK50*, an online storytelling project about economic inequality in Memphis.⁴⁵

We had the chance to consult with Sheena Louise Roetman, a Lakota freelance reporter based in Atlanta, who writes frequently for *Indian Country Media Network*, and other indigenous publications.

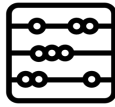
Native journalists are extremely under-represented in mainstream media, something that Roetman pointed out in discussing coverage of the resistance to the Dakota Access Pipeline.

"When The New York Times covered the Standing Rock pipeline protest on the front page. I was glad it was covered," she said. "But it was clearly covered from Manhattan. There are plenty of Native journalists out there who could have covered that story."

When Native journalists are under-represented, stories from Native communities go untold. Roetman believes that is particularly true in the South, where indigenous communities have less visibility than other parts of the country.

Roetman trains indigenous youth in reporting at an annual conference, and would like to do this work locally, in Native communities in the South.⁴⁶

Altogether, the South has a rich ecosystem of alternative media. Connecting, supporting, and building on these many projects and ideas is critical to strengthening and expanding movement journalism in the South.



*by the
numbers*

Alternative Media Across 13 Southern States

Radio stations, 91

Public access television stations, 25

Black-owned newspapers, 85

Alternative weekly papers, 28

Street newspapers, 9

Local print and online publications, countless

How might people and organizations
working across different media
combine forces?

Models for Collaborative and Participatory Journalism

Organizations across the country are striving to make journalism more impactful by fostering collaboration between journalists and breaking down barriers between reporters and the public. Here, we highlight a handful whose practices may be directly applicable to producing movement journalism in the South.

The Media Consortium

This group brings together more than 80 media outlets—including many that are named in this report—which share a progressive political stance.

“We were founded when George W. Bush won re-election and folks thought: we haven’t done a good job of educating the public,” says TMC director Jo Ellen Kaiser. “Our intuition was that if folks work together, it might be easier to get these stories to resonate. We recognized that in order to pursue that mission, we have to support the business practices of our organizations, because if you can’t exist, you can’t report.”⁴⁷

TMC now offers members business consulting, discounted tools and services, an

annual conference, and opportunities to engage in collaborative reporting projects. When TMC members work together to tackle a topic, they can cover numerous angles in depth and reach a wider audience. A Southern regional organization could similarly connect and support a variety of media organizations.

The Local News Lab

Another project that works to connect news organizations to create a bigger impact is the Local News Lab, which began at the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation in New Jersey, but has since been adopted by the Democracy Fund. The goal of the News Lab, which launched three years ago, is to create a more sustainable, connected, and collaborative news ecosystem.

“With dramatic shifts in the journalism landscape, people across New Jersey were rapidly losing access to local news and information,” write Molly de Aguiar and Josh Stearns, who helmed the project, in a February 2016 report.⁴⁸ “We recognized that we needed to both help longstanding

institutions transform and cultivate new models.”

They approached this mission on several fronts:

- Making small grants to hyperlocal news outlets to experiment with new funding models
- Assembling a cohort of local newsrooms to engage in peer-to-peer learning, and fostering other networks and collaborative projects
- Experimenting with providing shared services, such as tech and legal support, to community newsrooms
- Conducting research to better understand the news landscape of New Jersey
- Using new technologies, creative practices, and organizing techniques to make journalism more participatory

The Local News Lab’s efforts toward making journalism more participatory are particularly instructive for our vision in the South. Stearns and de Aguilar partnered with **Free Press** and **Media Mobilizing Project** to hold forums where journalists and community members discussed issues that were important to them, and talked about ways for journalism to address these issues.



Collaborative forums like these are a potent way to dissolve barriers between journalists and everyone else, and to engender reporting that is responsive to people directly impacted. Project South, as a movement-building organization, already convenes people who are civically engaged on a large scale at the annual Southern Movement Assembly. Existing convenings could be adapted to include time for facilitated discussions with journalists.

Boston Institute for Nonprofit Journalism (BINJ)

Many news organizations nationwide are taking creative approaches to “community engagement.” The Boston Institute for Nonprofit Journalism holds “pop-up newsrooms” in neighborhoods throughout the city. The inviting aesthetic of these simple desk-plus-typewriter setups in unexpected locations (parks, sidewalks, etc.) helps to draw passers-by into conversations that can lead to important news stories.

It was at a pop-up newsroom that BINJ editors met Boston’s first Black firefighter, who was doused with acid in a racist attack



A forum organized by Free Press, BINJ pop-up newsroom

by his co-workers, forcing him to retire early. He was still fighting, decades later, for a pension from the city. BINJ wrote about his fight, and the coverage helped him garner legal support for his case.⁴⁹

BINJ plays an important role in connecting under-employed and emerging freelance journalists to collaborate on stories and creates a publication pipeline for their work by helping to place it in local and national outlets. *(Read more on page 30).*

Twin Cities Daily Planet

Some news organizations practice “community engagement” by empowering community members to take journalism into their own hands.

The Twin Cities Daily Planet offers journalism workshops to community members who want to report for the news site, which covers Minneapolis and St. Paul with a focus on amplifying and connecting marginalized voices. People of color, LGBTQIA, differently abled, formerly incarcerated, low-income, youth, women and gender-non-conforming, indigenous, immigrant, and refugee people are all prioritized for representation and participation.

