



When Local is National

Robert E. Gutsche Jr. & Moses Shumow

To cite this article: Robert E. Gutsche Jr. & Moses Shumow (2017): When Local is National, Journalism Studies, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364141](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364141)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364141>



Published online: 01 Sep 2017.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

WHEN LOCAL IS NATIONAL

An analysis of interacting journalistic communities in the coverage of sea rise

Robert E. Gutsche Jr. and Moses Shumow

This study explicates meanings of local journalism when what was traditionally treated as a local issue for local audiences—Miami’s rising seas—was thrust onto a national stage by national press and for wider audiences. Through a textual analysis of local news stories over a period of three years, this paper highlights how local journalists demarcated local and national journalistic boundaries, using national news to legitimize previous local coverage of sea-level rise, as news sources in local environmental journalism that strengthened presentations by local press as expertise on the issue, ultimately positioning national journalists as “outsiders.”

KEYWORDS boundary intersection; climate change; journalistic interpretive community; local news; national news; proximity; geography

Introduction

Hurricane Milo pummeled Miami, Florida (USA). Eight-hundred people were dead. Rising sea levels had contributed to 24-foot storm surge in the city. Raw sewage flooded streets due to an overwhelmed wastewater treatment plant. Roads fell into the sea. Such was the opening to a 2013 *Rolling Stone* article titled, “Goodbye, Miami”—a dramatic tale of a fictional hurricane hitting Miami in 2030. The article (*Rolling Stone*, June 20, 2013), with its sensational opening paragraphs, was an early national story about Miami’s local challenges combatting sea-level rise and drew attention from local press, politicians, and scientists as being particularly impactful in creating local discourse and dialogue about environmental change (i.e. Ankum, Brocken, and Koch 2016; Blaeuer 2014; Gutsche et al. 2017). For the next three years, more than half a dozen other in-depth articles from mainstream, national media would put Miami in a national spotlight; many of the articles were followed by local journalism about the national coverage (Table 1).

US climate scientists estimate that sea levels have risen nine inches near Florida since 1900, with mean sea level in some geographies rising four inches between 1996 and 2014 (Pinto 2016). By 2100, climatologists estimate that Miami and South Florida could see as much as six feet of rise. In Miami, this rise is already occurring underground as water infiltrates South Florida’s freshwater supplies and approaches the region’s surface by pushing up through the porous limestone upon which much of South Florida is built (Englander 2013). The slow-moving, “hidden” nature of this environmental change makes sea-level rise an unseen threat for many local citizens, politicians, civic leaders—and the press—to communicate local impacts and challenges (Ankum, Brocken, and Koch 2016; Shumow and Gutsche 2016). Indeed, challenges of sea-level rise came to a head in 2013 as national press made what was at the time considered a local issue for local journalists a national

TABLE 1

National publications, articles about Miami sea-level rise, and national perceived dominant news audience descriptions, 2013–2016

Publication	Article title	Date	Article synopsis	Publication's perceived dominant audience	Local mentions
<i>National Geographic</i>	New York's Sea-level Plan: Will it Play in Miami?	June 2013	Analysis of New York City's efforts of combating sea-level rise, compares to Miami plans, naming city at top of list of location with most property at risk domestically	"unmatched reach to a national audience that influences opinions on the Beltway, in the board room, in Silicon Valley, and beyond" ^a	<i>Biscayne Times</i> : 2 <i>Miami Herald</i> : 1 <i>Miami New Times</i> : 1 <i>Sun-Sentinel</i> : 1 WLRN: 2 Total: 7
<i>Rolling Stone</i>	Goodbye, Miami	June 20, 2013	Presents fictional hurricane that destroys Miami's infrastructure due to rising sea levels; states "Miami is doomed to drown"	"A general interest magazine covering modern American culture, politics and arts, with special interest in music" ^b	<i>Biscayne Times</i> : 2 <i>Miami Herald</i> : 9 <i>Miami New Times</i> : 2 <i>Sun-Sentinel</i> : 3 <i>South Florida Business Journal</i> : 4 WLRN: 6 Total: 26
<i>Vanity Fair</i>	Can Miami Beach Survive Global Warming?	November 10, 2013	Covers local flooding in Miami, relating it to global warming; provides critical assessment of Miami government plans to curb sea-level rise	"Vanity Fair is a cultural filter, sparking the global conversation about the people and ideas that matter most" ^c	<i>Miami New Times</i> : 2 Total: 2
<i>The New York Times</i>	Miami Finds Itself Ankle-deep in Climate Change Debate	May 7, 2014	Highlights national report naming Miami "one of the most vulnerable to severe damage" due to rising seas; focuses on local political debates	"Times readers have expected their newspaper to provide the most thorough and uncompromising coverage in the world" ^d	<i>Sun-Sentinel</i> : 1 Total: 1
<i>National Geographic</i>	Treading Water	February 2015	Examines efforts in Miami to adapt to or to mitigate sea-level rise impacts; discusses bleak future for residents	"unmatched reach to a national audience that influences opinions on the Beltway, in the board room, in Silicon Valley, and beyond" ^a	<i>Biscayne Times</i> : 2 <i>Miami Herald</i> : 2 <i>Miami New Times</i> : 1 <i>Sun-Sentinel</i> : 1 Total: 6

(Continued)

TABLE 1
(Continued)

Publication	Article title	Date	Article synopsis	Publication's perceived dominant audience	Local mentions
<i>New Republic</i>	A Rising Tide: Miami is Sinking Beneath the Sea—but Not Without a Fight	November 8, 2015	Features local Miami officials preparing for future environmental change; showcases mitigation	"Our audience is not defined by age, they are defined by influence. They embrace new technology, they are extremely active on social media, and they have ever-expanding networks across multiple platforms" ^e	<i>Miami New Times</i> : 1 Total: 1
<i>New Yorker</i>	The Siege of Miami	December 21, 2015	Overview of ecological and political issues surrounding sea-level rise in Miami	"a weekly magazine offering a signature mix of reporting and commentary on politics, international affairs, popular culture and the arts, science and technology, and business, along with fiction, poetry, humor, and cartoons" ^f	WLRN: 1 <i>Miami New Times</i> : 2 Total: 3
<i>The Atlantic</i>	Taking the High Ground and Developing It	March 2016	Emphasizes economic development, gentrification, and economic injustice in Miami mitigation efforts	"Leveraging all platforms at our disposal—print, digital, events, and more—we ignite crucial global conversations about what matters most, from art and culture to business and politics" ^g	<i>Miami New Times</i> : 2 Total: 2
<i>Politico</i>	How Miami Beach is Keeping the Florida Dream Alive—and Dry	March 14, 2016	Presents local political and economic debates related to sea-level rise in Miami	"a must-read for the most influential people in the country, an audience we call 'politicos'" ^h	<i>Miami New Times</i> : 1 Total: 1
Total					49

^aSee nationalgeographic.com/mediakit/ng_magazine.html.

^bSee srds.com/mediakits/rollingstone/RS_PS.pdf.

^cSee condenast.com/brands/vanity-fair.

^dSee nytmediakit.com/newspaper.

^eSee advertise.newrepublic.com.

^fSee newyorker.com/about/us.

^gSee rethink.theatlantic.com/static/img/upload/pdfs/TheAtlanticMediaKit_2015.pdf.

^hSee politico.com/about/advertising.

issue of immense local importance (Akerlof 2016). As a result, the intersection of these journalistic boundaries created several moments of distinct boundary work.

