ICA Handbook Series

Second Edition

The Handbook of Journalism Studies

Edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch

THE HANDBOOK OF JOURNALISM STUDIES

This second edition of *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* explores the current state of research in journalism studies and sets an agenda for future development of the field in an international context.

The volume is structured around theoretical and empirical approaches to journalism research and covers scholarship on news production, news content, journalism and society, journalism and culture, and journalism studies in a global context. As journalism studies has become richer and more diverse as a field of studies, the second edition reflects both the growing diversity of the field and the ways in which journalism itself has undergone rapid change in recent years. Emphasizing comparative and global perspectives, this new edition explores:

- Key elements, thinkers, and texts
- Historical context
- Current state of the field
- Methodological issues
- Merits and advantages of the approach/area of studies
- Limitations and critical issues of the approach/area of studies
- Directions for future research

Offering broad international coverage from world-leading contributors, this volume is a comprehensive resource for theory and scholarship in journalism studies. As such, it is a must-have resource for scholars and graduate students working in journalism, media studies, and communication around the globe.

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen is Professor in the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media, and Culture, Cardiff University, Wales, where she serves as Director of Research Development and Environment. Her most recent books include *Emotions, Media and Politics* (2019) and *Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society* (2019). She has published multiple other monographs and edited collections and just under 100 journal articles and book chapters.

Thomas Hanitzsch is Professor of Communication in the Department of Media and Communication at LMU Munich, Germany. A former journalist, his teaching and research focuses on global journalism cultures and war coverage. His most recent books include *Worlds of Journalism* (2019) and the *Handbook of Comparative Communication Research* (Routledge, 2012).

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION ASSOCIATION (ICA) HANDBOOK SERIES

Robert T. Craig, Series Editor

Selected titles include:

Edited by Jesper Strömbäck and Lynda Lee Kaid—*The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World*

Edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch—*The Handbook of Journalism Studies*

Edited by George Cheney, Steve May, and Debashish Munshi—*The Handbook of Communication Ethics*

Edited by Frank Esser and Thomas Hanitzsch—*The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research*

Edited by Howard Giles—*The Handbook of Intergroup Communication*

Edited by Peter Simonson, Janice Peck, Robert T. Craig, and John Jackson—*The Handbook of Communication History*

Edited by Donal Carbaugh—*The Handbook of Communication in Cross-cultural Perspective*

Edited by Bryan C. Taylor and Hamilton Bean—*The Handbook of Communication and Security*

Edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch—*The Handbook of Journalism Studies, 2nd edition*

THE HANDBOOK OF JOURNALISM STUDIES

2ND EDITION

Edited by
Karin Wahl-Jorgensen
and Thomas Hanitzsch

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

Second edition published 2020
by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2020 Taylor & Francis

The right of Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published by Routledge 2009

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin, editor. | Hanitzsch, Thomas, 1969– editor.
Title: The handbook of journalism studies / edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch.
Description: 2nd edition. | New York, NY : Routledge, 2019. | Series: International Communication Association (ICA) handbook series | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2019008919 | ISBN 9781138052888 (hardback) | ISBN 9781138052895 (paperback) | ISBN 9781315167497 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Journalism.
Classification: LCC PN4724.H36 2019 | DDC 070.4—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019008919

ISBN: 978-1-138-05288-8 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-138-05289-5 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-16749-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman and Helvetica
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Series Editor's Foreword

Robert T. Craig

In their introduction to this second edition of *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, editors Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch aptly note that it is not merely an update of the first edition but that it reflects a comprehensive effort to reconstruct journalism studies as a maturing discipline challenged to engage with the slippery, uncertain, and perilous realities of 21st century journalism in all its global diversity. Accordingly, all but 9 of the 34 chapters assembled for this edition are entirely new, all contributed by internationally prominent scholars.

The *Handbook* is organized in six parts, the first of which presents the editors' introduction along with overview chapters on journalism history, theory, and education. The remaining parts are concerned with news production, news content, journalism and society, journalism and culture, and journalism studies in a global context. Each chapter explains key concepts, reviews historical and current trends in the literature, and sets the agenda for future research on its topic.

For me, several themes stand out across the volume. One, of course, is the ongoing digital revolution that is profoundly transforming every aspect of journalistic practice, professional identity, and institutional structure. The rise of social media has altered the media ecology in which journalism functions, including processes that can make it uncertain who counts as a journalist, encourage public participation, or facilitate the spread of "fake news." Computational journalism has expanded the potential for data-based reporting while automated, "robot" news-writing poses new ethical questions.

A second theme is to question the tight normative coupling of journalism with liberal democracy, not only because it distracts scholarship from culturally important forms of non-political news but also because it perpetuates a Western bias that distorts our understanding of journalism as it is practiced in different political systems around the globe. The challenges to journalism posed by resurgent authoritarianism and right-wing populism are mentioned in several chapters, including a fascinating analysis of "authoritarian resilience"—the sophisticated techniques of media control now being used by authoritarian governments (Chapter 34).

Overlapping the concern with Western bias in the identification of journalism with liberal democracy is a third theme, internationalization, which resonates through the broader discipline of communication as well as journalism studies. This *Handbook* advances the project of globalizing journalism studies beyond the Western and specifically Anglo-American perspectives that have traditionally dominated the field.

The editors characterize journalism studies as a maturing discipline that, as tends to happen in lively research areas, is becoming increasingly diverse and fragmented. Promising new turns toward journalism as discourse and cultural practice and new approaches to audience research, among other trends, enrich journalism studies while making it harder to maintain a coherent sense of the field. If the first edition of *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* played an important role in coalescing the field, as I believe it did, the second edition can serve to reimagine and revitalize the field at a moment of radical transformation. As such, this edition of the *Handbook*, like its predecessor, will be an essential resource for professional scholars and advanced students of journalism around the world.

About the Editors

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen is Professor in the Cardiff School of Journalism, Media, and Cultural Studies, Cardiff University, UK, where she serves as Director of Research Development and Environment. She has carried out research across a range of areas in journalism studies, with an emphasis on questions around media, citizenship, and emotion. Her most recent books include *Emotions, Media and Politics* (Polity, 2018) and *Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society* (Polity, 2018; with Arne Hintz and Lina Dencik). She has published multiple other monographs and edited collections and just under 100 journal articles and book chapters.

Thomas Hanitzsch is Chair and Professor of Communication in the Department of Communication Studies and Media Research at LMU Munich, Germany. A former journalist, he focuses his teaching and research on global journalism cultures, war coverage, celebrity news, and comparative methodology. He was editor-in-chief of *Communication Theory* (2011–2015) and has co-edited *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* (Routledge, 2009); *The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research* (Routledge, 2012); and *Worlds of Journalism: Journalistic Cultures Around the Globe* (Columbia University Press, 2019). He is chairman of the Worlds of Journalism Study, a multinational and collaborative endeavor to trace journalism's transformation around the world.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Contributors

Laura Ahva is Senior Research Fellow at Tampere University, Finland. She has been studying journalistic work practice and professionalism, news audiences, and participatory journalism. She has published in various journals, including *Journalism*, *Journalism Practice*, and *Digital Journalism*. Lately Ahva has worked on emerging forms of journalism, such as constructive journalism.

Stuart Allan is Professor and Head of the School of Journalism, Media, and Culture at Cardiff University, UK. He is author of *Citizen Witnessing: Revisioning Journalism in Times of Crisis* (Polity Press, 2013) and editor of *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism* (Routledge, 2012; revised edition) and *Photojournalism and Citizen Journalism: Co-operation, Collaboration and Connectivity* (Routledge, 2017). He is currently co-writing a history of war photography, amongst other projects.

C. W. Anderson is Professor of Media and Communication at the University of Leeds, UK, and the author or co-editor of five books: *Rebuilding the News* (Temple University Press, 2013); *The Sage Handbook of Digital Journalism* (Sage, 2016); *The News Media: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford University Press, 2016); *Remaking the News* (MIT Press, 2017); and *Apostles of Certainty: Data Journalism and the Politics of Doubt* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

Christian Baden is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Journalism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. His research focuses on the collaborative construction of meaning in dynamic public debates, with specific emphasis on resonance processes and resilient beliefs in political conflict and crisis. His publications have contributed to theory and methodology in research on framing, discourse dynamics, and the social and psychological process of sense-making in a political public sphere. His methodological approach combines techniques of qualitative discourse analysis and frame analysis with network-analytic perspectives and contemporary strategies for the automated processing of large-scale discourse.

Dan Berkowitz is Professor Emeritus in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Iowa, USA. His research interests include the study of the relationship between journalists and sources, collective memory, news as mythical narrative, and the connections between media and terrorism. He is the author or co-author of more than 50 refereed journal articles and book chapters and has published two edited volumes: *Social Meanings of News* (Sage, 1997) and *Cultural Meanings of News* (Sage, 2010).

Matt Carlson is Associate Professor in the Hubbard School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Minnesota, USA. He is author of *Journalistic Authority* (Columbia University Press, 2017); is co-author with Seth C. Lewis of *Boundaries of Journalism* (Routledge, 2015); and has published over 50 journal articles and book chapters on journalism.

Martin Conboy is Professor of Journalism History and Co-director of the Centre for the Study of Journalism and History at the University of Sheffield, UK. He has produced ten books on the language and history of journalism, most recently with John Steel, *The Routledge Companion to*

British Media History (2018) and with Adrian Bingham, *Tabloid Century* (Peter Lang, 2015). He is on the editorial boards of *Journalism Studies*; *Media History*; *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*; and *Memory Studies*. An elected fellow of the Royal Historical Society, his international research has been funded by the British Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO).

Irene Costera Meijer is Professor of Journalism Studies and head of the Journalism Studies Department at VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands. She also works as Professor II at the Research Group for Media Use and Audience Studies of the Department of Information Science and Media Studies at University of Bergen, Norway. Her research interests focus on changing practices of media consumption and news use and their consequences for media organizations. Irene is on the editorial board of the academic journals *Digital Journalism* and *Journalism Practice*.

Robert T. Craig, series editor of the ICA Handbook Series, is Professor Emeritus of Communication at the University of Colorado Boulder, USA. He is a Fellow and Past President of the International Communication Association. His teaching and research interests are in the fields of communication theory and philosophy, discourse analysis, and argumentation. Current projects include critical studies of arguments about communication in public discourse and a book on the methodology of grounded practical theory.

David Domingo is Chair of Journalism at the Department of Information and Communication Sciences at Université Libre de Bruxelles (Brussels), Belgium. He is co-responsible of LaPIJ, an action-research laboratory collaborating with the media industry in developing innovative formats and work practices. His research focuses on innovation processes in online communication, with a special interest in the (re)definition of practices and identities involved in news production, circulation, and use. He is co-author of *Participatory Journalism: Guarding Open Gates at Online Newspapers* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) and co-editor of *Making Online News* (Peter Lang, 2008) and *The Sage Handbook of Digital Journalism* (2016).

Mats Ekström is Professor at the Department of Journalism, Media, and Communication at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. His research focuses on journalism, media discourse, conversation in institutional settings, political communication, and participation. Recent publications include *Right-Wing Populism and the Dynamics of Style* (Palgrave, 2018); *Social Media, Porous Boundaries, and the Development of Online Political Engagement Among Young Citizens* (2018, in *New Media & Society*); and *The Mediated Politics of Europe: A Comparative Study of Discourse* (Palgrave, 2017).

Cherian George is Professor of Media Studies at the Journalism Department of Hong Kong Baptist University. He researches media freedom, censorship, and hate propaganda. He is the author of five monographs, including *Hate Spin: The Manufacture of Religious Offense and Its Threat to Democracy* (MIT Press, 2016) and *Freedom from the Press: Journalism and State Power in Singapore* (NUS Press, 2012). Before joining academia, he was a journalist with *The Straits Times* in Singapore. He serves as an adviser to the London-based Ethical Journalism Network and the Singapore-based Asia Journalism Fellowship.

Peter Gross is Professor in the School of Journalism and Electronic Media at the University of Tennessee, USA. His research specialization is in international communication, with an emphasis on East European media systems. He is the author and co-author of seven scholarly books and two textbooks and co-editor of two book collections. Peter received fellowships, lecture awards, and grants from, among other institutions, Harvard University, the National Academy of Sciences, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the German Marshall Fund of the United States, Fulbright, and the National Science Foundation.

Folker Hanusch is Professor of Journalism in the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna, Austria. He is also an Adjunct Professor at Queensland University of Technology, Australia. His research interests are in comparative journalism studies, journalism and everyday life, transformations of journalism, and Indigenous journalism. He is co-editor of *Worlds of Journalism: Journalistic Cultures Around the Globe* (Columbia University Press, 2019) as well as *The International Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies* (Wiley, 2019). He is editor-in-chief of *Journalism Studies* and chair of the journalism studies section of the European Communication Research and Education Association.

Tony Harcup is Senior Lecturer in Journalism Studies at the University of Sheffield, UK, from which he holds a PhD. He worked as a journalist within mainstream and alternative media before becoming a teacher, researcher, and author. His books include the *Oxford Dictionary of Journalism* (Oxford University Press, 2014), *Journalism: Principles and Practice* (Sage, 2003), and *Alternative Journalism, Alternative Voices* (Routledge, 2012).

Arne Hintz is Senior Lecturer at the School of Journalism, Media, and Culture at Cardiff University, UK, where he leads the MA Digital Media and Society and co-directs the Data Justice Lab. His research addresses questions of digital democracy, media activism, and communication policy. He has led several collaborative research projects, including Digital Citizenship and Surveillance Society: State-Media-Citizen Relations After the Snowden Leaks and Towards Democratic Auditing: Civic Participation in the Scoring Society. His publications include, among others, *Beyond WikiLeaks* (Palgrave, 2013) and *Digital Citizenship in a Datafied Society* (Polity, 2018).

Andrea C. Hoffmann is Senior Editor at the German newsmagazine *Focus*, where she is responsible for the foreign desk. She studied psychology and journalism and holds a doctorate in media studies. She teaches at the universities of Ilmenau and Ludwigsburg. Her research focus is on journalism and traumatization.

Beate Josephi is an Honorary Associate in the Department of Media and Communication at the University of Sydney, Australia. Her publications include an edited volume, *Journalism Education in Countries with Limited Media Freedom* (Peter Lang, 2010); a guest-edited issue of *Journalism* on "Decoupling Journalism and Democracy" (2013); chapters and entries in international handbooks on journalism; and many internationally published articles. A former chair of the International Association for Media and Communication Research's journalism research and education section, her research interests center on journalism and its importance within and outside democracy, journalism education, and literary journalism.

Darren Kelsey is Head of Media, Culture, Heritage in the School of Arts & Cultures at Newcastle University, UK. He is co-convenor of the Newcastle Critical Discourse Group. Darren researches mythology and ideology in contemporary media, culture, and politics. His most recent monograph, *Media and Affective Mythologies* (Palgrave, 2017), synergizes approaches to critical discourse studies with the work of Carl Jung, Joseph Campbell, and other mythologists. His psycho-discursive approach explores the depths of the human psyche to analyze the affective qualities of storytelling.