“We don’t hide behind being an observer,” says Daily Planet editor, Cristeta Boarini. “We are members of the community. Our contributors are from the communities that our stories are about.”⁵⁰

Becoming a reporter is not the only way for community members to be involved in The Daily Planet’s news production. The organization holds regular meetings—some open to the public and some with specific groups—to get feedback on their coverage and find out what else they should report.



Home page of the Twin Cities Daily Planet, Eddie Conway conducting an interview for The Real News Network

They also hold panel discussions to collectively develop a stronger analysis and historical understanding of social and political issues. The goal is to strengthen both their reporting and community activism.

The Real News Network (TRNN)

The Real News Network opens their newsroom to greater public participation by sometimes hiring reporters based on life experience, not just professional journalism chops. In 2014, former Black Panther Eddie Conway was released from prison after serving nearly 44 years. TRNN interviewed Conway for a news segment and the interaction led to them offering Conway a job. He now hosts the TRNN show, *Rattling The Bars*.

TRNN Producer Kayla Rivara explains that it is most important that reporters embrace the organization's mission. "You can always be trained [in journalism skills]," she says.⁵¹

TRNN's mission emphasizes rooting journalism in verifiable evidence, expanding the scope of what is newsworthy to include social movements, and covering people who fight for human rights and work for solutions.

City Bureau

In Chicago, City Bureau has honed an impressively multi-faceted model of journalism produced by and for disenfranchised communities. The organization operates a community journalism lab focused on covering the South and West sides of the city.

City Bureau pairs emerging reporters with "fellows" (folks with no prior journalism

experience) to produce reporting collaboratively over the course of several months. Everyone involved is paid a living wage.

"We're interested in creating ways for people to engage with and understand civic, political and social involvement through journalism tactics," explains Darryl Holliday, Editorial Director of City Bureau.⁵²

That means that City Bureau reporters and fellows might go on to practice journalism, or they might use the tools and skills they've learned—filing open records requests, interpreting legal documents, reporting on public meetings—in other capacities.

During each reporting cycle, though, fellows are full-fledged journalists, producing dozens of stories, typically around a theme, which is often decided based on input gathered from community members at public forums. City Bureau stories are disseminated online and co-published by other news outlets, both locally and nationally.



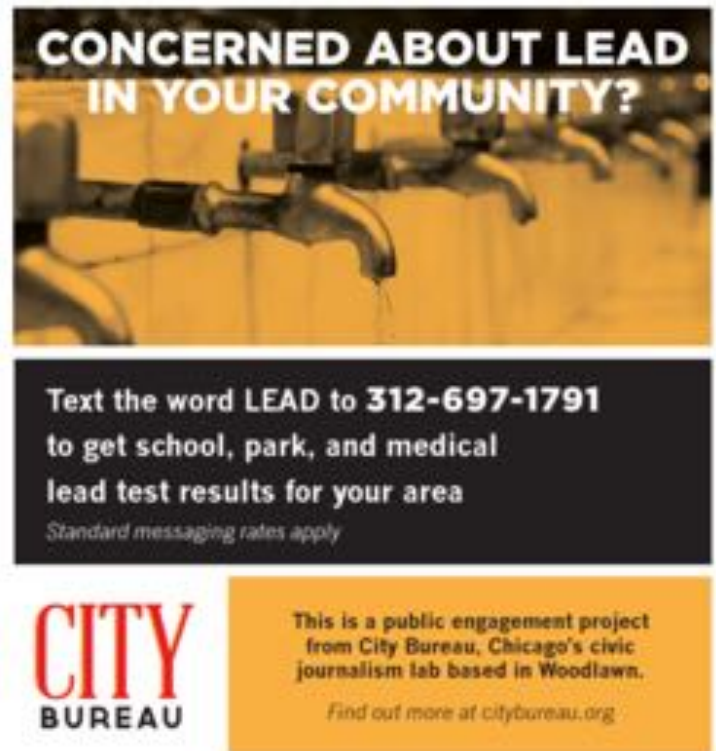
City Bureau reporters in a meeting with Darryl Holliday

City Bureau's reporters and fellows also team up with youth programs to work with teenagers on media projects. And the organization works closely with *The Invisible Institute*, a journalistic production company, to create easily accessible tools for holding public officials accountable.

For example, they have developed several "tracker" projects, like the **Independent Police Review Authority (IPRA) Tracker**, which is following the city's efforts to reform its police oversight agency. The IPRA tracker is an open source platform where anyone can easily view documents related to the process (reform proposals, meeting transcripts, staff and salary records, etc.), and they can annotate the documents to add context.

Some of the records, like meeting transcripts, are produced by City Bureau's "documenters," people who are paid to document public meetings. The tracker website includes information on upcoming meetings. Altogether, people can use the tool to review existing research, add their own, produce reported stories, and get involved in the civic process.

City Bureau has also used an app called **Groundsource** to deepen its impact. In a special series on lead levels in Chicago water (which included in-depth reporting, photo-essays, and data visuals), City Bureau used Groundsource to make lead testing data for each zip code available via text.



Signs posted around Chicago informed the public about City Bureau's lead investigation and offered localized data via text message.

These examples offer lessons to consider in the context of movement journalism.