Much scholarship on journalists as an interpretive community approaches boundary work around a single community, such as how one newsroom deals with professional norms (Reese 1990), how industry leaders maintain dominant ideological paradigms at a time of technological and social change (for review, see Carlson and Lewis 2015), and how audiences interact with news (Tandoc and Jenkins 2016). Comparative studies also examine the practices of an elite journalistic community at an international level (i.e. Örnebring 2016) and of professional and “alternative” forms of journalism, such as satire and citizen journalism (Robinson 2007). By examining the intersection of two distinct journalistic communities over the period of three years through analysis of local news coverage of the local-cum-national, this paper contributes to a rich field of study, expanding upon processes of journalistic paradigm maintenance when potentially distinct journalistic communities collide.

Our aim is to explicate meanings of local journalism about Miami’s rising seas beginning in 2013 as moments when two distinct journalistic interpretive communities met—when what was traditionally treated as a local issue for local audiences (Pilkey, Pilkey-Jarvis, and Pilkey 2016) was thrust onto a national stage by national press and for wider audiences. Put simply, this paper highlights how local journalists demarcated local and national journalistic boundaries in three ways: first, by acknowledging national coverage of Miami’s environmental change and using that coverage as a catalyst to boost local legitimacy in covering the issues themselves; second, by incorporating national news as foundational evidence and as an expert source for localization in which local journalists, too, highlighted a level of expertise through additional local sourcing; and, third, critiquing national news stories as being sensationalized and, therefore, not legitimate coverage of local communities.

Based on a textual analysis of 39 articles published in six local South Florida news outlets between 2013 and 2016, this paper begins by discussing relevant research related to journalistic interpretive communities and journalistic boundary work at various levels of proximity to perceived dominant news audiences (Gutsche and Salkin 2016a).

The Form and Function of Journalistic Communities

In cultural terms, journalism serves as a function for social cohesion as it provides dominant explanations for social conditions and events that inform and guide a citizenry through appropriate responses and interpretations (Gutsche 2017). The role of journalism to build “community” and to provide dominant explanations of daily life appears as a journalistic tenet, especially in the United States (Leupold, Klinger, and Jarren 2016; Richards 2013). The professionalization of journalism in Western societies has created standards of newsworthiness, such as proximity of audiences to news events, prominence of those involved in the news event, and approved journalistic processes of information-gathering, such as attribution and accuracy (Hanitzsch and Vos 2016). These standards, altered by social and cultural values of imagined and socio-political geographies, tend to remain sacrosanct in terms of providing information that reinforces trust in institutions and maintains approved behaviors and values by which society functions (McBride and Rosenstiel 2014).

Journalism as Community Formation

As a result of affirming and legitimizing dominant ideologies and institutions among audiences through news coverage, journalism also contributes to the creation and maintenance of what is often considered “community,” defined largely by members’ geographic proximity to one another (for review, see Gutsche and Salkin 2016a). Despite the slippery terminology of “community”—indicating a single entity within society when in fact what are considered “communities” often consist of various groups and individuals of varying belief systems—“community” is frequently used to identify human collectives of ideology and geography in journalism studies (Alexander et al. 2004; Eldridge and Steel 2016). Still, “community” continues to be used by practicing journalists to describe the spaces within which they create social cohesion, even in a digital age (Boyles 2016; Soffer 2013). Beyond creating journalistic and geographic forms of community, journalistic boundary work maintains norms of journalism itself that standardize for audiences what can be considered legitimate journalism and who can be considered a legitimate journalist (Berkowitz and TerKeurst 1999; Meltzer 2009).

Recognizing Journalistic Boundaries

Industry leaders and individual journalists maintain journalistic norms in acts that range from public statements that disapprove of journalistic work to termination of employment at moments of paradigm repair that are designed to diminish threats to the community that might erode journalism’s social and cultural status among audiences and institutions (Carlson 2016). Journalistic boundary work also relies on publically communicated stipulations by which professional journalism is defined and to provide a framework for identifying clearer ideas of not only “who” a journalist is, but the potential borders of journalistic communities themselves (Usher 2015). Legacy press have long relied upon geographic borders to define their interpretive communities, but the rise of internet and mobile news has challenged the power of these geographies to identify who, what, and where journalists constitute an interpretive community (Robinson 2007). Developments related to satire journalism (Baym 2010), notions of the elite press (Singer 2013), and the effort of journalists to maintain credibility in widening media entities in a digital era (Berkowitz and Gutsche 2012) have entered into public discussions about the social and cultural—and physical—boundaries of the press. In the United States, one major border for understanding journalistic communities is that of the national–local dialectic, a division recognized as sets of media outlets with distinct geographic influences and audiences (Gans 2004).

National press in the United States are said to serve an agenda-setting function in which prominent journalists identify with a wide and powerful audience, among which are regional and local journalists (Gans 2004). According to agenda-setting concepts, national newspapers, such as *The New York Times*, and national magazines guide the press in what issues should be covered (Funk and McCombs 2017; Golan 2006). What national press concentrate on, scholars argue, is funneled to local audiences through professional journalism norms and practices that influence decision-making related to what regional and local issues are covered (Napoli et al. 2017). A localizing function of the press constructs issues of a larger geography and of the national press to resonate with local audiences (Ettema 2005; Kaniss 1991), a process which contextualizes details and

presents local vantage points (Bird 2003; Lee et al. 2014). Indeed, scholars note the proximity of a media outlet to a news event influences varying journalistic practices (Lewis et al. 2012; Wallace 2008). As Domingo and Cam (2015, 147) write, “journalists act in regard to their collective identity,” much of which is fueled by perceptions of audiences, competition among journalists, the maintenance of journalist–source relationships, and public acknowledgement of their work.

While constructions of dominant, mainstream journalistic identity are largely based in historical contexts of journalistic professionalization, Domingo and Cam (2015, 147) write, identities of national magazine journalists, for instance, are “performed through the images they think their audiences have of them,” much of which surrounds the magazine’s brand and reader base (Carpenter, Kanver, and Timmons 2016; Jenkins and Tandoc 2017; Kitch 2005). Additionally, national magazines hold a particularly specific relationship with audiences by presenting high-profile stories that are designed to engage readers through stories of human interest and with a tone that directs the editorial content to be perceived as being personally relevant (Abrahamson 2007). For instance, Abrahamson writes that “editors and writers of magazines share a direct community of interest with their readers” (669), which reduces a “journalistic distance” between readers and the outlet. Beyond building the magazine’s brand, Abrahamson argues, this reduced “distance” “leads to action” within audiences, as readers are encouraged by the coverage “to do something—and, in many cases, to do something better or more enjoyable” (670).

Regional press in the United States function in a similar manner by placing news that occurs outside of the region within local meanings that resonate with local audiences and regional identities (Barnhurst 2002; Kaniss 1991). Fry (2003), for instance, recognizes the differing roles of local and television news in covering massive flooding of Midwestern states of the United States in the 1990s.