Seth C. Lewis is the founding holder of the Shirley Papé Chair in Emerging Media in the School of Journalism and Communication at the University of Oregon, USA. A former journalist, he studies what emerging technologies mean for journalism—for how news is made, how it moves, and how people make sense of it. His present research focuses on algorithms and automation in journalism; the interplay of journalists and audiences; and questions of news, knowledge, and trust in an era of disinformation. With Matt Carlson, he edited *Boundaries of Journalism: Professionalism, Practices and Participation* (Routledge, 2015).

Martin Löffelholz serves as the Director of the Institute of Media and Communication Science and Chair of the Media Studies Research Group at Technische Universität Ilmenau in Germany. Concurrently, he chairs the International Research Group on Crisis Communication. From 2012 to 2015, Martin was President of the Swiss German University in Jakarta, Indonesia. He has carried out numerous research projects and authored and edited more than 300 academic publications, including 18 books, mostly in the area of journalism research, crisis and war communication, and public diplomacy.

Jim Macnamara is Distinguished Professor of Public Communication at the University of Technology Sydney, Australia. He is also Visiting Professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science, Media and Communications Department. He is internationally recognized for his research into evaluation of public communication and organizational listening. Macnamara is the author of 16 books including *The 21st Century Media (R)evolution: Emergent Communication Practices* (Peter Lang, 2014); *Organizational Listening: The Missing Essential in Public Communication* (Peter Lang, 2016); and *Evaluating Public Communication: Exploring New Models, Standards, and Best Practice* (Routledge, 2018).

Motti Neiger is Associate Professor at the School of Communication, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. His academic interests include mediated collective memory, news temporalities, journalism during conflicts, and culture mediation. Motti served as Chair of the Israel Communication Association (2006–2009) and as the founding editor of *Media Frames: Israeli Journal of Communication*. He has published 40 articles in journals such as *Journal of Communication*; *Communication Research*; *Media, Culture & Society*; and *Journalism*. Among his books are *Communicating Awe: Media Memory and Holocaust Commemoration* (Palgrave, 2014) and the edited volume *On Media Memory: Collective Memory in a New Media Age* (Palgrave, 2011).

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen is Director of the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism and Professor of Political Communication at the University of Oxford, UK. His work focuses on changes in the news media, political communication, and the role of digital technologies in both. He has done extensive research on journalism, news, digital media, political campaigns, and various forms of activism as well as a significant amount of comparative work in Western Europe and beyond.

Deirdre O'Neill is a semi-retired independent academic and researcher. A former journalist and Senior Lecturer in Journalism and Media, her teaching and research focuses on news selection, news ideology, and the marginalization of certain groups in news media. She was recently a visiting fellow at the University of Karlstad, Sweden. She has been an elected member of the executive committee of the Association for Journalism Education (AJE) for a number of years, serving as secretary and currently as treasurer, and is co-editor of the AJE's journal, *Journalism Education*.

Henrik Örnebring is Professor of Media and Communication in the Department of Geography, Media, and Communication at Karlstad University, Sweden. He was previously a Senior Research Fellow at the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism at the University of Oxford, UK. He has published widely on journalism studies, media history, and media convergence. His most recent book is *Newsworkers: A Comparative European Perspective* (Bloomsbury, 2016), and he is the editor-in-chief of the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

Mervi Pantti is Associate Professor in Media and Communication Studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki, Finland. Her research is concerned with the emotional dimension of mediated communication, crisis and disaster journalism, and humanitarian communication. She is co-editor of *Amateur Images and Global News* (Intellect, 2011), co-author of *Disasters and the Media* (Peter Lang, 2012), and editor of *Media and the Ukraine Crisis: Hybrid Media Practices and Narratives of Conflict* (Peter Lang, 2016). She is an associate editor of *Journalism Studies*.

Elizabeth Poole is an expert in the media's representation of Muslims in the UK. She has written widely on the production, representation, and reception of Muslims in the news including *Reporting Islam: Media Representations of British Muslims* (I.B. Tauris, 2002); with John Richardson, *Muslims and the News Media* (I.B. Tauris, 2006); and with Kim Knott and Teemu Taira, *Media Portrayals of Religion and the Secular Sacred* (Routledge, 2013). She is currently working, with Eva Giraud, on a British Academy project on Islamophobia on social media. She is Senior Lecturer and Director of Media Programmes at Keele University, UK.

Liane Rothenberger is Senior Researcher and Lecturer at the Institute of Media and Communication Science at Technische Universität Ilmenau, Germany. Her research focuses on journalism and communication in an intercultural perspective, norms and values in communication studies and the social sciences, and terrorism as strategic communication. Together with Martin Löffelholz, she edited a handbook on journalism theories. As a research fellow, she worked at the Centre for Global Studies at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, and at the Université de Haute-Alsace, Mulhouse, France.

David Ryfe is Director of and Professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Iowa, USA. He has published widely in the areas of presidential communication, political communication, and the history and sociology of news. His most recent book is *Journalism and the Public* (Polity, 2017), a study of the way in which configurations of public life shape and give meaning to journalism. He is currently working on a sociological history of facts in the news, from the 16th century to the present.

Thomas R. Schmidt is Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication at the University of California, San Diego, USA. He is the author of the forthcoming book *Rewriting the Newspaper: The Storytelling Movement in American Print Journalism* (University of Missouri Press) and numerous journal articles (e.g., in *Journalism*, *Digital Journalism*, and *Journalism Practice*). He was inducted into the Kappa Tau Alpha National Honor Society for media scholars and received competitive fellowships such as the Fulbright Scholarship and the Transatlantic Media Fellowship. Thomas earned his PhD from the University of Oregon's School of Journalism and Communication.

Michael Schudson is Professor of Journalism at Columbia School of Journalism, USA. He is the author of many works, beginning with *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (Basic Books, 1978) and including also *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (Free Press, 1998). Recent works include *The Rise of the Right to Know* (Harvard University Press, 2015) and *Why Journalism Still Matters* (Polity, 2018). He is the recipient of a Guggenheim Fellowship, a MacArthur Foundation "genius" fellowship, and a residency at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Steen Steensen is Professor of Journalism and Head of the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway. His research focuses on the developments of journalism, crisis communication, and nonfiction storytelling in a digital age, in addition to an interest in meta-research on the developments and characteristics of journalism studies as a field of scholarly inquiry. He is a former journalist, has been editor-in-chief of the *Norwegian Journal of Media and Communication*, and is associate editor of *Journalism Practice*.

Linda Steiner is Professor in the College of Journalism at the University of Maryland, USA, and the editor of *Journalism & Communication Monographs*. She has published over 100 book chapters and refereed journal articles. Her recent co-edited books include *Key Concepts in Critical-Cultural Studies* (University of Illinois Press, 2010); *Routledge Companion to Media and Gender* (2013); *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and War* (2016); *Race, News, and the City: Uncovering Baltimore* (Routledge, 2017); and *Journalism, Gender and Power* (Routledge, 2019). She worked for a weekly newspaper and was President of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt is Associate Professor at the Department of Communication and Journalism at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Her research addresses the cultural embedding, societal roles, and political implications of journalism, with a particular interest in the temporal dimensions of journalism. She has recently been awarded an ERC Starting Grant for the project Mediating the Future: The Social Dynamics of Public Projections (PROFECI). She serves as Chair of the Journalism Studies Division at the International Communication Association and associate editor of the *Journal of Communication*.

Neil Thurman is Professor of Communication in the Department of Media and Communication at LMU Munich, Germany, and a Volkswagen Foundation Freigeist Fellow. He was the first faculty member in electronic publishing at City, University of London and has directed master's programs in Electronic Publishing and Journalism and Globalization. Thurman's main research focus is on digital journalism, and his work has been covered widely in the media. He advises a range of academic institutions and publishers and has lectured around the world. Neil's professional background is as an award-winning digital publisher, including at the Thomson Corporation.

Irina Tribusean is Research Assistant in the Institute of Media and Communication Science at the Technische Universität Ilmenau, Germany. A former journalist and communication professional, she is currently working on a PhD about the use of virtual reality in journalism. In teaching and research, she is also interested in the globalization of journalism and intercultural communication and its impact on social integration.

Howard Tumber is Professor of Journalism and Communication in the Department of Journalism at City, University of London, UK. He was previously Professor of Sociology and Dean of Arts and Social Sciences at City. He is a founder and co-editor of *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*. He is co-editor of the *Routledge Companion to Media and Scandal* (2019) and the *Routledge Companion to Media and Human Rights* (2017).

Arjen van Dalen is Professor with Special Responsibilities at the Centre for Journalism at the University of Southern Denmark. He wrote his PhD dissertation on Political Journalism in Comparative Perspective. His main research interests are in comparative communication research, in particular the relations between journalists and politicians, as well as economic news. He has published about these topics with Cambridge University Press and in journals such as *Political Communication*, *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *Journalism*, and *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

Tim P. Vos is Professor and Director of the School of Journalism at Michigan State University, USA. He is the co-author, co-editor, or editor of four books. He has published dozens of articles and book chapters on the social roles of journalism, media sociology and gatekeeping, media history, and media policy. His research focuses on factors that shape news and journalism as a social institution, paying particular attention to theoretical issues of historical explanation.

Stephen J. A. Ward is an internationally recognized media ethicist, author, and educator. He is Distinguished Lecturer on Ethics at the University of British Columbia, Canada, Founding Director of the Center for Journalism Ethics at the University of Wisconsin, USA, and former Director of the UBC School of Journalism in Vancouver, Canada. He was a foreign reporter and newsroom manager for 14 years. Stephen is the author of nine media ethics books, including two award-winning books: *Radical Media Ethics* (Wiley, 2015) and *The Invention of Journalism Ethics* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006). He is editor-in-chief of Springer's *Handbook of Global Media Ethics*.

Herman Wasserman is Professor of Media Studies and Director of the Centre for Film and Media Studies at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. He worked as a journalist before starting an academic career and has published widely on journalism, democracy, and ethics in Africa. His books include the monographs *Tabloid Journalism in South Africa* (Indiana University Press, 2010) and *Media, Geopolitics, and Power: A View from the Global South* (Illinois University Press, 2018), as well as several edited volumes. He is a former head of the International Communication Division of the International Association for Media and Communication Research and is editor-in-chief of the journal *African Journalism Studies*.

Oscar Westlund is Professor at the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway, where he leads the OsloMet Digital Journalism Research Group. He holds secondary appointments at Volda University College, Norway, and the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Oscar specializes in journalism studies, media management, and emerging technologies. He is the editor-in-chief of *Digital Journalism* and has guest edited special issues for several other leading international journals. He currently leads a research project called The Epistemologies of Digital News Production, funded by the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Part I

INTRODUCING JOURNALISM STUDIES

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

1

Journalism Studies

Developments, Challenges, and Future Directions

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch

Just over a decade has passed since the first edition of *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* was published. At the time of its publication, journalism studies was a disciplinary newcomer, while journalism as a practice and an institution was undergoing rapid transformation. Since then, the discipline of journalism studies has matured and stabilized, while journalism as an object of study has destabilized and become increasingly slippery. These transformations suggest the need for this new edition, which appears in a radically different context. At the same time, key problems and issues that have preoccupied the industry and those who study it have remained constant over time.

The aim of the book is to provide an overview of the state of the art of journalism studies. To that end, we have invited contributions from the leading scholars in the field, representing both well-established and cutting-edge debates and areas of research. As the institution of journalism and the scholarship surrounding it have changed so profoundly since the first edition, so has the book itself. Along those lines, this edition is not merely an update of its predecessor but rather represents an ambitious attempt at reimagining and reconstituting the field. This means that just nine of the chapters, representing enduring debates and areas of inquiry, are updates of versions from the first edition. All the remaining chapters are entirely new contributions, curated to represent the breadth of the field and what we see as the most lively and productive debates within it.

In putting together the book, we have sought to move beyond the "presentism" that has tended to characterize inquiry in the field: for methodological and conceptual reasons, linked to the comparative youth of journalism studies as a scholarly endeavor, we are very well informed about recent events, trends, and histories through research that provides us with "snapshots" of journalism. By contrast, we know less about longer-standing trends, shifts, and continuities (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2018; see also Laura Ahva and Steen Steensen's chapter). To allow us to take a longer view, the organization of the book therefore reflects established areas of research, while individual chapters attend to the ways in which these areas have advanced and changed over time. The book opens with an introductory section that provides accounts of journalism history, theory, and education. The remainder of the book is divided into five thematic sections, encompassing news production, news content, journalism and society, journalism and culture, and journalism in a global context.

While the book is not—and cannot be—an exhaustive account of all scholarly areas in the field, our aim is to give readers an authoritative overview, from the point of view of the leading scholars, of what journalism studies is about, and where it should be going. The story told by the book's chapters, when read as a whole, suggests a remarkable continuity and robustness of scholarly preoccupations, refined and given substance by recent developments. As Jane Singer (2019, p. 135) recently put it in describing the state of journalism research more broadly, "the evidence we have amassed suggests dramatic change in what journalism is, offset by an equally striking resilience of core perceptions of what journalism should be" (see also Tumber & Zelizer, 2019). This introductory chapter charts the changes and continuities that define journalism studies as a field, setting the stage for the chapters that follow.

A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM STUDIES

Journalism studies has evolved as a field of inquiry over the better part of a century and a half, passing through a variety of stages. Here, we provide a brief account of these stages, discussing what we call the prehistory of journalism studies, followed by the empirical turn, the sociological turn, and the international-comparative turn. With the recent maturation of the field, we have seen growing fragmentation and diversification, leading to the development of new approaches that enrich the field methodologically and conceptually.

The Prehistory of Journalism Studies

Observers have discerned a "prehistory" of journalism studies in the thought of German social theorists in the mid-19th century (e.g., Hardt, 2002, p. 1), highlighting the normative impulses which gave the field its founding impetus. Hanno Hardt, in his classic work on *Social Theories of the Press*, charts affinities, continuities, and departures between and among early German and American thinkers on the press. Among 19th and early 20th century German theorists, he pinpoints the work of Karl Marx, Albert Schäffle, Karl Knies, Karl Bücher, Ferdinand Tönnies, and Max Weber as particularly influential in their conceptions of the social place of journalism (Hardt, 2002). Similarly, Martin Löffelholz (2008), in tracing the German tradition of journalism studies, found the ancestry of contemporary journalism theory in the work of the German writer and literary historian Robert Eduard Prutz (1816–1872). In 1845, long before the establishment of "Zeitungskunde" (the German expression for "newspaper studies") as a field of research, Prutz had already published a historical account of German journalism (see Martin Conboy's chapter).

Most early German theorists looked at journalism through a *normative lens* (Löffelholz, 2008). Journalism scholars were more preoccupied with what journalism *ought to be* in the context of political communication than with the structures, processes, and practices of news production. However, systematic scholarly work in the field began in the early 20th century alongside the emergence of journalism as a profession and a social force. This shift towards an interest in the structures and processes of news production, as well as the people and practices involved, began to emerge in the context of journalism training, first and most notably in the United States (Singer, 2008). The establishment of *Journalism Quarterly* in 1924 (later to become *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*) heralded this new age of journalism scholarship. Among other things, the first issue of the journal contained an essay by Willard "Daddy" Bleyer frequently identified as a founding figure of journalism research and education (see Beate Josephi's chapter). The essay outlined key approaches to newspaper research, paving the way for new areas of scholarly inquiry (Singer, 2008). This showed that journalism was beginning to be taken seriously, not just as a practical endeavor, but also as an object of study.