The Local News Lab found effective ways to support hyperlocal news outlets, but without aligned intent among the various organizations, their work doesn't always build toward a common goal. City Bureau's cohort structure is great for training a lot of people and producing deep investigations, but it does not necessarily provide consistent beat coverage. The Twin Cities Daily Planet makes it possible for anyone to learn journalism, but without the capacity to publish more than twice per week, they have had difficulty retaining and further developing the skills of freelance reporters.

Ultimately, these examples are a handful among many that we will continue to explore and gather "ingredients" to consider as we shape this project.

One ingredient we intend to add to the mix is making a standard practice of journalists and organizers working closely and sharing information often.

Frequently, journalists have an “if we build it, they will come” mentality. We (journalists) believe that by researching, writing and sending a story out into the world to somehow take on a life of its own, we have done our job. Sometimes this works, if the issue is scandalous enough to spark a legal investigation, for example. But more often, we report on systemic problems that will not change without civic engagement, and publishing a handful of news stories is not typically enough to move people to action.

Organizing is what mobilizes

communities. If we journalists want stories to effect change, we need to be willing to report strategically. This does not mean merely reporting what advocacy groups want us to. This means looking to where people are already taking action and reporting information that is necessary in order to understand and address the problems they are tackling. It means that when we learn of an issue that is not being addressed, we do not hoard that information until publication or let an article go to print without reaching out to people who can take the next steps. This means being in close contact with organizers and sharing information from both directions so that movement organizing and reporting bolster one another as they develop. And it means doing these things with the confidence that this strategic connection does not compromise our credibility. We are transparent about our methods and we do the hard work to ensure that our information is comprehensive, well-researched, accurate and verifiable.

Beyond *making* media how can we
impact *existing* media?

The South in national news media

In conversations with organizers, cultural producers, and media-makers, we heard a persistent critique of how the South is poorly covered by, or left out of, national news. The thirty-plus people we interviewed overall agreed that national media coverage of the South is usually negative, lacks nuance, and rarely acknowledges struggles for progressive change.

"The national media uses Mississippi as an example of how not to be," says Carlton Turner, executive director of Alternate Roots, a Southern-regional group of artists and cultural organizers. "Everything that's wrong with the country can be summed up by decisions people make in Mississippi or Alabama."⁵³

Even the people producing national news agree. Christa Hillstrom, Senior editor at **Yes! Magazine** recalls when Yes! staff traveled to Mississippi to do a "solutions" story about local banks fighting poverty with community-based micro-financing projects. "[People in the town] were surprised that a national reporter was there covering something

positive," she says. So surprised that, in a strange twist, a local news channel reported on the national reporters covering the community project. "I think people in Mississippi are used to journalists parachuting in and saying how awful things are," Hillstrom concludes.⁵⁴

John Zippert, publisher of the **Greene County Democrat** (see page 28), notes that when national media do cover Southern social movements, the coverage tends to mythologize the Civil Rights era, rather than illuminate contemporary movements.

Zippert points to the annual commemoration of Bloody Sunday, the day in 1965 when Sheriff's deputies beat demonstrators as they attempted to march from Selma to Montgomery.

"I go to Selma every year for the Jubilee and the program," Zippert explains. "The picture that newspapers publish winds up being a picture of people marching across the bridge again. The in-depth workshop on voting rights in Brown's Chapel on Saturday afternoon is never mentioned."⁵⁵

Left-leaning national media outlets seem aware and interested in remedying this problem. Hillstrom expressed a desire to work with a movement media network to channel more Southern stories to Yes! and to ensure that those stories reach Southern readers.

The Media Consortium, a network of progressive news organizations, counts only a few Southern publications among its 80 plus members. TMC's director, Jo Ellen Kaiser, is eager to change that.⁵⁶

Expanding and strengthening movement journalism could entail creating partnerships and projects to improve national media coverage of the South.

Adam Horowitz, a Project South member and Atlanta-based editor of the website

Mondoweiss, which publishes news and commentary about Palestine and the Middle East, suggested creating a clearinghouse. It could connect national reporters with grassroots sources, such as organizers and community experts, so that they do not continually rely on a few major Southern institutions for information and commentary.⁵⁷

One model for this is **Shesource**, a project of the Women's Media Center. Another is the **Institute for Middle East Understanding**,

which connects journalists to members of Palestinian civil society, and provides them with fact sheets, op-eds and news roundups in an effort to improve coverage of Palestine.

Another way to bring more nuanced Southern voices to national media could be through partnering with the **Progressive Media Project (PMP)** which places progressive op-eds in newspapers nationwide. PMP's numbers are impressive.

In 2013 the organization placed 805 op-eds in newspapers with a total readership of more than 80 million. But PMP is not reaching as wide a Southern audience as it might, and its writers are largely from outside the South. Between June 2015 and June 2016, PMP placed 206 op-eds in 10 Southern states.



Esther Calhoun, president of Black Belt Citizens Fighting for Health and Justice.

Toxic crisis a threat to Alabama town's life

Grassroots group is seeking environmental justice

Our children don't want to come back here to live and, when they come to visit, we're afraid to let our grandchildren play outside. The smell, the pollution and the fear affect all aspects of our lives. ... This isn't right.

Esther Calhoun
For the Tribune News Service

Schools have closed. The city can't afford to operate an ambulance service. We are becoming a ghost town.

Our children don't want to come back here to live, and, when they come to visit, we're afraid to let our grandchildren play outside. The smell, the pollution and the fear affect all aspects of our lives. We don't know whether it's safe to eat food from our gardens, or simply spend time outdoors.