Journalistic Interpretive Identity Via Perceived Audience Expectation

Local press benefit from identifying as serving a particular geography and shape news to support meanings of most legitimacy for local audiences, which has long been associated with proximity to journalistic distribution (Hess and Waller 2017; Yanich 2001). Understanding how journalists cover local geographies—even in a digital age that extends journalism beyond traditional interpretations of readers and viewers—assists in critical interpretations of journalistic practices and products (Lule 2001). How media outlets identify dominant audiences is a key indicator of an interpretive community’s identity (Kaniss 1991) as journalists’ application of notions of dominant audiences’ perceived values, approved activities, and evidence of social cohesion appear in news messages (Leupold, Klinger, and Jarren 2016). Gutsche and Salkin (2016b) examine the role of “perceived dominant news audience” in understanding the potential (and named) intended audience of print journalists, which is further discussed below. Indeed, newspapers continue to be considered, by journalists at least, to lead the field’s ranks in terms of setting coverage and reporting practices to maintain cultural relevance among audiences (Meltzer 2009).

Perceptions of audience is also key to local coverage and the creation of local journalistic interpretive communities, as is the notion of specialized knowledge related to local events and issues, access to a wide range of local sources, and a sense of responsibility to tell stories in greater detail than national press (Holody, Park, and Zhang 2013).

Indeed, mainstream journalistic norms and journalistic perceptions of interactions with audiences at moments of national–local boundary meetings provide discursive tools to protect local issues and local press authority (Dunbar-Hester 2013). For instance, Lewis et al. (2012) argue that in covering the 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, local newspapers broke away from the approach of national press, which by and large focused on national politics related to the environmental disaster. Local press throughout the region, however, focused on the details of environmental concerns and outcomes related to the affected citizens. Still, researchers found that national press was more critical of local policies.

To be clear, this study is interested less in the coverage of the growing impacts of sea-level rise in South Florida between 2013 and 2016 than it is in how local press explained and reacted to national coverage of a phenomenon impacting local space, issues, and people. Furthermore, while this study does not examine processes of media localism, localization or agenda-setting, nor does it attempt to explain causes for either national or local coverage in these cases, we further understandings of journalistic boundary work through an examination of what we call “boundary intersection,” which we define as a moment when two distinct journalistic communities meet in coverage of a specific geography or issue. This paper, therefore, is guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: How did local press cover national coverage of local issues?

RQ2: In what ways did local press use specific elements of national press articles in its coverage?

RQ3: What meanings related to journalistic boundary work emerge in an analysis of how local media covered national news of local issues?

Method

This study conducts a qualitative textual analysis of language, vantage point, and journalistic approach in ways that position the analysis within a larger set of conceptual meanings (Lindlof and Taylor 2010). This study relied on two datasets, that of national articles related to sea-level rise in South Florida and that of local coverage, which mentioned those specific national articles. By discussing this project in advance with Miami and South Florida journalists, environmental activists, scientists, and politicians between spring 2013 and the summer of 2016, we collectively identified a list of national magazine and newspaper stories about sea-level rise and climate change in Florida.¹ Informants described these national stories as contributing to local public and press discourses about environmental change and noted that these articles were frequently mentioned in public meetings, in press coverage, and in scientific discussions about changing environments in South Florida (see Table 1).

To examine how local media covered national news of local issues, we searched South Florida news outlets that consistently covered sea-level rise issues (for more, see Shumow and Gutsche 2016). Using the names of the national publications as search terms, we searched for articles within a date range of publication beginning when the relevant national publication appeared until June 1, 2016. We used the first day of the respective month of a magazine’s publication as the start date in those searches to account for

publication both on newsstands and online. Searches were conducted using Access World News: The World database and each South Florida publication online archives. Local articles served as data for this study if the articles mentioned the national press coverage by publication name. We collected both news articles and newspaper editorials to reflect comprehensive coverage in each case and to identify content by its type in our analysis. This process resulted in 39 articles (see Table 2) that were then read multiple times by researchers to identify common themes of coverage, a method common to journalism studies analysis (i.e. Berkowitz and Eko 2007).

To begin our analysis, we first identified distinct journalistic communities of each publication (Table 2) by examining the outlet's published descriptions of their "perceived dominant news audience." Defined as the "readers that the media outlet identifies as its main priority or interest" (Gutsche and Salkin 2016b, 459), such descriptions often appear in marketing material or in descriptions of the outlet's mission. In their work, Gutsche and Salkin (2016a) recognize the difficulty of identifying exact media audiences, particularly in an age of post-print. Readers can be virtually anywhere, the researchers argue, though these descriptions frequently take into account the digital age and apply to both print and digital content. In this study, national outlets consistently identified as covering issues at national and international levels of interest and described audiences as being largely within domestic boundaries. Local media outlets selected for this study tended to present themselves as both localizing international and national news and covering Miami-area news for audiences in specific neighborhoods and cities of South Florida.

To conduct our analysis related to how the dynamic between local and national journalistic communities reflects boundary work, we turned to research on meanings of journalistic language and approach (i.e. Gutsche 2014; Lule 2001; Parisi 1998) to examine each local article's (1) overall purpose or thrust in relaying information, (2) ways in which national articles were referenced or information from national reporting was identified or applied in local coverage, (3) overall tone and language used to describe the coverage by national journalists. Throughout the analysis, we paid particular attention to the storytelling and language that preceded and followed each mention of national reporting as a means of finding context for the usage. As a result, our analysis identified two sets of local coverage over the three years: one set appeared immediately after the 2013 *Rolling Stone* article; the other appeared nearly two years following the *Rolling Stone* article as more national publications covered sea-level rise in South Florida, many of which also referenced the *Rolling Stone* piece.

Processes and Meanings of "Boundary Intersection"

In this section, we address specific journalistic mechanisms within local press coverage—such as vantage point of national and local journalism, sourcing, and interpretation of environmental information expressed in news coverage—that articulated local journalistic expertise and highlighted boundary work of those covering environmental and cultural issues related to sea-level rise in South Florida.

National Vantage Point as Local Press Legitimization

In the first analysis, an effort by local press to incorporate national coverage into its reporting as a legitimization of their own work emerges as a key function of boundary

TABLE 2

Perceived dominant news audience descriptions of local news publications

Publication	Description and perceived dominant audience	Number of articles
<i>Biscayne Times</i>	Alternative and free weekly publication distributed in northeastern Miami-Dade County with focus on real estate and development “for the Biscayne Corridor, from downtown Miami to Aventura, including all the island communities” ^a	3
<i>Miami Herald</i>	Local mainstream, agenda-setting newspaper based in Doral, Florida for “[r]eaders in South Florida, the Caribbean and Latin America; web visitors from around the globe” ^b	11
<i>Miami New Times</i>	Alternative and free weekly publication focused on culture, distributed throughout Miami-Dade County as “the region’s essential compendium of news and information for residents and visitors alike” ^c	8
<i>South Florida Business Journal</i>	Publication focused on real estate and development, highlighting “business opportunities in Broward, Miami-Dade and Palm Beach counties” ^d	4
<i>South Florida Sun-Sentinel</i>	Local mainstream, agenda-setting newspaper based in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, “covering Fort Lauderdale, Miami, Palm Beach, Broward, and Dade counties” ^e	5
WLRN	Public radio, television station, and website “for South Florida,” “serving local, national and international communities” ^f	8
Total		39

^aSee biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=642&Itemid=48.

^bSee miamiherald.com/customer-service/about-us.

^cSee miaminewtimes.com/about.

^dSee twitter.com/SFBJNews.

^eSee twitter.com/SunSentinel.