The Empirical Turn

In other countries, including the UK and Denmark, journalism education took place outside the academy, within news organizations where journalists were trained through apprenticeships and skills-based short courses (see Josephi's chapter). Here, the education of journalists was highly pragmatic, with students taking courses in topics such as shorthand and journalism law. Because of the separation of journalism training from the academy, this model did not emphasize the development of a more reflective and scholarly approach. In countries where journalism training has been industry-led, most scholarship on journalism has therefore come from social sciences and humanities disciplines that have taken up journalism as one among many other interests. This may be one of the key reasons for the historically interdisciplinary nature of journalism studies.

In the United States, research on journalism was given a renewed impetus when early communication research emerged in the 1940s and 1950s. This work came out of disciplines of sociology, political science, and psychology, spearheaded by figures such as Paul Lazarsfeld, Carl Hovland, Kurt Lewin, and Harold D. Lasswell. The origins within the social sciences had a profound impact on the production of knowledge about journalism. Social scientific approaches contributed to an *empirical turn*, using methods such as experiments and surveys to understand the workings of news media.

While most research in this period was concerned with audiences and media effects, the emerging field of journalism studies gradually turned its attention to "news people" and their professional values, as well as to editorial structures and routines (see also Oscar Westlund and Mats Ekström's chapter). Theories and concepts were based on empirical research, such as the gatekeeper model (White, 1950); the professionalization paradigm (McLeod & Hawley, 1964); and the theories of news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) and agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This groundbreaking early research belongs to the relatively few studies in the history of journalism studies that can consensually be referred to as "classics." These studies have generated genuine journalism theories that remain influential and important. Although many of their ideas may seem dated and have been superseded by subsequent research, they continue to be significant to the extent that they have established important research traditions.

The Sociological Turn

The 1970s and 1980s witnessed a stronger influence of sociology and anthropology on journalism research, leading to what might be described as a *sociological turn* in the field. The focus shifted to a critical engagement with journalism's conventions and routines, professional and occupational ideologies and cultures, interpretive communities, and to concepts related to news texts, such as framing, storytelling, and narrative, as well as to the growing importance of popular culture in the news. The increasing attention paid to questions of culture went hand in hand with the adoption of qualitative methodologies, most notably ethnographic and discourse analytical approaches. Among the figures who have left a lasting imprint on journalism studies in this tradition are sociologists such as Gaye Tuchman, Herbert J. Gans, Philip Schlesinger, and Peter Golding as well as cultural studies scholars such as James Carey, Stuart Hall, and Barbie Zelizer. This tradition of scholarship, which often focused on work in and of national and elite news organizations, allowed for a better understanding of news production processes, but also paved the way for a view of journalism's place in constructing and maintaining dominant ideologies (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008).

When scholars have looked back on "early" examples of journalism research, they have frequently framed it from within the tenets of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. To use Chalaby's (1996, p. 303) evocative phrase, journalism can be seen as an "Anglo-American invention." Along those lines, the predominant discourse still very much constructs a history of journalism studies based on the work of scholars based in the US and UK. This is also true for general accounts of media history, which had to be corrected after UNESCO recognized the Korean *Anthology of Great Buddhist Priests' Zen Teachings* as the world's oldest book printed with movable metal type.[1] As Liane Rothenberger, Irina Tribusean, Andrea C. Hoffmann, and Martin Löffelholz argue in their chapter for this book, journalism studies as a field has developed unevenly around the world, taking different pathways depending on local contexts. Contrary to many historical accounts, journalism research outside the Western world is not necessarily a novel endeavor. In China, journalism studies as an area of inquiry emerged as early as 1918 (Zhengrong, Deqiang, & Lei, 2015).

The International-Comparative Turn

This Western hegemony somewhat eroded after the end of the Cold War and with the rise of the internet. Increased globalization and political liberties provided a space conducive to interaction among scholars from different nations and cultures. New communication technologies triggered the rise of institutionalized global networks of scientists, and it became much easier to acquire funding for collaborative international studies. This new opportunity structure contributed to an *international-comparative turn* in journalism studies (see Thomas Hanitzsch's chapter in this book). Particularly since the turn of the century, scholarship from non-Western countries gained visibility in the field's leading journals and international conferences. If journalism itself is increasingly a global phenomenon, its study gradually became an international and collaborative endeavor. As a result, comparative projects both small and large in scale came to life, including *News Around the World* (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006); the *Worlds of Journalism Study* (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019); and *Journalistic Performance Around the Globe* (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017).

At the same time, journalism studies as a field underwent further institutionalization at the international level. This institutionalization took place both within scholarly associations and among publication outlets. Sections and divisions specializing in journalism studies were founded in the International Communication Association (ICA, 2004) and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA, 2005) as well as in the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR, 2007). Since then, these sections and divisions have grown dramatically in membership and are now among the largest within their home associations.

The most established journals in the field, including *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies*, have now been around for almost two decades, and have been joined by new titles, such as *Journalism Practice* (2007), the *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies* (2012), and *Digital Journalism* (2013). The growing volume of work published by these and other journals focusing on journalism studies highlights the rapid expansion of the field and provides a clear indication of the maturation of the field. The growth in quantity and complexity has, perhaps inevitably, initiated a process of *fragmentation and diversification* within journalism studies.

Multiplicity Through Fragmentation and Diversification

To capture the rapidly growing diversity within the field by a single, predominant paradigm (or "turn") would be an oversimplification. However, we can identify a number of distinctive approaches that have taken root in recent research. One strand of research, for instance, is primarily concerned with *journalism as discourse*. Within this framework, a new generation of scholars, such as Matt Carlson and Seth Lewis (2015), are continuing Barbie Zelizer's (1993) legacy of considering journalism as a culture created and recreated by journalists as interpretative communities. Current work by Carlson, Lewis, and others focuses on the ways journalists and other social actors negotiate the meaning, legitimacy, and boundaries of journalism through professional and public discourse. This *discursive turn*, as we may call it, has inspired further research evident in several chapters of this book.

Another trend is the increased emphasis on practices over other, more traditional aspects such as journalists' values and perceptions. The work of C. W. Anderson (2013) and Lucas Graves (2016) exemplifies such a *turn to practice*, which has also lead to a revitalization of ethnographic research in the area. A third trend, finally, is the rediscovery of the *audience* as a focus in journalism studies. Classic research has tended to focus on the practices and roles of journalists and the features of journalistic texts for very pragmatic reasons—it is both methodologically and logistically easier to study production and texts than it is to study the audience. As a result, the audience has tended to be neglected in journalism studies research. However, this historical neglect is now being reversed by a growing number of studies unfolding in both local and cross-national contexts, and contributing new insights that, amongst other things, challenge journalists' conceptions of the value of particular forms of news (see the chapters by Folker Hanusch and Irene Costera Meijer).

The diversification and fragmentation of journalism studies can also be explained, at least in part, by the fact that journalism as object of research has been destabilized and become increasingly slippery. Key concepts such as "journalism" and "journalist," once taken for granted, are now subject to constant challenge and contestation. These challenges are likely to continue unabated, and to be amplified by further technological, social, economic, and political transformations. This, in turn, suggests a future of dynamic inquiry, leading to even further diversification and a greater multiplicity of research traditions.

In the following sections, we elaborate on what we believe are the key challenges journalism and journalists are facing around the world. These challenges come up time and again in chapters in this book, suggesting that journalism studies will likely be preoccupied with these developments in the years to come. Below, we discuss these challenges according to two thematic areas of concern: journalism as an institution and journalists as individual actors.

CHALLENGES TO JOURNALISM AS AN INSTITUTION

The Digital Era and "Creative Destruction"

Over the past few decades, the institution of journalism has been challenged by economic, technological, and political transformations (e.g., Reese, 2019). These have led to profound changes in the routines and practices of news organizations (see Westlund and Ekström's chapter). They have also rendered traditional news media and the journalists who work for them much less secure. The digital era has radically altered the economics of news production, in a context where "many still love the idea of journalism" but "not as many want to pay for it"

(Peters, 2019, p. 76). As Rasmus Kleis Nielsen notes in his chapter for this book, the digital era has brought about

> (1) vastly increased choice and competition, (2) the rise of platform companies that have won a large share of audiences' attention and advertisers' budgets, and (3) an evolving transformation in how news organizations make money as advertising revenues dwindle and more and more news organizations focus on pay models, and on various auxiliary sources of revenue like sponsored content, e-commerce, and live events.
>
> (p. 331)

These transformations have been particularly hard on local and regional newspapers, forcing thousands of closures. At the same time, subscriber-funded news "caters to relatively high-income, high-education elites" and therefore perpetuates journalism's status as an agent of exclusion (Benson, 2019, p. 146).

In some ways, the crisis in journalism is a long-standing one: as David Ryfe (2012) noted, the decline in advertising revenues can be traced back as far as the 1920s, while newspapers have seen a decline in market penetration and circulation since the 1970s. However, these downward trends have rapidly accelerated in the digital era, dominated by "platforms that privilege metric success and profits over public good and have created environments antithetical to good journalism" (Russell, 2019, p. 32).

While the "creative destruction" (Schlesinger & Doyle, 2015) wrought by the digital era has posed a formidable challenge to traditional news organizations, the past decade has also seen the consolidation of digital native news organizations, which are now well embedded in the ecology of news and represent the greatest area of growth in journalistic jobs (e.g., Ford & Ali, 2017). Such digital natives include the *Huffington Post*, *BuzzFeed*, and *Vice*. While championing innovative storytelling strategies, they also seek to establish and maintain their legitimacy as news organizations, dedicating significant resources to investigative reporting and political news (e.g., Stringer, 2018). At the same time, the success of Breitbart in the United States shows how the digital era has facilitated the emergence of a right-wing media ecosystem, which has shaped the agenda of mainstream media (Benkler, Faris, Roberts, & Zuckerman, 2017).

A Hybrid Media Ecology and the Rise of "Fake News"

Social media—particularly Twitter—have made a significant contribution to shifts in the news ecology, towards a "hybrid media system" (Chadwick, 2017), where traditional media are just one of many voices. On the one hand, Twitter has become an essential tool for journalists, who increasingly rely on it to monitor news, gather information, and contact sources (see David Domingo's chapter). The platform has come to constitute "an awareness system" for journalists and citizens alike, which offers new and varied ways of both acquiring and sharing information (Hermida, 2010, p. 301). As Deirdre O'Neill and Tony Harcup show in their chapter for this book, the rise of social media has had an impact on news values, given the "tendency for stories to be selected with at least half an eye on how likely they are to be shared by audiences" (p. 220).

On the other hand, the ease of sharing information from a variety of sources on social media has given rise to the emergence of "fake news" (Tandoc, Lim, & Ling, 2018). While not a new phrase, the contemporary scholarly and popular interest in the phenomenon stems from the growing circulation of misleading or false information intended to cause harm (e.g., Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017). Such "fake news" has been alleged to influence the US presidential elections in 2016, as well as the recent Brazilian elections that swept right-wing populist Jair Bolsonaro to power. In the latter case, wealthy entrepreneurs supporting Bolsonaro are alleged to have funded a misinformation campaign using WhatsApp, including claims that Bolsonaro's opponent, Fernando Haddad, had "equipped schools with so-called '*mamadeiras eróticas*' (erotic baby bottles) with penis-shaped teats in a supposed bid to fight homophobia" (Phillips, 2018).

Scholarly analyses of "fake news" have linked the phenomenon to a global "post-truth" era in which individual's information universes are increasingly personalized, and we therefore inhabit our very own unique "filter bubbles" (Pariser, 2011). However, recent research demonstrates that social media may, in fact, facilitate incidental exposure to a diversity of sources and opinions, thus questioning the extent to which these platforms are radically fragmenting and polarizing the public sphere (e.g., Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017). Such debates notwithstanding, there is no doubt that social media have ushered in a new era where the authority of traditional journalism is subject to unprecedented challenges (see Carlson and Lewis' chapter for this book).

Journalism and the "Shelf Life of Democracy"

These developments could be viewed as part of a much broader set of transformations that call into question the linkage between news media and democracy which has, for so long, been central to journalism's self-understanding. The institution of journalism has, throughout its existence, been understood as central to the health of democratic societies. James Carey (1996) famously argued: "Journalism is another name for democracy or, better, you cannot have journalism without democracy." According to dominant normative understandings, journalism plays a vital role as a watchdog on concentrations of power, holding governments and corporations accountable for their actions and ensuring that citizens are informed about developments in society and capable of rational decision-making (see Thomas Hanitzsch and Henrik Örnebring's chapter in this book).

This received view has had a profound impact on the direction of scholarship in journalism studies (see David Ryfe's chapter). It underpins debates on topics ranging from the value of tabloid journalism (see Herman Wasserman's chapter) to the role of public relations (see Jim Macnamara's chapter) and journalists' normative responsibilities for framing salient news (see Christian Baden's chapter). However, in recent years, we have seen a series of challenges to the linkage between journalism and democracy. Zelizer (2013) helped to kickstart the debate when she developed the argument that "democracy in journalism scholarship has over-extended its shelf life." She argued that the centrality of democracy for journalism has unnecessarily narrowed the parameters of scholarly inquiry: "In fact, circumstances show that democracy has not been necessary for journalism, and the idea that democracy is the lifeline of journalism has not been supported on the ground" (p. 465).

At the most basic level, a preoccupation with studying journalism in the narrow context of its relevance for political life has limited our understanding of nonpolitical news which has proven to be both popular and useful to audiences, such as lifestyle or tabloid news, in scholarly work (see Folker Hanusch's and Herman Wasserman's chapters in this book). Second, the inextricable linkage of journalism and democracy is largely a Western imposition. It neglects the fact that in many countries around the world, journalism remains a central institution in the *absence* of democracy. While few would deny journalism's centrality to democratic processes, democracy is itself not necessarily a prerequisite for journalism (Josephi, 2013; see also Josephi's chapter in this book).

Threats to Journalistic Autonomy

Indeed, recent political developments have brought into focus questions around the vital role of journalism in transitional democracies and "soft authoritarian" societies (see Cherian George's and Peter Gross' chapters in this book). They have alerted us to the fact that we can no longer rely on Whig interpretations of the history of journalism and democracy—shaped by the assumption that we are always marching onwards toward better, brighter, and more democratic futures (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2017). Instead, over the past decade, we have seen the global rise of populism, predicated upon an antagonistic relationship between "the elite" (which would include mainstream news media) and "the people" (the audience) (Hanitzsch, van Dalen, & Steindl, 2018). This new populism cuts across the political spectrum, representing both the left and the right, from the victories of Podemos in Spain and Syriza in Greece on the left, to the rise of Donald Trump in the US, Italy's Five Star Movement, Rodrigo Duterte in the Philippines, and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil on the right. What these movements and leaders share, despite their diversity, is their mobilization of disenchanted electorates, fed up with the political establishment. In this context, the media have been seen to play a vital role in both facilitating and resisting populist movements (Kavada, 2018).