This isn't right.

Uniontown is a poor, black community — made poorer by state agencies and others who decided this town would be a good place for a prison, a toxic waste landfill, a catfish processing plant and other polluters.

I head a local grassroots group, Black Belt Citizens for Health & Justice, made up of community members seeking environmental justice. We are actively pursuing remedies to this threat posed by American Fuel & Petro-

The heaviest concentration of placements was in Florida and Texas, which saw double the number of placements of the third-runner up, Georgia. Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana had no placements at all.⁵⁸

One op-ed placed by PMP stands out as the sort that this project could help proliferate.

Esther Calhoun is president of **Black Belt Citizens Fighting for Health and Justice**, a group fighting coal-ash dumping and other environmental hazards disproportionately hurting low-income, Black people in Uniontown, Alabama. Calhoun, a lifelong resident of Uniontown, wrote an op-ed for PMP about the environmental injustices that are turning her home into a “ghost town.”

Project South has worked extensively with Black Belt Citizens, and they now play a

leadership role as part of the **Southern Movement Assembly**.

By partnering with PMP to conduct op-ed writing clinics with organizers in communities like Uniontown, this project could build an important skill set among grassroots groups and create a pipeline to PMP of Southern voices weighing in on issues that affect them directly.

We have more to learn about national media coverage of the South and Southern movements to determine whether and how our work should address this. Conducting a comprehensive media study could be a first step in that direction.

How are Southern movements already engaging with mass media?

Mass media and grassroots groups

Along with the dearth of nuanced coverage of Southern freedom struggles in national media, there is a persistent disconnect between grassroots organizations and mass media at all levels. This is a problem that we identified based on the experience of Project South and its partner organizations within the **Southern Movement Assembly**, many of whom tell us that they struggle to capture the attention of mainstream reporters.

This problem is not unique to the South or the organizations from whom we gathered anecdotal information. It is likely a struggle shared by grassroots organizations in marginalized communities generally. A recent report produced by the Transformative Media Organizing Project illustrates this issue with respect to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Two Spirit organizations in the U.S.

They found that a majority (54%) of LGBTQI and Two-Spirit organizations identified the mainstream media as one of their highest priority audiences, but only a fifth (19%) said they were reaching that audience.

That gap seemed to be tied to funding, as the study also found a correlation between organizational budget and interview frequency. The majority of organizations with a budget over \$1 million said that reporters

interviewed them on a weekly or monthly basis. For organizations with a budget under \$500,000 only a handful reported monthly interviews. The lower-budget organizations typically did not have a staff member or even volunteers designated to work on communications.⁵⁹

"We need communications trainings that aren't just how to write a press release,"

says Colette Pichon Battle who, at the time of our interview was Director of



the Gulf Coast Center for Law and Policy (she is now Executive Director of the US Human Rights Network).⁶⁰

“We need to understand how to discern the press and how to speak in many situations,” Pichon Battle explains.

It may fall within the purview of our work to not only produce movement journalism, but also to help build the media capacity of grassroots Southern organizations, so that their stories and messages increasingly make it into mainstream media.

To this end, there are several projects we are looking to for ideas.

Talk to Transform

In 2016, the Foundation for a Just Society (FJS) launched an initiative called Talk to Transform, a media capacity building program for the foundation’s grantees. Over an eight-month period, the grantee cohort received media coaching, consultation, trainings and technical assistance through group webinars, one-on-one sessions, and periodic, in-person convenings.

Grantees gained skills in communication planning and strategy, messaging, storytelling, developing relationships with reporters, interviewing and many other aspects of communications far beyond simply writing a press release.⁶¹

This comprehensive training was available to these grantees by virtue of their relationship

with FJS, but what would it look like for such services to be more widely available to grassroots groups?

Twin Cities Media Alliance

In Minneapolis, the Twin Cities Media Alliance offers a model of how one organization can operate a newsroom and work to empower community groups to better engage with media. The Alliance publishes *The Daily Planet*, which we covered earlier in this report (see page 36). It also offers media skills classes that are open to the public, as well as affordable, tailored trainings to local businesses and nonprofits. These beginner-level classes teach participants how to use media tools, especially social media, to get their organization’s message across to the public. Seeking coverage from mass media is not part of their curriculum, but ***the general model of an organization with an arm for news production and another for media consultation and training is worth considering.***

In the course of this research, we responded to a real need for media relations support by creating a case study that demonstrates how strengthening a grassroots organization’s media engagement capacity can strengthen movement efforts.



PRISONERS ON STRIKE!

Since 2011, Alabama prisoners have organized behind and beyond bars to coordinate nonviolent protests across numerous prisons.

This network of inmate organizers, called the **Free Alabama Movement (FAM)**, has staged intermittent strikes to protest forced labor. It is common for prisoners to be paid less than a dollar per hour, and sometimes nothing at all, to do everything from manufacture furniture to package products for private corporations.

FAM's incredible feats of organizing--communicating with prisoners in different facilities, some of whom were in solitary confinement--went largely unnoticed by news media. When FAM planned a strike for May 1, 2016, we worked with them to change that.

We partnered with **The Ordinary People's Society (TOPS)**, an organization founded by Pastor Kenneth Glasgow, a formerly incarcerated minister. FAM had designated Pastor Glasgow their "outside" spokesperson. Under his guidance, I stepped into the role of media relations specialist to determine what difference can be made when grassroots organizations have dedicated communications personnel, something most groups like FAM and TOPS cannot access or afford.