^fSee wlrn.org/wlrn-mission-and-vision. While WLRN is a local public radio station, its website boasts robust print reporting.

delineation between local and national reporting around sea-level rise. As news about sea-level rise in South Florida gained attention in the national spotlight, largely through coverage in *Rolling Stone* in June 2013, local news stories approached the attention as a means by which to reaffirm reporting in which local media had been engaged and to push back against still prominent denials as to the causes or mere existence of sea-level rise. The day after the *Rolling Stone* article appeared, a prominent *Miami Herald* columnist offered up his reaction to the national reporting under the headline, “Rising Seas? Geezer Pols Will Be Dead by Then” (Grimm 2013). In a rebuttal of climate change denial among Florida politicians—including Florida Governor Rick Scott and US Senator from Florida Marco Rubio, two of the strongest anti-climate change advocates in the state—the column continues for several hundred words about state-level political battles to stall progress on climate change issues, despite a multitude of South Florida voices calling for action. The article ends with a declaration of the future: “by the time the waves are breaking over Biscayne Boulevard, with a little luck, we’ll be dead and pushing up daisies. Make that seaweed.”

That same month, the local National Public Radio (NPR) affiliate—on the radio and on its website—used *National Geographic* reporting that appeared around the same time as the *Rolling Stone* piece to point out that Miami has been “called out” as one of the world cities most vulnerable to climate change, reaffirming claims that had been made in local reporting for some time (Woolfenden 2013). Six months after *Rolling Stone* released its article, an editorial in Fort Lauderdale’s *Sun-Sentinel* opined that climate change is no longer considered “junk science,” citing *Rolling Stone* as evidence that “everyone” is now talking about climate change (*Sun-Sentinel* 2013a). The editorial argued for the state’s public officials to identify plans to combat local environmental change, thus asserting their own local influence to not just recognize a growing crisis but to call for political response on a statewide level.

In addition to recognizing local issues pushed onto a national stage, localization of national coverage of local issues served to reinforce and legitimize South Florida journalistic coverage of sea-level rise. In their reporting, South Florida journalists highlighted journalistic boundaries in ways that interpreted scientific, economic, political, and environmental information based, in large part, in relationship to news outlets’ proximity to the news issues at hand (Dunbar-Hester 2013). In turn, the local press recognized the journalistic position and relevance of interest by national journalists, but—as regional and local press do (Bird 2002; Napoli et al. 2017; Richards 2013)—produced local sources, perspective, and political debate to reinforce the role and cultural authority of the local journalistic community.

As another example of leveraging national press coverage as a source of additional local journalistic legitimacy, a July 2013 *South Florida Business Journal* article about a growing storm off the coast of Florida referred to *Rolling Stone* coverage of flooding dangers and potential strife that the national magazine had imagined. In the same story, the *South Florida Business Journal* included an annotated bibliography of its previous coverage of local climate change issues, positioning the *South Florida Business Journal* as an on-par source for local environmental expertise (Bevan 2013); indeed, the list of articles included those predating national stories related to South Florida sea-level rise challenges.

While the *Rolling Stone* article—with its sensational language and deep research—attracted much attention in local journalism about sea-level rise immediately after its publication, the article served as a legitimization of and for local reporting on the topic years later (i.e. Dearan and Kay 2015). In April 2016, for instance, the *Miami Herald* reviewed a newly published book on sea-level rise that suggests Miami is a city doomed to submerge into the sea. The *Miami Herald’s* review is grounded in reporting from *Rolling Stone* and *National Geographic* to argue that while local politicians may be ignoring pending catastrophe, national journalists and academics are taking notice in ways that encourage local journalists to cover the issue (Nesmith 2016). A month later in 2016, the *Miami New Times*, a weekly newspaper, began a satirical approach to covering national coverage about—and local responses to—sea-level rise (Billete 2016) and highlighted how the environmental issue has become one of greater attention for national press than for local journalists: “Everyone in the nation is talking about it,” the newspaper writes, “*Vanity Fair*, *Wired*, the *New Yorker*, and even *National Geographic*.”

While overt mentions of intersections between national and local audiences, publics, and journalists were few, local coverage tended to source national journalism in ways that highlighted the newsworthiness of sea-level rise as a local issue and the prominence and journalistic importance of being covered by national journalists. Such local coverage also

prepared a foundation of national press as an expert source for South Florida journalists, which is discussed in more detail next.

Sharing (Spatial) Boundaries Via Journalism as Journalistic Evidence

Beyond positioning national coverage of local issues as a legitimization of (or justification for) local press to cover social and political issues of sea-level rise in South Florida, local South Florida media also leveraged national coverage to enhance its own reporting on these issues by including local voices and experiences. In turn, national coverage became a type of “journalistic evidence” (Gutsche 2017)—that which is deemed by journalists as legitimate and authoritative information that supplements local reporting and perspectives. In other words, local journalism tended to refer to national press coverage not just to justify its own coverage of local environmental issues but to position the coverage itself as legitimate and verified by another set of expert sources. In turn, local and national press shared in journalistic boundaries of expertise and authority in terms of covering South Florida ecology, politics, and economy related to rising seas.

A month after the 2013 *Rolling Stone* article appeared, for instance, a reporter on the local NPR affiliate prefaced coverage of local experiences with flooding, aging infrastructure, and beach erosion by positioning explanations of South Florida’s sea rise as being greatly influenced by the region’s porous limestone, as evidenced by *Rolling Stone* reporting (Echarte 2013). A week earlier, in a preview of an upcoming South Florida news roundup, the radio’s website linked to the *Rolling Stone* article to ground related local journalism in a realm of legitimacy as state and regional politicians were quoted in local press as denying climate change and sea-level rise issues (Chen 2013). The talk show preview posted online promises the voices and experiences of local listeners, thus taking ownership of a national story that was being played out locally and to connect the legitimacy of national coverage in ways that supported local reporting.

In the articles examined for this study, local press coverage identified national coverage of local issues in ways that made one interpretive community a journalistic source for another, and reinforced the legitimacy and cultural function of delivering information for distinct audiences of both communities. In other words, local news coverage explained to local audiences not only the environmental information disseminated at the national level, but also the meanings and relevance of information to local audience members. Such interactions between journalistic communities provide multiple entry points for analysis, including the ways in which expertise is delineated in coverage of particular issues and geographies, and how respective audiences are provided with explanations of journalistic roles and functions during times of contested journalistic legitimacy, particularly where controversial topics are concerned, and changing cultural norms exist (i.e. Carlson and Peifer 2013; Revers 2014).

Local South Florida reporting that moved beyond hard news and the region’s alternative press also shared in boundary work related to national news coverage of local issues. A 2014 op-ed in Fort Lauderdale’s *Sun-Sentinel* contributed by a local freelance reporter, for instance, referenced expertise and science as described by *Rolling Stone* when discussing the dangers of sea-level rise and what some local officials and residents considered continued political inaction (Latzman 2014). Other articles in local press outlets relied on national press to elevate the issues at hand, frequently turning to the *Rolling Stone* article—and the

fictional Hurricane Milo—as an example of potential dangers due to sea-level rise in South Florida (Brinkmann 2013; Elfrink 2016; Rollason 2013; Stone 2013).