The rise of populism has brought significant challenges to journalism and its practitioners. In particular, right-wing populism—in its diverse manifestations around the world—appears to represent a distinctive threat to journalistic freedoms, which goes hand in hand with an increasingly difficult and dangerous political climate. In many democratic countries, politicians have launched or escalated efforts to delegitimize the mainstream press, exert political influence over public broadcasters, and raise the profile of friendly private outlets (Dunham, 2017). Journalism around the world is battling against increased efforts of political and state authorities to restrict editorial autonomy. In parts of Latin America, political and state actors have attempted to break apart media companies, revoke broadcast licenses, or impose onerous regulatory oversight. In other countries, such as Turkey and Hungary, ruling parties have engineered more friendly media sectors through opaque or coerced ownership changes (Abramowitz, 2017), while in Singapore, the government has developed sophisticated measures of media control by applying just enough force to secure its objectives but not so much that it backfires (George, 2007).

Typically seen as key to the exercise of independent journalism, press freedom worldwide deteriorated to its lowest point in 13 years in 2016 (Dunham, 2017). Freedom House attributes this decline primarily to unprecedented threats to journalists and media organizations in developed democracies, intensified crackdowns on independent media in authoritarian settings, and moves by the Russian and Chinese regimes to increase their influence beyond their borders. Journalists in China, most notably, now experience censorship in a high-tech environment skillfully deployed to bolster Party legitimacy and government action by controlling the flow of information through what has become known as the "Great Firewall" (MacKinnon, 2011; Zhang, 2006; see also Chan, 2019). Chinese "networked authoritarianism" is increasingly leveraged to "capture" Hong Kong's historically independent press through the re-negotiation of power and media, via media practices and norms that mirror Beijing's agenda (Frisch, Belair-Gagnon, & Agur, 2018). At the same time, Russia has used its variant of networked authoritarianism as a means of information warfare against liberal democracies of Europe and North America, with consequences for journalists both within and outside the country (Maréchal, 2017).

Furthermore, the early 21st century has witnessed major setbacks in several young democracies, as George notes in his chapter for this book. Several countries that had unleashed themselves from authoritarian rule did not transition to liberal democracy but to in-between systems that retain many authoritarian features. As Gross writes in his chapter, in many post-communist societies in Eastern Europe, the news media have not succeeded in becoming fully independent from political powers. Substantive entanglement of media, business, political interests, and the subversion of formal institutions by informal processes have imposed further limits on journalists' professional autonomy in the region (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2013).

Decline of Trust in Journalism

Efforts at undermining the autonomy of journalism have contributed to further erosion of public confidence in the news media and its authority around the world (see also Arjen van Dalen's chapter in this book). Studies of Western media have long pointed to a continued decline of media trust, which seems to be particularly alarming in the US and other Anglo-Saxon countries (Gronke & Cook, 2007; Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Lewis, 2019; Robinson, 2019). Political actors deliberately create antipathy toward the press when they feel unhappy with its reporting (Brants, de Vreese, Möller, & van Praag, 2010). As a consequence, journalists rank relatively low in terms of public reputation and professional credibility. Comparative assessments, however, point to the fact that the erosion of public confidence in journalism is not necessarily a universal phenomenon. In several parts of the world, including countries such as Sweden, Switzerland, and China, publics still seem to have considerable faith in the news media (Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Xu, 2012).

Researchers have argued that the decline of public trust in the media is related to media scandals such as revelations of plagiarism and fabricated quotations by former *New York Times* reporter Jayson Blair in 2003, or the phone-hacking scandal involving the British newspaper *News of the World* in 2011. In Korea, the increased frequency of incorrect, misleading and sometimes provocative coverage—especially after the inaccurate reporting of the 2014 Sewol ferry disaster—led to the emergence of the term *Giregi*, which is a compound word carrying the meaning of "journalist" and "garbage" (He-suk & Ye-seul, 2014). Increasing negativity carried by the news may have backfired on the media, contributing to growing negative sentiment against journalists (Hopmann, Shehata, & Strömbäck, 2015; Müller, 2013).

While journalists themselves may have contributed to fueling public distrust in the media to some extent, they are not solely responsible for this trend. Comparative sociologists and political scientists have long observed a shift toward the greater relevance of emancipative values in society, with citizens emphasizing post-materialist values such as individual autonomy, self-expression, and free choice (Inglehart, 2006; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Individuals in contemporary societies emancipate themselves from authority and develop higher expectations for the performance of social institutions, including the media. At the same time, these normative expectations may be impossible for journalism to meet. As Carlson (2019, p. 95) put it, journalism "is caught in an aspirational paradox: to achieve legitimacy, journalists situate their work as the cornerstone of democracy and an arbiter of truth—normative positions that are impossible to achieve at all times."

CHALLENGES TO JOURNALISTS

Precarization of Journalistic Labor

The political pressures buffeting the institution of journalism have been accompanied by economic pressures that have only intensified over the past decade. These have had significant consequences for journalists' working conditions. A growing proportion of news content is produced by journalists in what is commonly referred to as atypical work, and contingent employment situations (Gollmitzer, 2014). Part-time, temporary, and casual work as well as triangular employment and dependent self-employment have become more common in recent years. Around the world, experienced senior journalists are being replaced by younger graduates, frequently working in nonpermanent roles.

The trend toward atypical and insecure employment is an increasingly important area of inquiry. Mark Deuze (2007) observes a shift toward more individualized and contingent contracts and a general deterioration of working conditions for journalists, which may explain the decrease in investigative reporting. Journalism is transitioning "towards a postindustrial and precarious organization of labor" (Deuze & Fortunati, 2011, p. 118). As countless news outlets have folded and others drastically scaled back operations, journalists increasingly find themselves without full-time jobs. Instead, they frequently work for short periods on particular projects or leave the profession altogether (O'Donnell, Zion, & Sherwood, 2016; Singer, 2011).

In this context, "entrepreneurial journalism" has emerged as a potential way of adapting to these changes (Cohen, 2015; Singer, 2018). It "promotes a notion of the enterprising individual journalist forging a career for herself through practices of self-branding and self-employment and learning to be adaptable, flexible, and self-sufficient" (Cohen, 2015, p. 513). Although the concept is helpful in pointing to shifts in journalistic roles that require new skill sets and ways of working and making money, it also masks the underpinning structural processes that have brought about precarization (Cohen, 2015). By celebrating the pioneering "entrepreneurial journalist," the concept individualizes—and puts a positive spin on—the increasingly challenging economic and practical conditions of journalistic work.

The Participatory Revolution

In parallel with the increasing destabilization of previously secure areas of journalistic labor, we have also seen a radical shift in relationships between journalists and audiences, as reflected in the growth of "amateur" or citizen journalism (see Stuart Allan and Arne Hintz's chapter in this book). These terms cover over a variety of practices that reflect the growing ease of contributing, producing, and distributing content in a way that facilitates the participation of "ordinary people" in making the news. The rise of citizen journalism has been aided by digital tools, the ease of using smartphones and the growth of social media. As David Domingo notes in his chapter for this book, initial optimistic readings saw the rise of social media as facilitating "the perfect public sphere where everyone can have a voice" because of the potential democratization of contributions to public debate.

Although the consequences of this participatory revolution remain under discussion, there is no doubt that the ability of audience members or "ordinary people" to contribute breaking news has altered the logics of disaster and crisis reporting (see Mervi Pantti's chapter), and generated broader challenges to journalism's traditional gatekeeping role (see Tim P. Vos' chapter) as well as relationships between journalists and their sources (see Dan Berkowitz's chapter). In the context of local journalism, which has disproportionately suffered the consequences of the collapse of the business model of the news industry, amateurs and semiprofessionals have stepped in to fill the "black hole" in news provision caused by thousands of local newspaper deaths through the vehicle of hyperlocal news sites (Harte, Howells, & Williams, 2018). Hyperlocal news sites, while providing much-needed news coverage to underserved local communities, tend to operate on a shoestring budget, and hyperlocal practitioners frequently lack the resources and skills necessary for in-depth and critical coverage.

Negotiating Journalism's Boundaries

At the same time, the emergence and increasing prominence of amateur practices has occasioned significant "boundary work" on the part of journalists who are anxious to defend their professional authority (see also Carlson and Lewis' chapter). Such boundary work has been given a renewed impetus through the emergence of practices that may pose fundamental challenges to definitions of journalistic work. Mike Ananny and Kate Crawford (2015) studied the professional identities of what they referred to as "liminal" media producers—in this case, the creators of mobile apps. Their research indicated that mobile app designers do not uniformly understand themselves as journalists but are also shaped by identification with the field of technology design. This raises significant questions around what constitutes a journalist in the era of the "networked press."

Similar questions are posed by the emergence of automated or "robot" journalism, drawing on "algorithmic processes that convert data into narrative news texts with limited to no human intervention beyond the initial programming choices" (Carlson, 2015, p. 416). As Neil Thurman's chapter for this volume demonstrates, such automated writing is increasingly used by a range of news organizations, particularly news agencies. For Carlson (2015), the growing use of automated journalism to report data-driven stories gives rise to concerns about the future of journalistic labor, the compositional forms of news, and the normative foundation of journalistic authority. Automated journalism, he argues, offers "algorithmic objectivity" but lacks the emotion, humor, and creative flourishes that so far only human journalists can offer (Carlson, 2015, p. 427). These are just a few examples of the ways in which emerging technologies not only offer new opportunities but also call into question fundamental categories of journalistic identities and professionalism.

Nonetheless, journalism studies continue to be preoccupied with traditional categories of journalistic work. In the previous edition of this handbook, we noted that scholarship on journalism "predominantly charts the professional cultures of privileged full-time news reporters over casualized, multi-skilled and free-lance journalists" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009, p. 12). After ten years, this diagnosis still holds remarkably true.

Journalists' Safety

While the above trends may represent a significant challenge to the profession as a whole, journalists who report on conflict face far more immediate dangers. Between the years 2009 and 2018, the Committee to Protect Journalists counted about 850 killings of journalists; annual casualties range between 66 and 104 reporters. Another 262 journalists were imprisoned and 59 missing by the end of 2017.[2] These developments are increasingly monitored by international organizations, including UNESCO and the UN General Assembly, which have taken action on the safety of journalists and the lack of legal punishment for attacks on journalists (e.g., UNESCO, 2008; UN General Assembly, 2014; International Federation of Journalists, 2018).

The increased recognition of these issues has been matched by burgeoning scholarly interest, discussed in detail in Howard Tumber's chapter for this book (see also Cottle, 2019; Harb, 2019; Keeble, 2019). While much research has focused on the risks faced by journalists working for Western and international news organizations, there is growing attention to the fact that local newsworkers on the ground in conflict zones are, in fact, far more endangered than celebrity journalists "parachuted in" by international news organizations to cover major developments (e.g., Carlsson & Pöyhtäri, 2017; Cottle, Sambrook, & Mosdell, 2016; Palmer, 2018, 2019). For example, a significant number of studies have investigated anti-journalist violence and anti-press harassment in Mexico (Hughes & Márquez-Ramírez, 2018) and other "insecure democracies" (Hughes et al., 2017). Torsner (2017) and Sarikakis (2017, p. 123) thus make a case for studies that measure risk beyond killings and merely "counting bodies."

The growing attention to sexual harassment and assault brought about by the #MeToo movement has placed the spotlight on the safety of women journalists around the world. As Linda Steiner documents in her chapter for this volume, sexual aggression against female journalists—widely documented in autobiographies—is increasingly salient in public debate but remains firmly embedded within institutionally sexist newsroom structures.

THE FUTURE(S) OF JOURNALISM STUDIES

The relative neglect of journalists' safety and impunity issues by "mainstream" journalism research is one of several deficits of international scholarship, likely owing to a continued Western hegemony in the field. Despite efforts to internationalize journalism studies, the field is still struggling with the fact that most of what we know and take for granted in the Western world, but also elsewhere, about "journalism" rests on concepts and evidence generated from within Western concepts and experience (Curran & Park, 2000; Hanitzsch, 2019). In part, this Western dominance has resulted from, and is reinforcing, a concentration of academic and textbook publishers in the Anglo-Saxon world using English as the default language (de Beer, 2010; Josephi, 2005).

Most of the studies typically considered groundbreaking or field-defining have been authored by scholars from the West. The paucity of recognition of non-Western scholarship is also reflected in the way journalism scholars distribute scholarly prestige. Between 2011 and 2018, the Journalism Studies Division of the International Communication Association has given all of its 20 book, dissertation, and outstanding article awards to scholars from universities located in the West, with 11 of these going to researchers based or trained in the US (Hanitzsch, 2019). This Western dominance arguably has consequences for our broader understanding of journalism. "International" journalism research still tends to problematize the object of analysis from a Western analytical framework. Researchers have thus called for de-Westernizing the field (Curran & Park, 2000; Wang, 2014). De-Westernization has taken on multiple forms—as an act of cultural defense, an anti-imperialist strategy to nurture academic sovereignty, and a call for embracing an analytical perspective that reflects a de-centered, dynamic contemporary world (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

Nowhere is the problem of generalizing and exporting the Western view to other parts of the world more obvious than in academic and professional discourses proclaiming a crisis or collapse of journalism. Responding to unsettling developments in selected Western countries, scholars have issued calls for "rebuilding," "reconsidering," "remaking," "reconstructing," "rethinking," and "reinventing" journalism (Alexander, Breese, & Luengo, 2016; Anderson, 2013; Boczkowski & Anderson, 2017; Downie & Schudson, 2009; Peters & Broersma, 2013; Waisbord, 2013; see also Ahva and Steensen's chapter in this book). The alarmist tone of this debate may well be appropriate in parts of the Western world, notably the US, but the situation in many other countries may not necessarily call for such a response. While traditional journalism may be contracting in some parts of the world, the industry is still expanding in other regions, such as China and India. In this context, US journalism should not be seen as a benchmark case or model for the world taking into account its very specific, if not exceptional, status even among the Western countries (Curran, 2011).

In addition to tracing how journalism is studied here and now, this book also intends to contribute to a debate about where research should be heading, especially considering the field's global and disciplinary diversity. Each of the chapters reflects on potential directions for future research, highlighting the fact that we currently live in an era where both journalism and society are undergoing profound transformations. Taken as a whole, these discussions tell us much about where the energies of journalism studies may be channeled in the future. In the following, we briefly chart agendas for future research that appear most prominently across this *Handbook*'s chapters, with all of the areas mentioned below appearing in more than one chapter. More than anything, it is apparent that the future of journalism studies will be shaped by what we have described above as the stage of fragmentation and diversification of journalism studies. This has opened up for fruitful avenues of inquiry, but also ones that cannot be captured in a neat and unitary account.

Perhaps most prominently, journalism scholarship continues to grapple with the implications of what Nielsen (2016, p. 61) called the "unfinished digital media revolution," brought about by the emergence of digital platforms, social media, and datafication. As several authors in this book argue, developments including personalization algorithms, automated journalism, big data, and artificial intelligence are challenging understandings of journalistic authorship, voice, and authority, posing new questions likely to transform our inquiry.