I crafted a press release and tailored messages to journalists in my network,

successfully placing the strike story in *Vice* and on *Democracy Now!*

The latter was a breakthrough; Amy Goodman interviewed FAM organizer **Kinetik Justice** in a phone call from solitary confinement. She also interviewed Pastor Glasgow in an extensive bonus segment.

In his interview, Justice made the first public announcement of a **nationwide prison strike** slated for September 9, the 45th anniversary of the Attica prison rebellion. The *DN!* interviews spawned further coverage: over the next week, WNYC's *The Takeaway* and *The Real News Network* both covered the May strike and interviewed Pastor Glasgow.



In the lead-up to the national strike, our goal was to ensure that the strike was covered widely, and that FAM's organizing was acknowledged in the coverage.

When the national strike launched, it was initially covered by non-mainstream outlets, including *The Nation*, *Mother Jones*, *Buzzfeed*, *Vox*, and *The Root*, to name a few. As the strike continued (for different lengths in different prisons) that coverage expanded to more than 30 national and international media--and many more local reports--ranging from left-leaning to mainstream (*CBS Money*, *Wall Street Journal*, *PBS*, *CNN*).

Most of the stories we tracked referenced FAM and many included interviews with FAM members and Pastor Glasgow. He describes the impact of the media attention this way:

“Journalists would not spend the time to write about the people in prison. The strike got national attention because we had a media specialist on deck. I have changed so many different laws, and none of them have got the publicity we got with this national prison strike. It boosted the morale of the people on the inside so much that people on the outside had to pay attention. That’s the power of the media. It did more than change policy. It changed people’s mindset. To see incarcerated people as humans, not as criminals. That’s invaluable. What keeps us convoluted in the South is that we are not able to get national attention. We definitely need to replicate this.”⁶²

In addition to lending momentum to the strike, the media attention helped to prompt an intervention from the Department of Justice. One month after

the strike launched, the DoJ announced an investigation into Alabama’s prison system.

These impacts reflect the added value of one very part-time media specialist. The impact could have been even greater with someone, or a team of folks, to prioritize building a full-fledged communications campaign.

For example, our communications plan focused on story placements; it could have been expanded to include a social media strategy.

There is also more we could have done to strengthen the journalism covering the strike. ***When the Attica rebellion happened, reporters were in the prison yard, covering the events in person. Today, this kind of coverage is unheard of.***

Reporters accept as normal that prisons restrict media. This made it difficult to track what was happening as prisoners went on strike in states across the country. *What could it have looked like to mobilize local reporters in these states, offer tips for overcoming official restrictions, and create a central hub to share information?*

Such an effort could have illuminated much of what remained obscure during the prison strike.

We offer this case study to demonstrate the value of building media engagement capacity within grassroots organizations in the South.

Funding and Sustainability

The looming question challenging all of journalism is how to make the field financially viable now that the commercial model that sustained it for decades has imploded.

Just as this new era has opened vistas of possibility for reshaping the practice of journalism to be more equitable, so too is there exciting potential to finance journalism in a way that strengthens democracy.

One promising model is currently piloted by the **Banyan Project** which developed a plan for a network of community news co-operatives. These member-owned co-ops consist of a few paid staff and a team of freelancers reporting community news online. Revenue comes mainly from membership fees (estimated at \$36 per year for an individual) in addition to advertising and crowdfunding and grants for special projects.⁶³

This model has worked in other countries, like Canada where member-owned radio stations serve communities and make the airwaves

accessible to people who are traditionally shut out of mainstream media.

At Vancouver's 43-year-old radio co-op, the suggested membership cost per year is \$60, and benefits include a share in the co-op, voting privileges at its annual meeting, access to training and equipment at the radio station, and discounts at participating local businesses and arts organizations. The station's programming is available to all listeners for free, regardless of membership.⁶⁴

Public radio in the U.S. has relied on a membership model for a long time, though it is focused on financial contributions from listeners and doesn't offer members a direct stake in the journalism their local station produces. Now some people in public radio are rethinking this model and proposing that membership could also entail volunteer work that brings community members into collaboration with local stations in a more reciprocal way.⁶⁵

A membership-based funding model could align well with an organization with a mission to make journalism participatory and responsive to

marginalized communities. What if part of being a member of a cooperative news organization was voting on coverage priorities? What if being a member meant you could receive training and contribute reporting?

Another innovation in the works is the **Community Information District**, a concept in development at the Center for Cooperative Media at Montclair State University in New Jersey. It is a model for levying a local tax or fee to fund local information needs in the same way that special service districts fund an array of public services like fire departments and water infrastructure projects.⁶⁶

While membership and public funding could form a financial core, diverse revenue streams should fill out this organization. We believe that to have the strongest impact, we should aim to have sufficient staff and pay fair rates to freelancers and contractors. This will require a well-funded organization.

Fee-for service has worked to bolster some of the organizations we looked to as models.

The Twin Cities Daily Planet derives revenue from contracts with local government agencies to provide media trainings, and **The Media Mobilizing Project** produces videos for nonprofits for a fee. Syndication can also produce income. **City Bureau** and **Boston Institute for Nonprofit Journalism** sometimes charge outlets that publish their stories, though their rates are flexible (and often free) depending on the outlet's budget.