A 2016 *Miami Herald* news obituary for Peter Harlem—one of the most influential local climate change scientists—wrote that Harlem was an early voice in discussing the dangers of sea-level rise who was often picked up by national press (Cohen 2016).² The obituary even included recent national headlines as evidence of Harlem's influence at a national level to call attention to local matters: "Miami Finds Itself Ankle-deep in Climate Change Debate" (*The New York Times*); "Millennials Are Flocking to Miami, Where They Might All Drown Soon" (Fast Company); "Goodbye, Miami" (*Rolling Stone*). In this instance, the local press upheld a local scientist as "one of our own," though for many years, Harlem was a lone voice in the wilderness, given very little attention for his work beyond the scientific community.³

By referring to national coverage of local issues as evidence of a story's importance, local news coverage relied on national press coverage to provide a sense of legitimacy and shared journalistic boundaries. The practice of journalists using other journalists as sources is common enough, in large part because information that comes from journalists is widely available and, in turn, economically affordable for journalists to reuse (Phillips 2011). In this case, local journalists sourced national coverage in ways that recognized journalistic boundaries between national and local press, which then was strengthened and defended through discourse that positioned local press as the ultimate experts of local environmental change and culture. This analysis is discussed next.

Discourse as Defense: Journalistic Claims to Boundary

Despite assuming journalistic legitimacy for local news audiences in South Florida by relying on national coverage of sea-level rise at contentious times, local press' boundary intersection with national coverage also signified a desire to maintain local expertise when reporting on local identities and issues. Through reporting that described national attention as sensationalistic and apocalyptic, local reporting aligned more directly with previous research on boundary work in journalistic practice. In this case, a regionally defined community of practitioners with shared audiences sought to define and defend their own reporting and communities against a perceived territorial encroachment by national outlets. While much of the resistance to national coverage surrounded the "Goodbye, Miami" *Rolling Stone* article, attempts by local journalists to reify local journalistic boundaries spread across coverage over three years and included responses, critiques, and characterizations of national reporting that positioned proximity to local news events as paramount to journalistic legitimacy, a ritual of power in the creation of local authority over information (Ali 2017).

The day the 2013 *Rolling Stone* article was published online, for instance, the *Miami Herald* published their own reaction to the article, with quotes drawn directly from the magazine (Smiley 2013). A straightforward piece of reporting—except when considering that this is in fact a story *about* a story—the journalist gathered reactions to the magazine article from realtors, scientists, and politicians, most of them to support the premise that the *Rolling Stone* article had gone too far in its apocalyptic vision of Miami's future. Although the tone of the newspaper article follows journalistic tones of a reaction piece, its appearance in the region's leading agenda-setter (Shumow and Gutsche 2016) itself serves as a

response to other journalism and indicates local efforts to delineate lines of journalistic authority and influence.

A few weeks later, under the headline, “Miami’s Atlantis, Interrupted,” the *Miami Herald’s* editorial board also chimed in, arguing that while the *Rolling Stone* piece produced “predictable international buzz,” South Florida had in fact not been ignoring the issue of climate change:

Truth is, South Florida has not ignored climate change. Officials from seashore counties from Monroe to north of Palm Beach have been working together for years to promote new technologies for the long term—and short-term fixes like more sand and sea walls to stop the encroaching seas. (*Miami Herald* March 23, 2013)

While it is a rejection of negative portrayals of South Florida’s action related to rising seas, the editorial ends on a somber note: “Much more needs to be done at the state and local levels, though, to save Florida from an underwater burial.” A month after it was published, another instance of local press resistance to the *Rolling Stone* article emerged on the website of local NPR affiliate WLRN. While appreciative of attention that the national article had drawn to a pressing local issue, an op-ed penned by a local scientist argued that the *Rolling Stone* article’s tone was “too much, too soon” in terms of relaying “the lack of any sign of hopefulness as to things that can be done to mitigate or adapt to the expected impacts” (Enfield 2013). The op-ed, which appeared on the radio station’s website, continued in its defense of the region’s response to climate change, stating that the *Rolling Stone* “article paints us as a bunch of hedonists who deserve our lot and may as well pack our suitcases and head to Colorado like Noah’s Ark to Mount Ararat.”

Other local coverage appeared to measure the degree to which local and national news coverage of sea-level rise was influential in creating public discourse in South Florida (i.e. Lavelle 2013). A month after the *Rolling Stone* article appeared, for instance, a journalist with the *South Florida Business Journal* complained in his column that he had been raising the alarm on the threat of sea-level rise for a long time, but had not received much traction from local journalists, politicians, and business leaders (Brinkmann 2013). Leading his article with a nod to the *Rolling Stone* piece and a plea for his readers to “Please read [it],” his was a decidedly bitter report about how he was not able to report the story himself:

As a journalist, I’ve been trying to explain the risk and growing impact of rising seas here for years. (See my blog “Sea Level Rise: Ultimate South Beach party wrecker?”). I’m a little jealous of the full-page spreads the magazine devoted to Jeff Goodell’s story. (Brinkmann 2013)

The *South Florida Business Journal* reporter goes on to present himself as a local resident with information about the readiness and expertise of South Florida to address rising seas, rebutting claims made in national coverage. In one anecdote, the reporter recalls attending a breakfast to discuss Miami Beach’s installation of water pumps and plans to raise streets during which residents had told him that even such efforts were “too late” to make a difference. In the following years, as more national media outlets turned their collective gaze to the threats facing South Florida, local journalists began to push back against the abilities of national press to discuss local issues and culture in an effort to maintain journalistic boundary lines around this topic (i.e. Dorschner 2013; Harper 2013; *Sun-Sentinel* 2013b).

One *Biscayne Times* article in March 2015 (Harper 2015), for instance, discussed the consumption of nonrenewable energy by US residents and growing calls for a divestment strategy aimed at fossil fuel companies. Referencing a recent article from *National Geographic* on “Climate Change Economics,” the *Biscayne Times* article revisits a proposal from a Dutch company to build luxury floating mansions on a privately owned lake in North Miami Beach and the resistance to this idea by residents. A second article from the same issue of the *Biscayne Times* (Bojnansky 2015) also applied coverage of the floating mansions that had appeared in *National Geographic*. “Last month North Miami Beach got some publicity from *National Geographic* magazine,” the *Biscayne Times* wrote. “[T]he feature focused on another old rock mine in NMB [North Miami Beach] called Maule Lake, and a community of floating islands, Amillarah Private Islands, that doesn’t yet exist,” positioning in current media memory another moment when national journalistic attention provided an entrance point for local press to discuss a local issue. The *Miami Herald* also chimed in on the floating mansions. When discussing how Miami might adapt to climate change, the reporter writes derisively about the proposed floating mansions in Maule Lake and quotes a *National Geographic* reporter who wrote that the floating mansions are the “rich man’s antidote to climate change” (Gordon 2015).

Local press response to national coverage of local sea-level rise also led to caustic and cynical coverage. In March 2016, two *Miami New Times* articles, for instance, critiqued the quality of national coverage of the threats of sea-level rise and questioned the degree to which national journalists could accurately discuss conflicts surrounding environmental change—and solutions—in South Florida. The first article (Munzenrieder 2016a) focused on a piece from *The Atlantic* headlined, “Taking the High Ground and Developing It,” which, according to the *Miami New Times*, appeared to link climate change with gentrification—a divisive issue within parts of Miami at the time (for review, see Shumow and Gutsche 2016). Yet, as the *Miami New Times* writer argued, “in the end, the *Atlantic* story is basically clickbait. It’s a headline that says one thing but doesn’t prove it.” According to the *Miami New Times*, gentrification and sea-level rise:

... are serious challenges for the Magic City’s future, and both stories have been covered extensively by the local and national media. Yet no one has tried to link the two topics directly—until now, probably because they have little to do with each other. Yet *The Atlantic* tries to make the case in a story today. (Munzenrieder 2016a)

By identifying what he considered inconsistencies in the reporting and replacing it with a supposed local, more knowledgeable perspective, the *Miami New Times* coverage challenges the authority of a national outlet, a process of crossing geographic and temporal lines by attempting to control local discourse about journalistic fact, process, and cultural legitimacy.