While many scholars are looking to new frontiers of digital media, we have also seen a broadening of research into long-standing but little researched forms of journalism. In a major development advancing knowledge in the field, researchers have begun to pay more attention to areas of journalism that have previously been neglected, such as celebrity and lifestyle news, and local and regional news. The role of emotion is increasingly recognized in current journalism scholarship, and has given rise to new research agendas that examine its place in production practices, texts, and audience engagement (see Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas R. Schmidt's chapter in this book; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019). The rise of alternative media, especially those linked to the extreme right, has instigated further scholarly interest in media practices beyond the professional "mainstream" (e.g., Wodak, KhosraviNik, & Mral, 2013).

Despite this shift, journalism research could still do better in accounting for the rich complexity of journalistic mediascapes. The lens of journalism scholarship remains predominantly directed at the professional cultures of privileged full-time news reporters over the growing cadre of casualized, multi-skilled, and freelance journalists. Furthermore, specialist beats such as arts, music, education, and technology continue to receive scant attention. Popular forms of journalism, despite their broader appeal and innovative forms of storytelling, remain underrepresented in research. They continue to be discredited as an unworthy other, to the detriment of our understanding of thriving and important practices, as argued in several chapters of this book.

Furthermore, although news audiences have gradually moved into the spotlight of journalism scholarship, van Dalen (in this book) points out that researchers should pay particular attention to the changing expectations of news audiences in a time of rising anti-elitism and media skepticism. As advertising revenue declines and news organizations increasingly turn to pay models, argues Nielsen (see Chapter 21), journalism research needs to generate more knowledge about how news organizations create value for audiences and when, where, and for what people might be willing to pay. In her contribution to this volume, Irene Costera Meijer finally calls for more attention to people's experiences of journalism by focusing beyond cognitive and pragmatic dimensions of news use to include emotional, sensory, and haptic experiences.

All this may compel us to revisit theory in our field. Ahva and Steensen, in their chapter on the state of theory in journalism studies, demonstrate that most journalism research continues to coalesce around traditional concepts, such as "professionalism" and "objectivity" (see also Chris W. Anderson and Michael Schudson's chapter). They conclude that theory is not necessarily the starting point of academic inquiry. Rather, much of journalism research published in journals has sought primarily to find answers to practice-based questions that lend themselves to empirical investigation rather than to theorization. Anderson (2015) is one of several scholars to call for more systematic theorization efforts in journalism studies. He suggests approaching news production from a radically different angle sensitive to the evolution of technological affordances and socio-cultural habits. Such an approach should also account for practices of collective news production and the historical and discursive creation of journalism as an institution. The perspective of journalism as a discursively constituted and negotiated regime seems to be a particularly promising avenue, as many chapters in this book indicate (see, for example, the chapters by Carlson and Lewis, Hanitzsch and Örnebring, Darren Kelsey, Elizabeth Poole, and Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Motti Neiger).

Finally, journalism scholars continue to prefer forms of journalism and journalistic practices perceived to be central to the democratic process. A narrow scholarly focus on democracy, however, ignores the fact that journalism within democracy is enjoyed only by a relatively small minority of the world's population. It is exactly here that we think journalism studies—despite an increasing number of studies coming out of and focusing on non-Western societies—needs to become truly international. This means that the field should be internationalized not just in quantitative terms, as measured by conference attendance and publication output, but also by recognizing a global diversity of journalistic cultures and intellectual lines of inquiry that look beyond North America and Western Europe (see also Hanitzsch's and Ward's chapters). As George notes in his chapter for this book, the most courageous expressions of journalism's professional values take place largely in non-democratic and oftentimes authoritarian settings. Studying journalism from a non-Western perspective has the potential to call into question key assumptions about journalism that we have long taken for granted.

NOTES

1. The book (original title *Buljo jikji simche yojeol*) was printed 78 years prior to Johannes Gutenberg's acclaimed 42-line Bible; see www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-1/baegun-hwasang-cho rok-buljo-jikji-simche-yojeol-volii-the-second-volume-of-anthology-of-great-buddhist-priests-zen-teachings/.
2. https://cpj.org/data/killed/

REFERENCES

Abramowitz, M. J. (2017). Hobbling a champion of global press freedom: Press freedom in the United States. In Freedom House (Ed.), *Press freedom's Dark Horizon: Freedom of the Press 2017* (pp. 1–2). Washington, DC: Freedom House.

Alexander, J. C., Butler Breese, E., & Luengo, M. (Eds.). (2016). *The crisis of journalism reconsidered: Democratic culture, professional codes, digital future*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ananny, M., & Crawford, K. (2015). A liminal press: Situating news app designers within a field of networked news production. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(2), 192–208.

Anderson, C. W. (2013). *Rebuilding the news: Metropolitan journalism in the digital age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Anderson, C. W. (2015). Up and out: Journalism, social media, and historical sensibility. *Social Media Society*, *1*(1), 1–2.

Benkler, Y., Faris, R., Roberts, H., & Zuckerman, E. (2017). Study: Breitbart-led right-wing media ecosystem altered broader media agenda. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved December 17, 2018, from www.cjr.org/analysis/breitbart-media-trump-harvard-study.php.

Benson, R. (2019). Paywalls and public knowledge: How can journalism provide quality news for everyone? *Journalism*, *20*(1), 146–149.

Boczkowski, P. J., & Anderson, C. W. (Eds.). (2017). *Remaking the news: Essays on the future of journalism scholarship in the digital age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Brants, K., de Vreese, C., Möller, J., & van Praag, P. (2010). The real spiral of cynicism? Symbiosis and mistrust between politicians and journalists. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *15*(1), 25–40.

Carey, J. (1996). *Where journalism education went wrong*. Presentation at the Middle Tennessee State University. Retrieved from https://lindadaniele.wordpress.com/2010/08/11/carey-where-journalism-education-went-wrong/

Carlson, M. (2015). The robotic reporter. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 416–431.
Carlson, M. (2019). The perpetual failure of journalism. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 95–97.
Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (Eds.). (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Carlsson, U., & Pöyhtäri, R. (Eds.). (2017). *The assault on journalism: Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression*. Göteborg: Nordicom.
Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chalaby, J. K. (1996). Journalism as an Anglo-American invention: A comparison of the development of French and Anglo-American journalism, 1830s—1920s. *European Journal of Communication*, *11*(3), 303–326.
Chan, J. M. (2019). From networked commercialism to networked authoritarianism: The biggest challenge to journalism. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 64–68.
Cohen, N. S. (2015). Entrepreneurial journalism and the precarious state of media work. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, *114*(3), 513–533.
Cottle, S. (2019). Journalism coming of (global) age, II. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 102–105.
Cottle, S., Sambrook, R., & Mosdell, N. (2016). *Reporting dangerously: Journalist killings, intimidation and security*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Curran, J. (2011). Questioning a new orthodoxy. In J. Curran (Ed.), *Communication and society: Media and democracy* (pp. 28–46). London: Routledge.
Curran, J., & Park, M-J. (Eds.). (2000). *De-Westernizing media studies*. London: Routledge.
De Beer, A. S. (2010). Looking for journalism education scholarship in some unusual places: The case of Africa. *Communication: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, *36*(2), 213–226.
Deuze, M. (2007). *Media work*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.
Deuze, M., & Fortunati, L. (2011). Atypical newswork, atypical media management. In M. Deuze (Ed.), *Managing media work* (pp. 111–121). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Downie, L., & Schudson, M. (2009, November/December). The reconstruction of American journalism. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 6, 1–100.
Dunham, J. (2017). Press freedom's Dark Horizon: Global findings. In Freedom House (Ed.), *Press freedom's Dark Horizon: Freedom of the press 2017* (pp. 3–16). Washington, DC: Freedom House.
Fletcher, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Are news audiences increasingly fragmented? A cross-national comparative analysis of cross-platform news audience fragmentation and duplication. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(4), 476–498.
Ford, S., & Ali, C. (2017). *The future of local news in New York City*. Tow/Knight Report. New York, NY: Tow Center for Digital Journalism.
Frisch, N., Belair-Gagnon, V., & Agur, C. (2018). Media capture with Chinese characteristics: Changing patterns in Hong Kong's news media system. *Journalism*, *19*(8), 1165–1181.
Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, *2*(1), 64–91.
George, C. (2007). Consolidating authoritarian rule: Calibrated coercion in Singapore. *Pacific Review*, *20*(2), 127–145.
Gollmitzer, M. (2014). Precariously employed watchdogs? *Journalism Practice*, *8*(6), 826–841.
Graves, L. (2016). *Deciding what's true: The rise of political fact-checking in American journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Gronke, P., & Cook, T. E. (2007). Disdaining the media: The American public's changing attitudes toward the news. *Political Communication*, *24*(3), 259–281.
Hanitzsch, T. (2019). Journalism studies still needs to fix Western bias. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 214–217.
Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Ramaprasad, J., & de Beer, A. S. (Eds.). (2019). *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures around the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Hanitzsch, T., van Dalen, A., & Steindl, N. (2018). Caught in the nexus: A comparative and longitudinal analysis of public trust in the press. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(1), 3–23.

Harb, Z. (2019). Challenges facing Arab journalism, freedom, safety and economic security. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 110–113.

Hardt, H. (2002). *Social theories of the press* (2nd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Harte, D., Howells, R., & Williams, A. (2018). *Hyperlocal journalism: The decline of local newspapers and the rise of online community news*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

He-suk, C., & Ye-seul, S. (2014, May 16). [Weekender] Life as a Korean journalist. *Korea Herald*. Retrieved from www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20140516001262

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the news: The emergence of ambient journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(3), 37–41.

Hopmann, D. N., Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2015). Contagious media effects: How media use and exposure to game-framed news influence media trust. *Mass Communication & Society*, *18*(6), 776–798.

Hughes, S., & Márquez-Ramírez, M. (2018). Local-level authoritarianism, democratic normative aspirations, and antipress harassment: Predictors of threats to journalists in Mexico. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(4), 539–560.

Hughes, S., Mellado, C., Arroyave, J., Benitez, J. L., de Beer, A., Garcés, M., . . . Márquez-Ramírez, M. (2017). Expanding influences research to insecure democracies. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(5), 645–665.

Inglehart, R. (2006). Mapping global values. *Comparative Sociology*, *5*(2), 115–136.

Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

International Federation of Journalists. (2018). *End impunity—for a UN convention to protect journalists*. Retrieved from www.ifj.org/actions/ifj-campaigns/end-impunity-for-a-un-convention-to-protect-journalists.html

Josephi, B. (2005). Journalism in the global age: Between normative and empirical. *Gazette*, *67*(6), 575–590.

Josephi, B. (2013). How much democracy does journalism need? *Journalism*, *14*(4), 474–489.

Kavada, A. (2018). Editorial: Media and the 'populist moment.' *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(5), 742–744.

Keeble, R. (2019). Secret, repressive states worldwide and the threat to journalism. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 114–117.

Lewis, S. C. (2019). Lack of trust in the news media, institutional weakness, and relational journalism as a potential way forward. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 44–47.

Löffelholz, M. (2008). Heterogenous—multidimensional—competing: Theoretical approaches to journalism—an overview. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 15–27). New York, NY and London: Blackwell Publishing.

MacKinnon, R. (2011). China's "Networked Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*, *22*(2), 32–46.

Maréchal, N. (2017). Networked authoritarianism and the geopolitics of information: Understanding Russian internet policy. *Media and Communication*, *5*(1), 29–41.

McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*(2), 176–187.

McLeod, J. M., & Hawley, S. E. (1964). Professionalization among newsmen. *Journalism Quarterly*, *41*(4), 529–539, 577.

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., & Donsbach, W. (Eds.). (2017). *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, contexts, and methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Müller, J. (2013). *Mechanisms of trust*. Frankfurt: Campus.

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2013). Freedom without impartiality: The vicious circle of media capture. In P. Gross & K. Jakubowicz (Eds.), *Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change* (pp. 33–48). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Nielsen, R. (2016). The business of news. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 51–67). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

O'Donnell, P., Zion, L., & Sherwood, M. (2016). Where do journalists go after newsroom job cuts? *Journalism Practice*, *10*(1), 35–51.

Palmer, L. (2018). *Becoming the story: War correspondents since 9/11*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Palmer, L. (2019). *News 'Fixers': The underground economy of international reporting* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the internet is hiding from you*. London: Penguin.
Peters, C. (2019). Journalism needs a better argument: Aligning public goals with the realities of the digital news and information landscape. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 73–76.
Peters, C., & Broersma, M. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.
Phillips, T. (2018, October 18). Bolsonaro business backers accused of illegal WhatsApp fake news campaign. *The Guardian*. Retrieved December 18, 2018, from www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/18/brazil-jair-bolsonaro-whatsapp-fake-news-campaign
Reese, S. D. (2019). The threat to the journalistic institution. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 202–205.
Robinson, S. (2019). Crisis of shared public discourses: Journalism and how it all begins and ends with trust. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 56–59.
Russell, A. (2019). 'This time it's different': Covering threats to journalism and the eroding public sphere. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 32–35.
Ryfe, D. (2012). *Can journalism survive? An inside look at American newsrooms*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press.
Sarikakis, K. (2017). Assaults against journalists: We see the tip of the iceberg. In U. Carlsson & R. Pöyhtäri (Eds.), *The assault on journalism: Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression* (pp. 119–127). Göteborg: Nordicom.
Schlesinger, P., & Doyle, G. (2015). From organizational crisis to multi-platform salvation? Creative destruction and the recomposition of news media. *Journalism*, *16*(3), 305–323.
Shoemaker, P. J., & Cohen, A. A. (2006). *News around the world: Content, practitioners and the public*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Singer, J. B. (2008). Journalism research in the United States: Paradigm shift in a networked world. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 145–157). New York, NY and London: Blackwell Publishing.
Singer, J. B. (2011). Journalism in a network. In M. Deuze (Ed.), *Managing media work* (pp. 103–111). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Singer, J. B. (2018). Entrepreneurial journalism. In T. P. Vos (Ed.), *Journalism* (pp. 355–372). Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
Singer, J. B. (2019). Habits of practice, habits of thought. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 135–139.
Stringer, P. (2018). Finding a place in the journalistic field: The pursuit of recognition and legitimacy at BuzzFeed and vice. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(13), 1991–2000.
Tandoc, E. C. Jr., Lim, Z. W., & Ling, R. (2018). Defining "fake news" A typology of scholarly definitions. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 137–153.
Torsner, S. (2017). Measuring journalism safety: Methodological challenges. In U. Carlsson & R. Pöyhtäri (Eds.), *The assault on journalism: Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression* (pp. 129–138). Göteborg: Nordicom.
Tumber, H., & Zelizer, B. (2019). Special 20th anniversary issue: The challenges facing journalism today. *Journalism*, *20*(1), 5–7.
UNESCO. (2008). *The safety of journalists and the danger of impunity*. Paris: UNESCO. Retrieved from www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/ipdc2008_safety_of_journalists_report.pdf
UN General Assembly. (2014). *Resolution A/RES/68/163*. New York, NY: United Nations. Retrieved from www.undocs.org/A/RES/68/163
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2017). A manifesto of failure for digital journalism. In P. Boczkowski & C. Anderson (Eds.), *Remaking digital news* (pp. 251–266). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2018). Challenging presentism in journalism studies: An emotional life history approach to understanding the lived experience of journalists. *Journalism*. Published online first https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918760670
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2019). *Emotions, media and politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Franklin, B. (2008). Journalism research in Great Britain. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 172–184). New York, NY and London: Blackwell Publishing.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (2009). Introduction: On why and how we should do journalism studies. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 3–16). New York, NY: Routledge.

Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Waisbord, S., & Mellado, C. (2014). De-Westernizing communication studies: A reassessment. *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 361–372.

Wang, G. (2014). Culture, paradigm, and communication theory: A matter of boundary or commensurability? *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 373–393.

Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2017). Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policymaking. *Council of Europe report, DGI (2017)*, *9*.

White, D. M. (1950). The gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*(3), 383–390.

Wodak, R., KhosraviNik, M., & Mral, B. (Eds.). (2013). *Right-wing populism in Europe: Politics and discourse*. London: Bloomsbury.

Xu, J. (2012). In state media the Chinese trust? Findings from a national survey. *China Media Research*, *8*(2), 36–45.

Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *10*(3), 219–237.

Zelizer, B. (2013). On the shelf life of democracy in journalism scholarship. *Journalism*, *14*, 459–473.

Zhang, L. L. (2006). Behind the 'Great Firewall': Decoding China's internet media policies from the inside. *Convergence*, *12*(3), 271–291.

Zhengrong, H., Deqiang, J., & Lei, Z. (2015). Building the nation-state: Journalism and communication studies in China. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 369–395). New York, NY: Routledge.

2

Journalism History

Martin Conboy

INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to break new ground in developing an overview of the historiography of journalism. Rather than returning to well-documented narratives of the historical development of the field from its earliest prototypes through its various technological platforms from broadcast to online, it will examine how histories of journalism themselves have contributed to our understanding of journalism and its social, political, and cultural functions. These historical interpretations tell us as much about the ways society has used journalism as do more traditional narratives.

Although based on historical approaches to journalism, this contribution will pose questions with a view to informing the present. This ambition is based on the observation that its history has always been inextricably linked to definitions. Therefore, in taking an approach that highlights the characteristics and claims of a communicative genre over time, we can demonstrate that journalism has never been a stable set of discourses but has always been disputed and defended by various factions, put to competing and sometimes conflicting purposes and always in precise geopolitical circumstances. Through this prism of historical analysis, we are therefore encouraged to consider what aspects of contemporary journalism have maintained cohesion with older forms and what is radically new in the journalistic present.

The flow of discussion here will explore how journalism history, rather than journalism itself, has moved from constituting a set of nationally based celebrations of the triumph of freedom of speech manifested in newspapers, to approaches that use the texts and contexts of journalism in the past to explore its claims to discursive distinctiveness. While acknowledging that much of journalism history has been driven predominantly by Anglo-American research paradigms and publications, the chapter will also give at least a flavor of important contributions to the historiography of journalism from countries outside the Anglophone world as well as more interconnected, thematic critiques that challenge nation-based and Anglo-centric models.

This chapter will consider some of the foundational texts of journalism history from various methodological and national contexts as well as highlighting the challenges and limitations of digitization as a spur to contemporary approaches. To demonstrate the dynamism of these developments, the chapter will list some of the tangible achievements of various centers for the study of journalism history.

JOURNALISM HISTORY: A LATE FLOWERING

Journalism had existed in practice if not in name for several centuries before there were consistent attempts to chart its historical evolution. Each national space seems to have established a history of its own journalistic tradition. These accounts served two main purposes. First, they celebrated journalism as part of an emergent political liberalism. Second, they helped to shape understandings of the political and cultural meanings that journalism had established in distinguishing itself from other communicative forms. The first vehicles for these purposes were formal histories of journalism from the mid-19th century onwards. Prutz appears to have set the ball rolling with his history of German journalism in 1845, followed by Andrews (1859) and Fox Bourne (1887) in Britain and Hudson's (1873) *American Journalism*. These were stirring attempts to provide an overview of the importance of journalism to longer processes of political enlightenment. Yet they served as an antidote to a more substantial set of previous contributions, namely the biographies and autobiographies of leading practitioners. More often than not, these were related from the perspective of the great and the good: the owners and editors of newspapers.

Theoretically, it could be claimed that Park's analysis of the symbolic construction of space in urban America from 1923 provided the most significant epistemological moment in understanding the social basis of journalism. Departing from narrative reconstructions of journalism's role in enabling democratic discourse, he broadened our understanding of its potential by considering how it had acted as a builder of communities. Despite this intervention, traditional histories maintained their grip on the subject of journalism. Professional historians tended to use journalism, and in particular newspaper journalism, as an additional archival resource but little more. Tucher (2007, p. 5) has encapsulated this approach with a counter-plea in persuasively metaphorical vein, directing researchers from outside journalism studies to

> stay for a while in our yard rather than just raiding our orchards as many do and cherry-picking the evidence of the facts they need to advance their own arguments—the sociologists interested in theories of communication, the political scientist intent on this election or that crisis, the legal scholar in hot pursuit of First Amendment principles, the literary scholar hoping to unearth a forgotten Hemmingway, the historian hungry for a primary source.

This tradition of using journalism as a source rather than an area worthy of study in its own right persisted well into the 20th century. Mott (1941) and Emery and Emery (1984) provided what many consider the definitive 20th century chronologies of American journalism, while Herd's *March of Journalism* (1952) encapsulates this continuing tradition in the very title of his book. Whiggish histories such as Siebert's (1965) description of the rise and fall of government control of the press in England over three centuries still managed to represent the press as the ultimate victor in a struggle for independence from government, as if the restrictions and control of owners, advertisers, and markets played little or no part in structuring the survival and economic success of newspapers. His story of the rise of journalism as a conduit for free speech from the Elizabethan era onwards was significant and influential, supporting conventional views of journalism as an incremental contributor to a healthy democratic sphere. Koss' accounts (1981, 1984), though compendious, similarly restricted the role of the press to a rather narrow vehicle for political communication while ignoring its broader cultural engagement as well as any sources outside the most politically oriented of newspapers.

Despite these disciplinary inhibitions, work emerging from parallel fields of literary criticism and mainstream history encouraged a more specific development of journalism history. For example, the journalism of the 19th century had been privileged in research terms because of its proximity to the research interests of scholars of literature and the Victorian era's importance for longitudinal studies of a range of cultural and social issues (Brown, 1985; Jones, 1996; Wiener, 1988). This brought sustained attention to issues such as class, style, and audiences in the press of the period. In a different cultural and linguistic environment within the same era, Palmer (1983) displayed a similar historical focus on the French popular press, offering a plausible alternative to the dominant Anglo-American narrative. Much contemporary research into journalism flows from such relatively early crossovers. This has flourished recently in the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* by Brake and Demoor (2009), which provides an essential reference text for any exploration of journalism's 19th century contexts. A further companion to this work is the source guide to 19th century British periodicals compiled by Palmegiano (2012). Literary scholars also provided an impetus for the opening up of journalism to more rigorous historical explorations. Frank's (1961) detailed analysis of the language and structure of the birth of English journalism during the English Civil War (1642–1651) is an exceptional demonstration of what could be achieved with a more precise and culturally tuned agenda.

Picking up on the problem of journalism history, Carey's (1974) intervention was another pivotal attempt at outlining the issues of exploring journalism from a perspective more integrated with other academic disciplines such as history and sociology. His opening salvo in the first issue of a journal entitled *Journalism History* was that: "The study of journalism history remains something of an embarrassment" (Carey, 1974, p. 1). In Carey's view, journalism history has, for too long, been a naïve history. Above all, the Whiggish tendency inscribed within most chronologies of journalism—the linkage between journalism and a seemingly inevitable political enlightenment, born on the wings of free speech and the energies of dynamic individuals—has held back the field of journalism history. Furthermore, this situation was not helped by anecdotal and often self-heroizing accounts of individual journalists who were deeply wedded to such teleologies as a personal and professional investment. Carey's polemic, aligning with more general intellectual trends towards critical and interpretative approaches within the social sciences and humanities in the mid-1970s, subsequently generated genuine attempts to provide histories of journalism that renewed attempts to mesh it with broader interdisciplinary concerns. His call to action was taken up in 1978, through Schudson's account of the emergence of the popular press. Schudson's history saw this development as rooted in social and economic history, as part of the process of democratization in the US in the 1830s and 1840s. This, in turn, generated a debate that in itself was evidence of the heightened sophistication of the emergent field. In response, Nerone and four of his colleagues (1987) identified as "journalism history scholars" provided an extensive set of discussions on the role of the penny press in the evolution of American journalism, popular journalism and the relationship between objectivity, market forces, and the freedom of the press. Schudson's subsequent work has built on these early observations and continues to dominate discussions of journalism's relationship to politics, the economy and history (e.g., Broersma & Peters, 2017). Carey's work has a continuing centrality, as seen in debates in Blanchard (1999) and more recently in the inclusion of his seminal article from 1974 as an anchoring piece in Brennen and Hardt's *American Journalism History Reader* (2011).

COUNTER-NARRATIVES TO THE LIBERAL TRADITION

Early American newspapers have been rigorously examined by Sloan and Williams (1994), and Copeland (2006) has critically examined the enlightenment contribution of the American press. These studies share a firm basis in the scrutiny of primary sources. Popular newspapers have attracted a great deal of attention in the wake of Schudson's work. For example, Crouthamel's book (1989) on the role of popular pioneer Gordon Bennett and his *New York Herald* emphasized its successful experimentation with a commercial version of vernacular as a cornerstone of its appeal to readers on the streets of Jacksonian New York. Huntzicker (1999), meanwhile, examined the mid-19th century, including the formative years for the role of the reporter in the American Civil War.

In the British context, historians started to signal an interest in journalism as something other than a background for their own work, with work such as Cranfield's (1962, 1978) on both local and national newspapers. Boyce, Curran, and Wingate (1978) pioneered one of the first compilations from a broad range of scholars from communications backgrounds. Their volume highlighted the "way in which the role of the press is perceived, the expectations of audiences, the values and beliefs of newspapermen, the attitudes of elites to the press are all significant in helping us to understand the nature and development [of journalism]" (Boyce et al., 1978, pp. 13–14). Indeed, they claimed that their book was the first attempt to provide a historical survey of the British press since Fox Bourne's of 1887. One of the editors of the book, Curran (1978), provided a hugely influential counter-narrative to the likes of Siebert and Koss (see above), arguing that what had been accepted as a commercial emancipation of the press from overt political control in Britain from 1855 with the lifting of the "taxes on knowledge" had in fact provided a smokescreen for the more effective economic control of political opinion. He suggested that dependence on such market forces inevitably privileged editorial positions that were commercially safe and therefore politically conservative. From this analytical standpoint, the "liberated" press formed part of a new, more subtle and arguably more effective form of social control: the control of the market.

GENDERED HISTORICAL DISCOURSE: WOMEN AS JOURNALISTIC PIONEERS

The results of such expanded attention to journalism as a subject of intrinsic interest to historians began to pay off with a range of impressive accounts of its contribution to social and cultural history. The springboard of more sophisticated, integrated histories of journalism enabled attention to be focused on particular areas of journalism practice over time and the ways they had either supported or challenged the status quo. Feminist scholarship, for example, prompted an exploration of many of the patriarchal assumptions that often underpin journalism's evolution. McDowell (1998) provided a colorful and insightful study of the roles and work of female printers, publicists, and writers in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Drawing on extensive archival material, she highlighted the activity of women in all aspects of public print, shaping discourses around issues such as non-conformism, colonialism, and the tithe system of taxation. Yet she also indicated the ways in which women were being marginalized through shifts in the ownership of the press. These shifts favored men of property and relegated women to the domestic sphere, even as they were at their most active in the development of the press (see also Chapter 29). More recently, Nevitt (2006) has added a further level of sophistication to this area in highlighting female agency in directly confronting male control of the pamphlet business of revolutionary England between 1640 and 1660. Linking with recent work in the history of the book, this work has explored the strategies deployed to circumvent such systems of control so that women's writing could emerge through alternative networks of publication and dissemination.

These projects could be seen as continuing the work of Adburgham (1972, p. 9), who expressed her ambition well when she claimed she was inserting women back into journalism's history as "rescue work." The period she chose to study, from the Restoration to the beginning of the Victorian era, helps us understand not only the contributions that women made to the public sphere in those centuries, but also the social and economic reasons why they were gradually occluded by men from both the practice and the historiography of journalism. Chapman (2013) explored the role of gender in the negotiations between the press and the emergence of cultural citizenship from the 1860s to the 1930s. Of additional significance here is that, as in her previous history (2005), this relationship was explored internationally through comparisons and contrasts between India, Britain, and France. Broadening out from representation to participation, this more integrated approach engaged with the role of women as both news sources and actors within a professional environment. Tusan's exemplary work on women's advocacy journalism (2005) not only charted the role of women in developing journalism from the middle of the 19th century but also challenged the assumption that journalism had become a channel restricted to the reporting of fact-based discourse at this time. In stark contrast, the professional practice she monitored was an advocacy journalism that aimed at militant intervention in gender debates and had full emancipation of women as its goal. This was not mainstream journalism with its claims to "objectivity"; it was full-blooded campaigning journalism in pursuit of a cause.

Historical approaches to issues of gender continue to flourish. Examinations include Bingham's work (2004, 2009) on the representation of women and women's issues in the popular press in Britain in the middle years of the 20th century. There have also been serious attempts to produce specific academic histories of the mass popular press, following trends to devote scholarly attention to commercial popular culture. For example, Britain's *News of the World* was the most successful newspaper of all time in terms of sales, but no serious scholarly study of it existed until it closed and formed the subject of Brake, Kaul, and Turner (2015). Similarly, Bingham and Conboy (2015) have provided the first overview of the emergence of the tabloid newspaper, the most influential journalism genre in Britain in the 20th century.

CONTESTING JOURNALISM'S BOURGEOIS NORMATIVITY

From the 1960s, "history from below" and an approach characterized as social history lent their influence to studies of heroic failures within journalism as a set of political and methodological approaches. This contributed to further contesting the notion that the history of journalism was a triumphal march towards an inevitable present. Such approaches highlighted the attempts to create an alternative working-class press to challenge the might of an industrialized, capitalist journalism. Thompson provided a long and hugely influential account of the "heroic age of popular radicalism" (1967, p. 660) as he maintained that the working class literally wrote themselves into self-awareness through their periodical publications. Hollis (1970) considered the emergence of a working-class press as fundamentally an educational issue: the point of such education was contested between those who wanted a press to integrate the emergent working class and those who sought a press to educate the working class into an awareness of their own power and the structural abuses of the system that created their impoverishment and discontent. Harrison (1974) chronicled the various (ultimately unsuccessful) attempts to forge a more representative democratic press over two centuries. Conboy (2002), meanwhile, explored the ambiguous attractions of popular newspapers, which have proved amenable to both radical and profitable ends in enlisting the support of working-class audiences.

These approaches to journalism history have done much to reconfigure theoretical debates and replenish enthusiasm for the project as a whole in ways that appeared extremely unlikely 50 years ago. They have repositioned journalism historiography within general media and communication histories with greatly increased authority. Curran has continued to develop the historical aspects of his work on journalism within broader accounts of the British media, most notably in his short but influential position piece (2002) where he argued for an integrated model of media history with social and political contexts coming to the fore. It was the starting point for a later discussion on the relationship of journalism history to media history in sharing those same imperatives in Hampton and Conboy's dialogue (2014).

NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

A burgeoning literature from other areas of the world acts as a counterbalance to the work of American and British scholars in this field. Recent publications of note build on comprehensive national narratives, such as the five-volume history of the French press by Bellanger, Godechot, Guiral, and Terrou (1969–1975); the book by Koschwitz (1971) on the Soviet and Chinese press; and the work of Groth (1928–1930) and Koszyk (1966) on the German press. This literature includes Birkner's (2012) sophisticated update on earlier work within the rich German tradition, with a special emphasis on the historical formation of the professional identity of the journalist. The Spanish context is flourishing with, for example, work on Spanish journalism's unique struggles with power in the Baroque period (Chartier & Espejo, 2012) and Noci's work (2012) on the links between Spanish and Dutch publications in the same period. Sousa, Lima, Hohlfeldt, and Barbosa (2014) and Sousa and Teixeira (2015) have provided a study of the often-neglected area of Portuguese-language journalism in Europe and in the wider Lusophone world. In doing so, they have extended the history of journalism from its European cradle to the export to the New World via the language of the colonial expansion out of Portugal. One brief example of what such "alternative" national histories can provide lies in the model of journalism that emerged at the *Gazeta de Lisboa*. The newspaper developed a type of censorship by citizens rather than Church or State, referred to as "enlightened despotism" (Sousa et al., 2014, p. 40). Reeve (2014) has taken a highly original perspective on the emergence of journalism in Italy in the early 19th century. Drawing on a variety of printed and manuscript documents, including personal letters and treatises, she exploited a fine range of linguistic and historical scholarship. Through this approach, she probed how epistemologies of science and news converged during a period that saw the rise of weekly newssheets, the Dutch telescope, and Galileo's astronomical work *The Starry Messenger*. She related how the science of optics and the rise of objective reporting were woven into political and religious intrigues at the very start of Italian journalism.

Other recent examples of the deep-mining of nationally specific European traditions are Khalifa, Regnier, Thérenty, and Vaillant's (2011) exploration of the French journal and the studies of Dahl (2016), Jensen (1996–1998), and Wijfjes (2004), which highlighted the emergence of distinct national journalistic traditions of, respectively, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Hampton (2004) selected a precise historical frame with intensive scrutiny of primary source material. This allowed him to compile a fascinating account of the ways in which the British press was perceived culturally and politically by readers and contributors over the formative period of the mass press, 1850–1950, to explore a dichotomy between educational and informational ideals characteristic of the time.

Despite the fact that journalism has been too often plagued by national histories that were narrowly focused on celebrating their own traditions, there is enormous value in some of the work now produced from national spaces that perhaps challenges the dominance of Anglo-American paradigms of genesis. Conboy (2004, 2010) has provided histories that, while restricted to the UK, have used this framework to grapple with the ways in which definitions of journalism have been contested through various regimes of practice over time. Chapman's (2005) comparative history draws connections between journalism as part of broader media culture in the advanced capitalist economies of the US, the UK, Germany, France, and Japan. The broadening out of national histories to definitional and comparative discussions has also challenged some of the foundational myths of journalism history that would have us believe that the Roman *acta diurna* and later Italian *avvisi* or Dutch *corantos* were the generators of journalistic modes of communication. Radical revisionist research has provided us with a new Chinese perspective that dates the introduction of journalism to China not only centuries before the Western missionaries have usually been credited with doing so (Vittinghoff, 2002) but even before newspapers were introduced in Western Europe (He, 2015). This research decenters accounts of the emergence of journalism-like publications to Hangzhou in the Song dynasty (960–1279). Intriguingly, the two types of publication traced through secondary literature are the *chao pao* ("court paper") and *xiao pao* ("illegal paper"), and these appeared to have been circulated in opposition to official court news, as paid-for compilations of news, printed on paper and sold for profit, summarizing and commenting on government events. This contribution requires us to reconsider both journalism's history and China's traditions of public political engagement.

Ferreira (2006) extends from Brazilian journalism (cf. Sousa et al. above) to a wider Latin American perspective. Relocating the focus of pre-journalism to the communication networks of the Mayans, Aztecs, and Incas, he demonstrates how Spanish colonization was grafted onto a very different set of practices and circumstances. The results of this superimposition give a contrasting outcome to those of Western European histories. In fact, they provide evidence of the fallacy of journalism as an inevitable conduit for liberalism and free speech, as these traditions combined to suppress and silence democratic tendencies with consequences that are still being enacted today throughout the region. Cole (1996) provides a wide-ranging collection of perspectives that includes Cuba, Mexico, Argentina, and Chile. While taking a broader approach to media, it does provide an essential historical frame for the emergence of journalism in these different countries. Another contribution that highlights and to an extent rectifies the issues relating to source materials outside the Anglophone world is provided by Lent's (1992) bibliographic guide to difficult-to-trace materials in both Spanish and English.

Alternative models of journalism that grew out of the Russian Revolution and the spread of its ideals and ideologies are described by McReynolds (1991). In her book, she considers the Tsarist traditions against which the Soviet model was posited, showing that the latter model came to share certain aspects of the authoritarianism and censoriousness of its predecessor. Lovell (2015) has surveyed the special conditions in which radio journalism was deployed by the Soviet Union, whose founding, of course, coincided with this technological development. This provided a profound contrast to the emerging models in North America and liberal democracies in Western Europe. A broader geopolitical account is provided by Aumente, Gross, Hiebert, Johnson, and Mills (1999), who have researched Eastern European journalism across a host of states. They rooted their exploration in the effects of communism on emerging traditions within very different national and cultural contexts and considered the consequences both during the communist era and in the years after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Such work extends our understanding of the multiplicity of journalism histories outside the national silos that have dominated our accounts. There is, of course, nothing intrinsically wrong with nationally based accounts, but the problem arises when the accounts emerging from historically dominant nations occlude all else. Anglophone historians of journalism have difficulty breaking this cycle because the alternatives to mainstream national histories as well as the sources that underpin them are published in languages other than English. Attempts to de-Westernize media studies, though laudable, have largely restricted themselves to considerations of present-day media systems and representations (Park & Curran, 2000; Wasserman & de Beer, 2009). A parallel de-Westernization of journalism history can only be advanced through accounts such as those listed above, especially those that facilitate access to histories and sources from non-Anglophone linguistic areas.

PAN-EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS: MODES OF ENGAGEMENT

These national accounts have been galvanized by Broersma's pan-European study (2007), which highlighted the geopolitical continuities of journalism in the 19th century. His project combined the national and the international, foregrounding the specifics of visual and written approaches, whether reflective-discursive or news-factual styles, as conduits for discussions of how Anglo-American models were received or adapted in industrialized journalistic communities in the Netherlands, France, Germany, Serbia, and Scandinavia. It spanned partisan and market models of information, concentrating on forms and styles rather than mere "content." Beyond this, it offered a transnational view of news as a sequence of representational approaches within varying national and even colonial contexts. This is complemented by a more recent volume by Schreiber and Zimmermann (2014) that draws together an international range of scholars to assess the impact of technological shifts in journalism across particular geopolitical territories. In supporting its thesis that journalism has always had a rolling engagement with technological changes, it demonstrates a strong emphasis on technologies of image and illustration as innovations from the mid-19th century. The volume highlights journalists' historical need to integrate technological innovation within the parameters of their current practice. Chapters assess how such integration has either reinforced or challenged professional role perceptions, from telegraphy, photography, and broadcast, bringing these discussions to bear on the contemporary framework.

PRECURSORS AND THE EARLY EPISTEMOLOGY OF NEWS

While we may concede some connections with previous eras of communication historiography, the mid-1990s saw a renewed interest in journalism as a distinctive epistemological rupture in its own right—an emerging social and commercial practice which proceeded to discover and adapt styles and genres for the fulfillment of an increasingly ambitious range of aims. Sommerville (1996) captured something of the novelty of this venture when he explained that the development of printed news constituted nothing short of a revolution in the way the world was understood and communicated. Key to this was the increasing requirement for "periodicity" as a defining component of news (1996, p. 4). Periodicity not only created expectations in the readership for news—that it would appear at regular intervals and in a recognizable format under a familiar title—but also allowed news to become profitable as it acted "as a marketing strategy, a way of holding property in information" (1996, p. 4). Furthermore, the socially and politically disruptive aspects of this revolution are explained by Raymond when he wrote that, for traditionalists of the time, news "inverted all known truths and social decencies" (1996, p. 276). Dooley (2010) extended this overview of early modern Europe and the epistemological shift prompted by periodical news to an assessment of how news created a sense of contemporaneity with wide-reaching political and cultural effects.

Pettegree (2014) demonstrated how the world began to inform itself about events and opinions as they occurred throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, "inventing" news. His work acknowledged that the impulse to convey and receive information preceded print media in a variety of forms such as oral communication, gossip, civic ceremonies, sermons, and proclamations. Yet it also demonstrated the impact of the wide dissemination of print forms on a European culture of political participation, as well as the resistance to that participation from anxious political elites. In contrast to histories focusing on the epistemological rupture of news, Ettinghausen (2015) emphasized the precursors of regular periodical news. However, he once again highlighted the European-wide interconnections of this emergent communicative genre, which are of particular importance given the tendency of Northern European historical narratives to dominate.

INFORMATIONAL NETWORKS AND TRANSLATIONS

These studies of early modern European news have developed an increasingly international emphasis, interpreting news less as a product and more as networks of exchange and collaboration. Baron and Dooley (2001) considered the political implications of the expanding networks, drawing attention to European-wide perspectives. Koopmans (2005) explored the world of print emanating out of the Netherlands across Europe, and in particular its Spanish relationships. Raymond and Moxham (2016) have added an intriguing dimension to these explorations of networks of news dissemination across Europe and beyond to include the hitherto underexplored aspect of news as a translation flow between various languages. Given Anderson's previous work (1983) on the importance of printed news in the formation of Western nationalism, this insight provides a geographical shift, de-centered from nations and reimagined as a series of translations. At the same time, it raises a host of questions about the feasibility of research across so many languages. Høyer and Pöttker (2005) have taken this transnational approach to a later historical period to explore how the diffusion of an emergent "news paradigm," the sequencing of information in news reports that became known as the inverted pyramid, progressed as a universal that nevertheless had to adapt to local cultural and professional norms.

Before this flurry of activity on early networking of news, Boyd-Barrett (1980) provided a pioneering work on the substance provided by international news agencies in the 20th century. Other research into networks of news exchange that have acted less as vehicles of commercial or political enlightenment than as conduits for more overt aspects of control through imperialism include the work on empire by Kaul (2003) with regard to the British press in India and Potter's (2003, 2005, 2012) studies of imperial expansion through networking in print, telegraph, and broadcast forms. Both approaches illuminate our understanding of journalism, which is perfectly capable of functioning as a facilitator of exploitation overseas while maintaining a liberal discourse of enlightenment at home. Other examples include the Russian imperial deployment of foreign news to stabilize its claims to legitimacy (Rantanen, 1990) and the later struggles against Western liberal models on the battleground of Central and Eastern Europe before and after the Cold War (Gienow-Hecht, 1999; Aumente et al., 1999).

In contrast to such narratives, we continue to have competing accounts that claim a primacy for Anglo-American models. These, however, appear to be contested by the range of histories claiming a multi-nodal sequence of genesis for journalism across many countries in a relatively simultaneous series of exchanges and translations, each influencing or resisting the other according to preexisting cultural and political practices within precise geographical locations. Chalaby has given us a cross-comparison (1998), using history to distinguish between publicists and journalists and asserting journalism as an Anglo-American invention. Schudson has also advised that "journalism is not something that floated platonically above the world and that each country copied down, shaping it to its own national grammar. It is something that—as we know it today—Americans had a major hand in inventing" (2008, p. 188). Recent historiography would suggest that this is not a view shared by a more globally oriented scholarly community, which has consistently challenged such partisan interpretations. Wiener (2011; see also Wiener and Hampton,

2007) stressed the evident interconnectedness and cross-fertilization of Anglo-American journalism while claiming that it amounts to a very successful model rather than a universal paradigm.

BROADCASTING

Although broadcast journalism has a long and varied history of its own, there is much less literature devoted to it. This is in part because, unlike with the printed press, there are relatively few accessible archives, and delving into those that do exist is a much more time-consuming activity. There has been some excellent work on the archives of broadcasting institutions, and there have been some outstanding institutional histories, but the nature of much of their journalistic output makes it more difficult to explore than print archives. These have the advantage of access as they are often stored in more than one location and are increasingly available online. This has meant that, although histories of broadcasting have provided interesting reflections on the scope of journalism in broadcast form and on the national and even international intent of those forms, there is much less on the specific content than we see in the histories of the press, based on primary sources. For example, Seaton's account of the BBC (2015) is of an organization constantly challenged to resist both political and commercial pressure in attempting to maintain a public service as defined in its original charter. Another issue facing histories of broadcast journalism is the generic multiplicity captured in broadcasting. This means that many histories of broadcast institutions cover a range that may touch upon journalism but rarely places it at the forefront when compared to other output such as light entertainment, music, or drama. Demonstrating this problem, Briggs' (1961–1995) multi-volume history of the BBC provided a monumental account of the whole, but its very reach prevents it from engaging as fully as it might with what is in effect merely part of the corporation's output: its journalism. Smith (1973) provided an insightful analysis of the implications of radio technology, particularly for journalism, in his *The Shadow in the Cave*. This subtle approach to broadcast technology, which grasped the shifts implicit in technological change without resorting to a crude techno-centrism, was supplemented by Williams' (1974) equally provocative history of the cultural implications of television technology. In the UK, Crisell's (1994) account of radio and television journalism was, for a long time, a rather solitary overview. However, this has been supplemented more recently by Street's (2002) more specific history of radio journalism and Crisell's (1997) focus on its development. One of the forerunners of social accounts of broadcasting's influence was the fascinating but incomplete interpretation of radio journalism covered by the work of Scannell and Cardiff (1991). Scannell (1996) returned some years later to the philosophical implications of broadcast journalism, and this has dovetailed with the polemic accounts of O'Malley (1994, 2001) on the demise of the BBC's public service capability.

Hilmes (2012) and John and Silberstein-Loeb (2015) have provided more recent transatlantic histories of British and American broadcasting with due respect paid to technological developments as well as explorations of the distinct ways which these two countries worked within the constraints of distinctive political and economic contexts (e.g., Stamm, 2015). Douglas (1987) has written an exhaustive account of the commercial and technological background to radio broadcasting in America, which draws attention to the very specific nature of that historical environment. Outside the Anglophone world, there remains a tendency to treat broadcasting largely as a matter of technological innovation divorced from textual context or to marginalize the journalistic element therein. Brusini and Frances (1982) in France and to an extent Bösch (2011) in Germany are exceptions to this tendency to privilege the technology over the practice of journalism via the medium of particular technologies.