Broadcast networks like **Pacifica** charge radio stations that air their programs.

A significant asset and source of revenue for some media organizations is real estate. **The Real News Network** was gifted a building in downtown Baltimore, where they are now headquartered. They rent part of the building to local grassroots and activist organizations, and rent their studios for film productions and events.

The **Local News Lab** has helped hyperlocal news organizations in New Jersey experiment with generating revenue in innovative ways. For example, one publication used a small grant from the Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation to pilot a loyalty card program in partnership with local businesses.

The Dodge Foundation has found that advertising, while not a mainstay, continues to be an important revenue source for local media. The foundation has supported local journalism by buying ads for their events, and asserts that foundations can help raise the visibility of their grantees by allocating funding for ad space in local publications.

Direct foundation support can also bolster journalism, but it is not a long-term or sustainable source of revenue. Crowdfunding can also serve to fund specific projects.

Developing a strategic combination of funding sources, with the bulk coming from members or subscribers, will be necessary to creating a sustainable financial model.

Conclusion

In April 2017, Project South convened a [Movement Media Roundtable](#), bringing together some of the people whose work and expertise are reflected in this report. The participants included media-makers working in radio, video, and print, along with organizers working at the intersections of movement and media. They represented communities in Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia, and people working across an array of frontlines including prison slavery abolition, gender justice, economic democracy, Black liberation, and immigrant rights.

Together we reviewed and discussed a draft version of *Out of Struggle*, built on it with additional ideas, and envisioned next steps. ***We are now entering the next phase of development toward launching a Southern movement journalism project. In this phase, we will expand our team, gather resources, and develop a detailed plan of action.***



Movement Media Roundtable participants, left to right:

Lewis Wallace, independent reporter; Adam Horowitz, *Mondoweiss* Editor and Project South member; La'Die Mansfield, Project South Regional Organizer; Anna Simonton, Project South Movement Communications Fellow; Trupania Bonner, Crescent City Media Group Director; Pastor Kenneth Glasgow, The Ordinary Peoples Society (TOPS) Founder and WKCG Director; Emery Wright, Project South Co-director; Paul Emery Wright, Project South baby; Stephanie Guilloud, Project South Co-director; Not Pictured: John Zippert, Federation of Southern Cooperatives Director of Program Operations and Greene County Democrat Publisher; Jovan Julien, Project South Regional Organizer

Resource List

Alliance for Community Media
www.allcommunitymedia.org

Alternate Roots
www.alternateroots.org

AOC Community Media, Lafayette, Louisiana
www.aocinc.org

Appalshop, Kentucky
www.appalshop.org

Arkansas Nonprofit News Network
www.arknews.org

Banyan Project
www.banyanproject.coop

Boston Institute for Nonprofit Journalism
www.binjonline.org

City Bureau
www.citybureau.org

Coalition of Immokalee Workers / Radio Conciencia
www.ciw-online.org

Cooperation Jackson, Mississippi
www.cooperationjackson.org

Crescent City Media Group, Louisiana
www.the-mediagroup.us

Deep Dish TV
www.deepdishtv.org

Facing South
www.facingsouth.org

Foundation for a Just Society
www.fjs.org

Free Alabama Movement
www.freealabamamovement.wordpress.com

Free Press
www.freepress.net

Free Speech TV
www.freespeech.org

The Greene County Democrat, Alabama
www.greenecodemocrat.com

Gulf Coast Center for Law and Policy, Louisiana
www.gcclp.org

Independent Voices
www.youtube.com/user/IndyVoices

The Laura Flanders Show
www.lauraflanders.com

Local News Lab
www.localnewslab.org

May First / People Link
www.mayfirst.org

Making Contact
www.radioproject.org

The Media Consortium
www.themediaconsortium.org

Media and the Movement
mediaandthemovement.unc.edu

Media Mobilizing Project
www.mediamobilizing.org

MLK50: Justice Through Journalism
www.mlk50.com

Mondoweiss
www.mondoweiss.net

Nashville Education, Community, and Arts Television (NECAT)
www.necatnetwork.org

National Federation of Community Broadcasters
www.nfcb.org

The Ordinary People's Society, Alabama
www.theordinarypeoplesociety.org/

The People's Channel
www.thepeopleschannel.org

People TV, Georgia
www.peopletv.org

Philadelphia Community Access Media (PhillyCAM)
www.phillycam.org

The Progressive Media Project
www.progressivemediaproject.org

Prometheus Radio
www.prometheusradio.org

Radio Bilingüe
www.radiobilingue.org

The Real News Network
www.therealnews.com

Scalawag Magazine
www.scalawagmagazine.org

Southern Rural Black Women's Initiative, Mississippi, Alabama, & Georgia
www.srbwi.org

Transformative Media Organizing Project
www.transformativemedia.cc

Twin Cities Daily Planet
www.tcdailyplanet.net

Twin Cities Media Alliance
www.tcmediaalliance.org

U.S. Human Rights Network
www.ushrnetwork.org

Vancouver Radio Co-op
www.coopradio.org

WKCF 99.1 FM Dothan, Alabama
www.facebook.com/WKCG99.1

WMXP 95.5 FM Greenville, South Carolina
www.wmxp955.webs.com

WMMT 88.7 FM Whitesburg, Kentucky
www.wmmt.org

Workers Dignity / Dignidad Obrera
www.workersdignity.org

WRFG 89.3 FM Atlanta, Georgia
www.wrfg.org

WUTU 88.3 FM Albany, Georgia
www.facebook.com/883WUTU

Yes! Magazine
www.yesmagazine.org

The Young Turks
www.tytnetwork.com

Youth Speak Truth, Georgia
www.projectsouth.org/youth-programs/youth-speak-truth-radio

Notes

¹ *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, No. 1, Boston, Thursday Sept. 25th, 1690." (PDF). nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/amerbegin/power/text5/PublickOccurrences.pdf. Retrieved June 25, 2016.