In a second *Miami New Times* article (Munzenrieder 2016b), the newspaper retaliates against a list of national stories on local sea-level rise by *Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker*, *Atlantic*, and *Politico*, focusing on resentment among local sources who claim national media coverage exaggerates the threat of climate change and the inability of the region to do anything about it. Beyond naming the short-list of national magazines above, the *Miami New Times* reporter takes aim at an article about development and sea-level rise in Miami published in *New York* magazine that in the *Miami New Times*’ words, “has nothing intellectually stimulating to offer.”

As further evidence of intersecting journalistic boundaries, the *New York* magazine, anticipating backlash to its piece, tweeted a link to its article along with a message to Miami audiences: “Go ahead and come at me Miami #sorrynotsorry.” Indeed, the *Miami New Times* reporter took the bait in his piece, referring to the national article as “an odd mashup of dismissive hotel review, climate change concern trolling [*sic*], and swipes at the entire city of Miami.” In so doing, the *Miami New Times* positioned itself as a news outlet that stands for local values, writing that “Locals should be particularly offended by the [*New York* magazine’s] third paragraph, a contemptuous summation of the entirety of Miami.” According to *New York* magazine’s reporter, while visiting Miami:

you realize pretty quickly that whatever you are doing in Miami—be it drinking margaritas or sunbathing or starting a Ponzi scheme or merely existing on a strip of sand that scientists predict will be completely submerged by the end of this century—is long-term unhealthy if not kind of unconscionable. (*New York* magazine, March 23, 2016)

The *Miami New Times* summarized the magazine’s banter as a “phenomenon of journalists visiting Miami, spending their time doing touristy things, and then complaining the city has nothing intellectually stimulating to offer” (Munzenrieder 2016b).

As this section discussed, local journalism’s realignment of national coverage to local values—a common practice of local news outlets (Bird 2003; Ettema 2005; Kaniss 1991)—further delineated journalistic boundaries at a moment when two distinct journalistic communities intersected around the potential impact of sea-level rise and resulting crises in the same geographic region. As a result of this delineation, local press, when challenged by a set of national reporting with its own status of recognized authority, produced coverage that served to question the legitimacy of an external journalistic community while at the same time reinforcing its own status as a more relevant and reliable arbiter of local values, culture, and information.

Conclusion

Through an examination of three years of local news coverage of national reporting related to local issues of sea-level rise in South Florida, we focus on specific moments we refer to as “boundary intersection,” times when two distinct journalistic communities meet in coverage of a single issue or geography. In these moments, we argue, journalistic boundary work becomes complicated as journalists from distinct communities interact—in this case as local journalists covered national reporting in ways that attempted to stake a claim on who should cover these issues, and how. As we argue above, local journalists began this process by using national coverage as a catalyst for their own reporting on the issues. *Rolling Stone* reporting on the contentious issues related to sea-level rise in Miami, for example, served as a leveraging point for local journalists to broach the topic directly at a time when there was still entrenched resistance to the discussion among local and state power structures.

Relatedly, by incorporating national news coverage of local issues into their own reporting, local journalists were then able to apply local expertise and sources to extend national reporting that also highlighted the ability of local press to make meaning of local issues that appeared on a national stage. Lastly, local news coverage strengthened local journalists’ legitimacy over local issues—delineating their journalistic role as distinct

from those at the national level—by questioning and critiquing what several Miami journalists referred to as national-level, sensationalized reporting.

This study contributes to scholarship on journalistic boundary work by complicating understandings of how news functions to form collective interpretations and presentations of journalistic legitimacy based, in part, on geography/proximity and perceived audience needs. In other words, few have examined interactions of mainstream journalistic communities beyond functions of agenda-setting to examine the function of news storytelling to enforce or enhance journalistic boundary work. Subsequent research should include interviews with journalists from distinct journalistic communities as well as comparative analysis of multiple geographies and topics that address the potential to further develop notions of “boundary intersection.” Mobile media that extend journalism from legacy media outlets across geographies and journalistic communities harken the need for scholars and practitioners to examine issues of proximity, audience, and journalistic interpretation of information to relative audiences.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors thank the reviewers for their comments on this article and Jeffrey Pierre for his assistance in collecting and organizing data for this study.

DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

NOTES

1. For more on efforts related to this study, see eyesontherise.org.
2. Harlem was quoted in nearly all the national media articles discussed in this research.
3. As a point of transparency, authors of this study were colleagues of Harlem.

REFERENCES

- Abrahamson, David. 2007. “Magazine Exceptionalism: The Concept the Criteria, the Challenge.” *Journalism Studies* 8 (4): 667–670.
- Akerlof, Karen. 2016. *U.S. Media Coverage of Sea Level Rise and Climate Change: Coverage in National and Local Newspapers, 2011–2015*. Fairfax, VA: Center for Climate Change Communication, George Mason University. https://www.climatechangecommunication.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/SLR_Reporting_v2_082016.pdf.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C., Ron Eyeran, Bernard Giesen, Niel J. Smelser, and Piotr Sztompka. 2004. *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ali, Christopher. 2017. *Media Localism: The Policies of Place*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Ankum, Lars, Wessel Brocken, and Tiemen Koch. 2016. “Don’t Count on Living in Miami: A Human Geographical Approach to Understanding the Ramifications of Sea Level Rise for Urban Miami.” Sea Level Rise Collection. Paper52. http://digitalcommons.fu.edu/sea_level_rise/52.
- Barnhurst, Kevin G. 2002. “News Geography & Monopoly: The Form of Reports on US Newspaper Internet Sites.” *Journalism Studies* 3 (4): 477–489.

- Baym, Geoffrey. 2010. *From Cronkite to Colbert: The Evolution of Broadcast News*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Berkowitz, Dan, and Lyombe Eko. 2007. "Blasphemy as Sacred Rite/Right: The Mohammed Cartoons Affairs' and Maintenance of Journalistic Ideology." *Journalism Studies* 8 (5): 779–797.
- Berkowitz, Dan, and Robert E. Gutsche Jr. 2012. "Drawing Lines in the Journalistic Sand: Jon Stewart, Edward R. Murrow, and Memory of News Gone By." *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 89 (4): 643–656.
- Berkowitz, Dan, and James V. TerKeurst. 1999. "Community as Interpretive Community: Rethinking the Journalist-Source Relationship." *Journal of Communication* 49 (3): 125–136.
- Bevan, Shaun. 2013. "See Past Storms as Tropical Storm Chantal Strengthens – Slideshow." *South Florida Business Journal*. www.bizjournals.com/southflorida/blog/2013/07/tropical-storm-chantal-strengthens-as.html.
- Billete, Pepe. 2016. "Pepe Billete, the Jills, and Other Talk Real Estate and Rising Sea Levels." *Miami New Times*, March 9. www.miaminewtimes.com/arts/pepe-billete-the-jills-and-others-talk-real-estate-and-rising-sea-levels-8301860.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. 2002. "It Makes Sense to Us: Cultural Identity in Local Legends of Place." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 31 (5): 519–547.
- Bird, S. Elizabeth. 2003. *The Audience in Everyday Life*. New York: Routledge.
- Blaeuer, Daniel. 2014. "Florida in Gregory Bateson's Ecology of Ideas: Balancing Ecological Paradoxes." *Journal of Florida Studies* 1 (3). www.journaloffloridastudies.org/files/vol0103/03Blaeuer.pdf.
- Bojnansky, Erik. 2015. "Plenty of Water, Now for the Land." *Biscayne Times*, March. www.biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2026: plenty-of-water-now-for-the-land.
- Boyles, Jan L. 2016. "Building an Audience, Bonding a City: Digital News Production as a Field of Care." *Media, Culture & Society*. doi:10.1177/0163443716682073.
- Brinkmann, Paul. 2013. "Rolling Stone Says Goodbye, Miami." *South Florida Business Journal*. www.bizjournals.com/southflorida/blog/2013/06/rolling-stone-says-goodbye-miami.html.
- Carlson, Matt. 2016. "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings of Journalism: Definitional Control, Boundary Work, and Legitimation." *Communication Theory* 26 (4): 349–368.
- Carlson, Matt, and Seth C. Lewis. 2015. *Boundaries of Journalism: Professionalism, Practices and Participation*. London: Routledge.
- Carlson, Matt, and Jason T. Peifer. 2013. "The Impudence of Being Earnest: Jon Stewart and the Boundaries of Discursive Responsibility." *Journal of Communication* 63: 333–350.
- Carpenter, Serena, Duygu Kanver, and Rashad Timmons. 2016. "It's About Me: A Study of Journalists' Self-Presentation of Their Visual and Verbal Selves." *Journalism Practice*. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1245587.
- Chen, Elaine. 2013. "Miami, Soon the American Atlantis?" *WLRN*, July 5. <http://wlrn.org/post/miami-soon-american-atlantis>.
- Cohen, Howard. 2016. "Sea Level Rise Geologist Peter Harlem Dies, Leaving Detailed Impact on Florida." *Miami Herald*, March 19. www.miamiherald.com/news/local/obituaries/article67032397.html.
- Dearan, Jason, and Jennifer Kay. 2015. "Sea Rise Threatens Florida Coast, but No Statewide Plan." *Sun-Sentinel*, May 10. www.sun-sentinel.com/news/sfl-ap-florida-rising-seas-20150510-story.html.

- Domingo, David, and Florence Le Cam. 2015. "Journalism Beyond the Boundaries: The Collective Construction of News Narratives." In *Boundaries of Journalism: Professionalism, Practices and Participation*, edited by M. Carlson and Seth C. Lewis, 137–151. London: Routledge.
- Dorschner, John. 2013. "Will South Florida's Real Estate Prices Plunge as the Seas Rise?" *WLRN*, November 7. <http://wlrn.org/post/will-south-florida-s-real-estate-market-prices-plunge-seas-rise>.
- Dunbar-Hester, Christina. 2013. "What's Local? Localism as a Discursive Boundary Object in Low-Power Radio Policymaking." *Communication, Culture & Critique* 6: 502–524.
- Echarte, Isabel. 2013. "Documenting Evidence of Climate Change." *WLRN*, July 11. <http://wlrn.org/post/documenting-evidence-climate-change>.
- Eldridge II, Scott, and John Steel. 2016. "Normative Expectations: Employing 'Communities of Practice' Models for Assessing Journalism's Normative Claims." *Journalism Studies* 17 (7): 817–826.
- Elfrink, Tim. 2016. "Miami Beach's Tidal Flooding has Jumped by 400 Percent in the Past Decade." *Miami New Times*, April 6. www.miaminewtimes.com/news/miami-beachs-tidal-flooding-has-jumped-by-400-percent-in-the-past-decade-8370816.
- Enfield, David. 2013. "Rolling Stone Article Says Goodbye to Miami Prematurely, Climatologist Says." *WLRN*, July 23. <http://wlrn.org/post/rolling-stone-article-says-goodbye-miami-prematurely-climatologist-says>.
- Englander, John. 2013. *High Tide on Main Street: Rising Sea Level and the Coming Coastal Crisis*. Boca Raton, FL: The Science Bookshelf.
- Ettema, James S. 2005. "Crafting Cultural Resonance: Imaginative Power in Everyday Journalism." *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 6 (2): 131–152.
- Fry, Kathleen. 2003. *Constructing the Heartland: Television News and Natural Disaster*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Funk, Marcus J., and Maxwell McCombs. 2017. "Strangers on a Theoretical Train: Inter-media Agenda Setting, Community Structure, and Local News Coverage." *Journalism Studies* 18 (7): 845–865.
- Gans, Herbert. 2004. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Golan, Guy. 2006. "Inter-media Agenda Setting and Global News Coverage: Assessing the Influence of the *New York Times* on Three Network Television Evening News Programs." *Journalism Studies* 7 (2): 323–333.
- Gordon, Alastair. 2015. "Could Miami Become a Buoyant City After All?" *Miami Herald*, March 20. www.miamiherald.com/entertainment/visual-arts/article15463937.html.
- Grimm, Fred. 2013. "Fred Grimm: Rising Seas? Geezer Pols Will Be Dead by Then." *Miami Herald*, June 20.
- Gutsche Jr., Robert E. 2014. "There's No Place Like Home: Storytelling of War in Afghanistan and Street Crime 'At Home' in the *Omaha World-Herald*." *Journalism Practice* 8 (1): 65–79.
- Gutsche Jr., Robert E. 2017. *Media Control: News as an Institution of Power and Social Control*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Gutsche Jr., Robert E., Susan Jacobson, Juliet Pinto, and Charnele Michel. 2017. "Reciprocal (and Reductionist?) Newswork: An Examination of Youth Involvement in Creating Local Participatory Environmental News." *Journalism Practice* 11 (1): 62–79.
- Gutsche Jr., Robert E., and Erica Salkin. 2016a. "Behold the Monster: Mythical Explanations of Deviance and Evil in News of the Amish School Shooting." *Journalism*. doi:10.1177/146884916657508.