² <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Content.aspx?dsNav=N:4294963828-4294963805&dsRecordDetails=R:CS4415>

³ Juan González and Joseph Torres, *News for all the people*. (New York: Verso Books, 2011), 70-71.

⁴ Ibid, 98-103.

⁵ Ibid, 115-116.

⁶ Karla Kelling Sclater, "The Labor and Radical Press 1820-the Present: An Overview and Bibliography." (Pacific Northwest Labor and Civil Rights Project at the University of Washington, 2001). depts.washington.edu/labhist/laborpress/Kelling.shtml. Retrieved October 28, 2016.

⁷ David Cochran, "The Lessons of A. Philip Randolph's Life for Racial Justice and Labor Activists Today." *In These Times*, March 1, 2016. inthesetimes.com/working/entry/18894/a_philip_randolph_march_on_washington. Retrieved October 28, 2016.

⁸ Salim Muwakkil, "Corporate Media, Alternative Press, and African Americans" (speech, Media Alliance Membership Meeting, 1999.) <http://www.media-alliance.org/article.php?id=535>. Retrieved April 15, 2016.

⁹ Gonzalez and Torres, 168-170.

¹⁰ Alfredo Lopez, interview by Anna Simonton, August 9, 2016.

¹¹ "Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders." (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968) 211.

- ¹² "2016 ASNE Diversity Survey – Methodology and Detailed Tables," (Columbia, MO: American Society of News Editors, 2016).
<http://asne.org/files/Updated%20ASNE%20Diversity%20Survey%20Methodology%20and%20Tables.pdf>. Retrieved October 31, 2016.
- ¹³ Joshua Clark Davis and Seth Kotch, interview by Anna Simonton, August 9, 2016. Davis and Kotch are directors of "Media and the Movement: Journalism, Civil Rights, and Black Power in the American South," an oral history project that aims to understand the media and activism ecosystem of the American South during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s.
<http://mediaandthemovement.unc.edu/>
- ¹⁴ Lopez interview
- ¹⁵ "Mapping the Digital Divide," (Washington: Council of Economic Advisors Issue Brief, 2015).
https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/sites/default/files/wh_digital_divide_issue_brief.pdf. Retrieved November 10, 2016.
- ¹⁶ "U.S. Full Power Noncommercial FM Radio Stations." (Community Media Database, 2011).
www.communitymediadatabase.org. Retrieved November 7, 2016. This is an open-sourced database that relies on stations to enter their information; some of the data may be outdated.
- ¹⁷ "U.S. Low Power FM Radio Stations." (Community Media Database, 2011).
www.communitymediadatabase.org. Retrieved October 20, 2016. This is an open-sourced database that relies on stations to enter their information; some of the data may be outdated.
- ¹⁸ Nancy Vogt, "Number of U.S. Low-Power FM Radio Stations Has Nearly Doubled Since 2014." *Pew Research Center*, September 19, 2016. Retrieved November 16, 2016.
<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/09/19/number-of-u-s-low-power-fm-radio-stations-has-nearly-doubled-since-2014/>
- ¹⁹ Efia Nwangaza, interview by Anna Simonton, October 10, 2016.
- ²⁰ Sally Kane, interview by Anna Simonton, July 26, 2016.
- ²¹ Diana Lopez, interview by Anna Simonton, October 2, 2016.
- ²² Jack Willey, interview by Anna Simonton, October 2, 2016.
- ²³ Neptali Perez, interview by Anna Simonton, October 2, 2016.
- ²⁴ Kenneth Glasgow, interview by Anna Simonton, March 28, 2017
- ²⁵ Chenjerai Kumanyika, interviewed by Anna Simonton, October 10, 2016.

²⁶ "The Podcast Consumer 2017," (Edison Research, 2017). <http://www.edisonresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Podcast-Consumer-2017.pdf> Retrieved November 16, 2016.

²⁷ "History," *Deep Dish TV website*. <http://www.deepdish.tv/about/history/>. Retrieved November 30, 2016.

²⁸ Lisa Rudman, interview by Anna Simonton, November 7, 2016.

²⁹ Laura Flanders, interview by Anna Simonton, November 20, 2016

³⁰ Appalshop website, <https://www.appalshop.org/media/>. Retrieved December 5, 2016.

³¹ Trupania Bonner, interview by Anna Simonton, February 9, 2017.

³² Manzoor Cheema, interview by Anna Simonton, March 21, 2017.

³³ "U.S. Community Access Television Providers by State and Service Area," (Community Media Database, 2011). www.communitymediadatabase.org. Retrieved July 25, 2016. This is an open-sourced database that relies on stations to enter their information; some of the data may be outdated.