- Gutsche Jr., Robert E., and Erica Salkin. 2016b. "Who Lost What? An Analysis of Myth, Loss, and Proximity in News Coverage of the Steubenville Rape." *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 17 (4): 456–473.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas, and Timothy P. Vos. 2016. "Journalism Beyond Democracy: A New Look Into Journalistic Roles in Political and Everyday Life." *Journalism*. doi:10.1177/1464884916673386.
- Harper, Jim W. 2013. "Meeting the Challenge." *Biscayne Time*, August. www.biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1562:meeting-the-challenge.
- Harper, Jim W. 2015. "Living at Ground Zero." *Biscayne Times*, March. www.biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2030:living-at-ground-zero&catid=70:going-green&Itemid=200.
- Hess, Kristy, and Lisa Waller. 2017. *Local Journalism in a Digital World: Theory and Practice in the Digital Age*. London: Palgrave.
- Holody, Kyle J., Sung-Yeon Park, and Xiaoqun Zhang. 2013. "Racialization of the Virginia Tech Shootings: A Comparison of Local and National Newspapers." *Journalism Studies* 14 (4): 568–583.
- Jenkins, Joy, and Edson C. Tandoc. 2017. "The Power of the Cover: Symbolic Contests Around the Boston Bombing Suspect's *Rolling Stone* Cover." *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 18 (3): 281–297.
- Kaniss, Phyllis. 1991. *Making Local News*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kitch, Carolyn. 2005. *Pages from the Past: History & Memory in American Magazines*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Latzman, Phil. 2014. "Phil Latzman: South Florida Trying Hard to Catch Up on Rising Seas." *Sun-Sentinel*, April 10. http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2014-04-10/news/fl-plcol-oped0410-20140410_1_phil-latzman-water-supply-rising-seas.
- Lavelle, Ciara. 2013. "Rolling Stone Predicts Miami Will Be Underwater by 2030." *Miami New Times*, June 20. www.miaminewtimes.com/arts/rolling-stone-predicts-miami-will-be-underwater-by-2030-6501882.
- Lee, Chul-joo, Marilee Long, Michael D. Slater, and Wen Song. 2014. "Comparing Local TV News with National TV News in Cancer Coverage: An Exploratory Content Analysis." *Journal of Health Communication* 12: 1330–1342.
- Leupold, Anna, Ulrike Klinger, and Otfried Jarren. 2016. "Imagining the City: How Local Journalism Depicts Social Cohesion." *Journalism Studies*. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1245111.
- Lewis, Norman P., Walter John Starr, Yukari Takata, and Qinwei Xie. 2012. "Gulf Papers' Oil Spill Coverage Differs From National Dailies." *Newspaper Research Journal* 33 (2): 91–101.
- Lindlof, Thomas R., and Bryan C. Taylor. 2010. *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lule, Jack. 2001. *Daily News, Eternal Stories: The Mythological Role of Journalism*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- McBride, Kelly, and Tom Rosenstiel. 2014. *The New Ethics of Journalism*. London: Sage.
- Meltzer, Kimberly. 2009. "The Hierarchy of Journalistic Cultural Authority: Journalists' Perspectives According to News Medium." *Journalism Practice* 3 (1): 59–74.
- Miami Herald*. 2013. "Miami's Atlantis, Interrupted." *Miami Herald*, July 6.
- Munzenrieder, Kyle. 2016a. "Sorry, *Atlantic*, Climate Change Isn't Causing Gentrification in Miami." *Miami New Times*, March 9. www.miaminewtimes.com/news/sorry-atlantic-climate-change-isnt-causing-gentrification-in-miami-8307128.

- Munzenrieder, Kyle. 2016b. "New York Magazine Confuses Condo Development for General Miami Culture." *New Miami Times*, March 23. www.miaminewtimes.com/news/new-york-magazine-confuses-condo-development-for-general-miami-culture-8340252.
- Napoli, Phillip M., Sarah Stonbely, Kathleen McCollough, and Bryce Renninger. 2017. "Local Journalism and the Information Needs of Local Communities: Toward a Scalable Assessment Approach." *Journalism Practice* 11 (4): 373–395.
- Nesmith, Susannah. 2016. "A Warning for Miami, Miami Beach." *Miami Herald*, April 20. www.miamiherald.com/entertainment/books/article72857702.html.
- Örnebring, Henrik. 2016. *Newsworkers: A Comparative European Perspective*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Parisi, Peter. 1998. "The New York Times Looks at One Block in Harlem: Narratives of Race in Journalism." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 15: 236–254.
- Phillips, Angela. 2011. "Journalists as Unwilling 'Sources': Transparency and the New Ethics of Journalism." In *Journalists, Sources, and Credibility: New Perspectives*, edited by Bob Franklin and Matt Carlson, 49–60. New York: Routledge.
- Pilkey, Orrin H., Linda Pilkey-Jarvis, and Keith C. Pilkey. 2016. *Retreat From a Rising Sea: Hard Choices in an Age of Climate Change*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pinto, Juliet. 2016. "Seeing Miami among Rising Seas." In *News, Neoliberalism, and Miami's Fragmented Urban Space*, edited by M. Shumow and R. E. Gutsche Jr, xi–xv. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Reese, Stephen D. 1990. "The News Paradigm and the Ideology of Objectivity: A Socialist at the Wall Street Journal." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 7: 390–409.
- Revers, Matthias. 2014. "The Twitterization of News Making: Transparency and Journalistic Professionalism." *Journal of Communication* 64: 806–826.
- Richards, Ian. 2013. "Beyond City Limits: Regional Journalism and Social Capital." *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 14 (5): 627–642.
- Robinson, Sue. 2007. "Someone's Gotta Be in Control Here: The Institutionalization of Online News and the Creation of a Shared Journalistic Authority." *Journalism Practice* 1 (3): 305–321.
- Rollason, Frank. 2013. "Rising to the Occasion." *Biscayne Time*, April. www.biscaynetimes.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1449:rising-to-the-occasion.
- Shumow, Moses, and Robert E. Gutsche Jr. 2016. *News, Neoliberalism and Miami's Fragmented Urban Space*. Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Singer, Jane B. 2013. "The Ethical Implications of an Elite Press." *Journal of Mass Media Ethics* 28: 203–216.
- Smiley, David. 2013. "Rolling Stone Warns that Miami Will Be Under Water." *Miami Herald*, June 20.
- Soffer, Oren. 2013. "The Internet and National Solidarity: A Theoretical Analysis." *Communication Theory* 23 (1): 48–66.
- Stone, Rick. 2013. "Sun, Earth and Moon to Align for Supermoon Over a King Tide." *Miami Herald*, June 21. www.miamiherald.com/news/state/article1952687.html.
- Sun-Sentinel*. 2013a. "Planning is Key as Climate Change Goes Mainstream." *Sun-Sentinel*, November 19. http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2013-11-19/news/fl-editorial-global-warming-gs-20131119_1_climate-change-drinking-water-wellfields-jacobs.
- Sun-Sentinel*. 2013b. "'Doom' is a Word We Best Not Ignore." July 14. http://articles.sun-sentinel.com/2013-07-14/news/fl-editorial-climate-change-doom-cannot-ignore-20130714_1_climate-change-miami-beach-rolling-stone.

- Tandoc, Edson C., and Joy Jenkins. 2016. "Out of Bounds? How *Gawker's* Outing a Married Man Fits Into the Boundaries of Journalism." *New Media & Society*. doi:10.1177/1461444816665381.
- Usher, Nikki. 2015. "Newsroom Moves and the Newspaper Crisis Evaluated: Space, Place, and Cultural Meaning." *Media, Culture & Society* 37 (7): 1005–1021.
- Wallace, Aurora. 2008. "Things Like That Don't Happen Here: Crime, Place and Real Estate in the News." *Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal* 4 (3): 395–409.
- Woolfenden, Tricia. 2013. "Why Miami Can't Copy New York's Plan for Sea Level Rise." *WLRN*, June 14. <http://wlrn.org/post/why-miami-cant-copy-new-yorks-plan-sea-level-rise>.
- Yanich, Danilo. 2001. "Location, Location, Location: Urban and Suburban Crime on Local TV News." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 23 (3/4): 221–241.

Robert E. Gutsche Jr. (author to whom correspondence should be addressed), College of Communication, Architecture and The Arts, Florida International University, USA.
E-mail: rgutsche@fiu.edu

Moses Shumow, College of Communication, Architecture and The Arts, Florida International University, USA. E-mail: mshumow@fiu.edu