³⁴ "People TV Budget Report 2016."
<http://nebula.wsimg.com/1a09c1d0f63dbef8e3366fa5b1a4c8e0?AccessKeyId=5C4DD81D7EDEEB4C906&disposition=0&alloworigin=1>. Retrieved December 8, 2016.

³⁵ Antoine Haywood, interview by Anna Simonton, August 8, 2016.

³⁶ <http://aalbc.com/newspapers/>

³⁷ Carol Zippert and John Zippert, interview by Anna Simonton, May 25, 2016.

³⁸ Association of Alternative Newsmedia website. <http://aan.org/member-directory/>. Retrieved December 9, 2016.

³⁹ Chris Faraone, presentation at Alliance for Community Media Conference, August 18 2016.

⁴⁰ Arkansas Nonprofit News Network website. <http://arknews.org/index.php/about/>. Retrieved March 25, 2017.

⁴¹ Sandra Enos and Sandra Robertson, "We Begin By Telling Our Stories," *As the South Goes*, Volume 16, Issue 1, 2006, 12-13.

⁴² International Network of Street Newspapers website. <https://insp.ngo/who-we-are/where-are-we/>. Retrieved December 9, 2016.

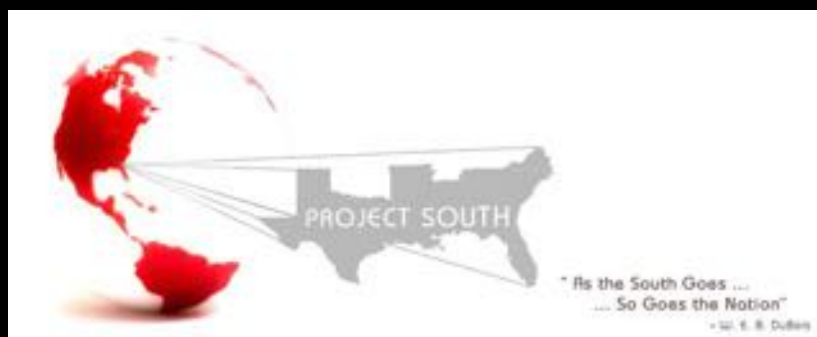
- ⁴³ *Facing South* and the Institute for Southern Studies website. <https://www.facingsouth.org/institute-southern-studies>. Retrieved January 14, 2017.
- ⁴⁴ *Scalawag* website. <http://www.scalawagmagazine.org/our-mission/>. Retrieved February 8, 2016.
- ⁴⁵ MLK50: Justice Through Journalism website. <https://mlk50.com/>. Retrieved April 3, 2017.
- ⁴⁶ Sheena Louise Roetman, interview by Anna Simonton, October 14, 2016.
- ⁴⁷ Jo Ellen Kaiser, interview by Anna Simonton, July 5, 2016
- ⁴⁸ Molly de Aguiar and Josh Stearns, "Lessons Learned from the Local News Lab," (Geraldine R. Dodge Foundation, February 2016).
- ⁴⁹ Chris Faraone, interview by Anna Simonton, October 27, 2016
- ⁵⁰ Cristeta Boarini and Bruce Johansen, interview by Anna Simonton, June 9, 2016.
- ⁵¹ Kayla Rivara, interview by Anna Simonton, August 24, 2016.
- ⁵² Darryl Holliday, interview by Anna Simonton, November 2, 2016.
- ⁵³ Carlton Turner, interview by Anna Simonton, May 27, 2016.
- ⁵⁴ Interview with Christa Hillstrom
- ⁵⁵ John Zippert, interview by Anna Simonton, May 26, 2016.
- ⁵⁶ Interview with Jo Ellen Kaiser.
- ⁵⁷ Adam Horowitz, interview by Anna Simonton, May 24, 2016.
- ⁵⁸ Data provided by the Progressive Media Project, July 8, 2016.
- ⁵⁹ Sasha Costanza-Chock and Chris Schweidler, "Out for Change: Towards Transformative Media Organizing," (Transformative Media Organizing Project, February 2015). This report was produced by a collaboration between The MIT Center for Civic Media, Research Action Design, Streetwise And Safe, the Queer Undocumented Immigrant Project, INCITE!, Gay-Straight Alliance Network, Freedom Inc., Esperanza Peace and Justice Center, and Black and Pink.
- ⁶⁰ Colette Pichon Battle, interview by Anna Simonton, June 9, 2016.
- ⁶¹ Mandy Van Deven, interview by Anna Simonton, August 21, 2016.
- ⁶² Interview with Kenneth Glasgow

⁶³ Banyan Project website, <http://banyanproject.coop/>. Retrieved December 30, 2016.

⁶⁴ Vancouver Cooperative Radio website, <http://www.coopradio.org/content/about-co-op-radio>. Retrieved December 30, 2016.

⁶⁵ Melody Kramer, "Putting the Public into Public Media Membership." *Neiman Lab*, July 13, 2015. <http://www.niemanlab.org/2015/07/putting-the-public-into-public-media-membership/> Retrieved October 31, 2016.

⁶⁶ Via Pixabay, "Journalism is a Public Service. Why Don't We Fund it Like One?" *Columbia Journalism Review*, July 19, 2017. https://www.cjr.org/united_states_project/local-news-special-service-community-information-districts.php. Retrieved July 25, 2017.



9 Gammon Ave.
Atlanta, GA 30315
404-622-0602