HISTORICIZING THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEWS

The difficulties of accessing the content of broadcast journalism over time have not been replicated in print journalism's histories. In fact, quite the opposite is true. There have been rich explorations of the specifics of the language of journalism particularly in its nascent phase in the English-speaking world, such as Frank's (1961). However, it was with the development of the first computer-generated corpora that we saw a distinct tranche of journalism history opened up afresh by historical linguists interested in exploring the patterns and changes in the language of the newspaper from the 17th century onwards. The first of these corpora was the ZEN corpus developed by Fries and colleagues at the University of Zurich (1993–2004). This was followed by corpora compilations of early English newsbooks by the University of Rostock (1996–2000) and Brownlees in Florence (FEEN, 2012), complemented by the creation of the Early English Books Online project (1999), which contained much of the early periodical press as part of its remit. These resources have been mined to produce the work of Brownlees (2006) and Jucker (2009), who have engaged with the language of journalism as it emerged in the early modern period onwards. These authors have also been instrumental in setting up a series of conferences on historical news discourse (CHINED) with a flourishing range of international contributors and a rich vein of publications. Although the English-language press of the UK has predominated in discussions of how the language of journalism evolved historically, McLaughlin is currently developing a monograph on the syntax of French journalism based on initial work published in journal form (2015). Beyond language, the pictorial and design elements of the press in America have also attracted limited but absorbing attention in Barnhurst and Nerone's work (2001).

This work on the content of the press has been complemented with an illuminating discussion by Mussell (2012) of why developments in digitization are vital for our understanding of the social and cultural milieu of newspapers and periodicals, and how those resources can be effectively put to use. We are now moving beyond the physical challenges of recovering the journalism of the past in digital form to proposed methodologies for searching this potential unwieldy mass of data. Developing software solutions to this surfeit of data include Fitzmaurice's Linguistic DNA project and Broersma's genre classification research.

RESEARCH CENTERS AND CONFERENCES

Publications have been matched by the rise of specific centers and standing conferences with a specific focus on journalism history. At international conferences, journalism history is well represented within both of the leading associations: the International Communication Association (ICA) and the International Association for Media and Communication (IAMCR).

In Australia, the Centre for Media History was set up in 2007 out of Macquarie University. Although a broad media operation, it has a strong commitment to journalism within that portfolio. It has contributed much to both specific Australasian perspectives on journalism history as well as the interrelationships of that history with global developments. Its director, Griffen-Foley, has produced a rich research resource in a dictionary of Australian media (2014).

The Newspaper and Periodical History Forum of Ireland, which was launched in 2008, has built an impressive network and publication agenda since Curran (2011, p. 9) remarked that there was a dearth of good historical research on the Irish press. This is certainly no longer the case, with exemplary work such as that by O'Brien and Larkin (2014) facilitated through this forum.

The Centre for the Study of Journalism and History at the University of Sheffield, co-directed by their departments of History and Journalism Studies, was founded in 2009 and has organized ten small-scale seminars and colloquia, most recently the Sixth International Conference on Historical News Discourse (CHINED VI) in 2017. Funded most prominently by both the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), these events have led to various publications, both small- and large-scale, such as the *Routledge Companion to British Media History* (Conboy & Steel, 2014).

The University of Aberystwyth's Centre for Media History may appear to have a broader brief but its focus has always been sympathetic to precise histories of the news media, in particular since it was born out of the occasional publication *Newspaper and Periodical History*, later published by Taylor & Francis as *Media History*. One of the center's most recent conferences was "Newspapers, War and Society" in 2014, which was typical of the realignments going on in journalism history in calling for studies of the implications for the management of newspapers themselves in wartime rather than exploring the representation of war in their pages—a more social-media-institutional perspective than traditional perspectives that would have used the content as archival support for a broader history of war (Nicholas & O'Malley, 2017).

CONCLUSION

This contribution has aimed to re-set discussions of journalism history. In the past, the debate had too often been focused on the content of journalism *per se*, and increased availability of digitized archives may not, by itself, have helped us broaden the scope of our subject. In this chapter, we have been more focused on a significant and gradual pulling away of a new set of directions in studies of journalism history. This tectonic shift could be characterized as a move from content analysis/exposition, often on a national level, to epistemological questioning of the role or function of journalism on a much more global level. This does not make national explorations less essential to journalism's history. However, with the increasing number of national histories, we have a genuine opportunity to start considering some of the more universal claims made on behalf of the national. Such an epistemological shift, although historical in focus, achieves what all good history can manage: a relevance for the present.

Scholars, including professional historians, have begun to reflect on journalism history more specifically and critically. By itself, this would not be a major leap in the epistemology of the field. What is of much more significance is the way these explorations are used to reflect not only on the relationship between journalism and its liberal claims but, beyond this, in informing discussions on the roles and functions of journalism in the present.

The questions that now engage journalism history emerge from national histories that have often suffered from neglect or even colonial or imperialist oppression, histories that have been incorporated into Northern/Western ideological accounts of the unproblematic spread of enlightenment ideals through the conduit of journalism as a civilizing force at the core of democracy's grand narratives.

The issues facing historical journalism research first articulated in America are now debated as a part of a growing international and multidisciplinary field with a great deal of sophistication and a measure of maturity. Though far from exhaustive, the preceding discussions are intended as indicators of the range and variety of contributions reshaping not only the historiography but also the epistemology of journalism. From chronology to context and then to challenge, we end this contribution in a spirit of great optimism. This third stage is by far the richest as it provides a wider spectrum of approaches to the claims of journalism in a variety of political and historical settings—all helping us to understand more fully the ways in which journalism has interacted with history.

REFERENCES

Adburgham, A. (1972). *Women in print: Writing women and women's magazines from the restoration to the accession of Victoria*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andrews, A. (2000 [1859]). *The history of British journalism: From the foundation of the newspaper press in England to the repeal of the stamp act in 1855* (2 vols.). London: Routledge and Thoemmes.

Aumente, J., Gross, P., Hiebert, R., Johnson, O. V., & Mills, D. (1999). *Eastern European journalism. Before, during and after communism*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Barnhurst, K., & Nerone, J. (2001). *The form of news: A history*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Baron, S., & Dooley, B. (2001). *The politics of information in early modern Europe*. London: Routledge.

Bellanger, C., Godechot, J., Guiral, P., & Terrou, F. (1969–1975). *Histoire Générale de la Presse Française* (5 vols.). Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Bingham, A. (2004). *Gender, modernity and the popular press in inter-war Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bingham, A. (2009). *Family newspapers: Sex, private life and the British popular press, 1918–1978*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bingham, A., & Conboy, M. (2015). *Tabloid century: The popular press in Britain, 1896 to the present day*. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Birkner, T. (2012). *Das Selbstgespräch der Zeit. Die Geschichte des Journalismus in Deutschland 1605–1914*. Köln: Herbert von Halem Verlag.

Blanchard, M. A. (1999). The ossification of journalism history: A challenge for the twenty first century. *Journalism History*, *25*(3), 107–112.

Bösch, F. (2011). *Mediengeschichte: Vom asiatischen Buchdruck zum Fernsehen*. Frankfurt and New York, NY: Campus Verlag.

Boyce, G., Curran, J., & Wingate, P. (1978). *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day*. London: Constable.

Boyd-Barrett, O. (1980). *The international news agencies*. London: Constable.

Brake, L., & Demoor, M. (2009). *The dictionary of nineteenth-century journalism*. Gent and London: Academia Press and the British Library.

Brake, L., Kaul, C., & Turner, M. (2015). *The news of the world and the British press, 1843–2011: 'Journalism for the rich, journalism for the poor.'* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brennan, B., & Hardt, H. (2011). *The American history reader*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Briggs, A. (1961–1995). *The history of broadcasting in Britain* (5 vols.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Broersma, M. (2007). *Form and style in journalism: European newspapers and the representation of news, 1800–2005*. Leuven: Peeters.

Broersma, M., & Peters, C. (2017). The unlovable press: Conversations with Michael Schudson. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(10), 1206–1209.

Brown, L. (1985). *Victorian news and newspapers*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brownlees, N. (2006). *News discourse in early modern Britain: Selected papers of CHINED 2004*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Brusini, H., & Frances, J. (1982). *Voir la Vérité: Le Journalisme de Télévision*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Carey, J. W. (1974). The problem of journalism history. *Journalism History*, *1*(1), 3–5.

Chalaby, J. (1998). *The invention of journalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chapman, J. (2005). *Comparative media history*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chapman, J. L. (2013). *Gender, citizenship and newspapers: Historical and transnational perspectives*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chartier, R., & Espejo, C. (2012). *La aparicion del periodismo en Europa: Communicacion y propaganda en el barocco*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia.

Cole, R. R. (1996). *Communication in Latin America: Journalism, mass media and society*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
Conboy, M. (2002). *The press and popular culture*. London: Sage Publications.
Conboy, M. (2004). *Journalism: A critical history*. London: Sage Publications.
Conboy, M. (2010). *The language of newspapers: Socio-historical perspectives*. London: Continuum.
Conboy, M., & Steel, J. (2014). *The Routledge companion to British media history*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
Copeland, D. A. (2006). *The idea of a free press: The enlightenment and its unruly legacy*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Cranfield, G. A. (1962). *The development of the provincial newspaper, 1700–1760*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Cranfield, G. A. (1978). *The press and society: From Caxton to Northcliffe*. London: Longman.
Crisell, A. (1994). *Understanding radio*. London: Routledge.
Crisell, A. (1997). *An introductory history of British broadcasting*. London: Routledge.
Crouthamel, J. L. (1989). *Bennett's New Herald and the rise of the popular press*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
Curran, J. (1978). The press as an agency of social control: An historical perspective. In G. Boyce, J. Curran, & P. Wingate (Eds.), *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (pp. 51–78). London: Constable.
Curran, J. (2002). Media and the making of British society. *Media History*, *8*(2), 135–154.
Curran, J. (2011). Preface. In K. Rafter (Ed.), *Irish journalism before independence: More a disease than a profession* (pp. xi–xii). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Dahl, H. F. (2016). *A history of the Norwegian press, 1660–2015*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Dooley, B. (2010). *The dissemination of news and the emergence of contemporaneity in early modern Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Douglas, S. (1987). *Inventing American broadcasting, 1899–1922*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
Emery, E., & Emery, M. (1984). *The press and America*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Ettinghausen, F. (2015). *How the press began: The pre-periodical printed news in early modern Europe*. Coruña: SIELEA.
Ferreira, L. (2006). *Centuries of silence: The story of Latin American journalism*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.
Fox Bourne, H. (1998 [1887]). *English newspapers* (2 vols.). London: Routledge and Thoemmes.
Frank, J. (1961). *The beginnings of the English newspaper, 1620–1660*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Gienow-Hecht, J. C. E. (1999). *Transmission impossible: American journalism as cultural diplomacy in postwar Germany, 1945–1955*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
Griffen-Foley, B. (2014). *A companion to the Australian media*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing.
Groth, O. (1928–1930). *Die Zeitung. Ein system der Zeitungskunde (Journalistik)* (4 vols.). Mannheim und Leipzig: Verlag Bensheimer.
Hampton, M. (2004). *Visions of the press in Britain: 1850–1950*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Hampton, M., & Conboy, M. (2014). Journalism history: A debate. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(2), 154–171.
Harrison, S. (1974). *Poor men's guardians: A record of the struggles for a democratic newspaper press, 1763–1973*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
He, Y. (2015). Hangzhou, the origins of the world press and journalism? *Journalism Studies*, *16*(4), 547–561.
Herd, H. (1952). *The march of journalism: The story of the British press from 1622 to the present day*. London: Allen & Unwin.
Hilmes, M. (2012). *Network nations: A transnational history of British and American broadcasting*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Hollis, P. (1970). *The pauper press: A study in working-class radicalism of the 1830s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Høyer, S., & Pöttker, H. (2005). *The diffusion of the news paradigm, 1850–2000*. Gothenburg: Nordicom.
Hudson, F. (1873). *Journalism in the United States 1690–1872*. New York, NY: Harper and Brothers.
Huntzicker, W. E. (1999). *The popular press, 1833–1865*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Jensen, K. B. (1996–1998). *DanskMedie historie* (3 vols.). Copenhagen: Samleren Forlag.
John, R. R., & Silberstein-Loeb, J. (2015). *Making news: The political economy of journalism in Britain and America from the Glorious revolution to the internet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Jones, A. (1996). *The powers of the press: Newspapers, power and the public in nineteenth century England*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.
Jucker, A. H. (2009). *Early modern English news discourse: Newspapers, pamphlets and scientific news discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kaul, C. (2003). *Reporting the Raj: The British press and India, c. 1880–1922*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Khalifa, D., Regnier, P., Thérenty, M-E., & Vaillant, A. (2011). *La civilisation du journal. histoire culturelle et litéraire de la presse française au XIXÈ Siècle*. Paris: Nouveau Monde.
Koopmans, J. W. (2005). *News and politics in early modern Europe, 1500–1800*. Louvain, Belgium: Peeters.
Koschwitz, H. (1971). *Pressepolitik und Parteijournalismus in der UdSSR und der Volksrepublik China*. Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann-Universitätsverlag.
Koss, S. (1981–1984). *The rise and fall of the political press in Britain* (2 vols.). London: Routledge.
Koszyk, K. (1966). *Die deutsche Press im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Colloquium.
Lent, J. (1992). *A bibliography of Cuban mass communications*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Lovell, S. (2015). *Russia in the microphone age: A history of soviet radio, 1919–1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
McDowell, P. (1998). *The women of grub street: Press, politics, and gender in the London literary marketplace, 1678–1730*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
McLaughlin, M. (2015). Idéologies et attitudes linguistiques dans la presse périodique sous l'Ancien Régime, *Circula: Revue d'idéologies linguistiques*, *1*, 4–25.
McReynolds, L. (1991). *News under Russia's old regime: The development of a mass-circulation press*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Mott, F. L. (1941). *American journalism: A history of newspapers in the United States through 250 Years, 1690–1940*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mussell, J. (2012). *The nineteenth-century press in the digital age*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Nerone, J. (1987). The mythology of the penny press. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *4*(4), 376–404.
Nevitt, M. (2006). *Women and the pamphlet culture of revolutionary England 1640–1660*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
Nicholas, S., & O'Malley, T. (2017). Newspapers, war and society: Special issue. *Media History*, *23*(3–4), 311–530.
Noci, J. D. (2012). Disseminating news in the Spanish Baroque. *Media History*, *18*(3/4), 409–421.
O'Brien, M., & Larkin, F. (2014). *Periodicals and journalism in twentieth century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
O'Malley, T. (1994). *Closedown: The BBC and government broadcasting policy*. London: Pluto Press.
O'Malley, T. (2001). The decline of public service broadcasting in the UK, 1979–1992. In M. Bromley (Ed.), *No news is bad news* (pp. 28–45). Harlow: Pearson.
Palmegiano, E. (2012). *Perceptions of the press in nineteenth-century British periodicals: A bibliography*. London and New York, NY: Anthem Press.
Palmer, M. B. (1983). *Des petits journaux aux grandes agences: Naissance du journalisme moderne 1863–1944*. Paris: Aubier.
Park, M-J., & Curran, J. (2000). *De-westernizing media studies*. London: Psychology Press.
Park, R. E. (1923). The natural history of the newspaper. *American Journal of Sociology*, *29*(3), 273–289.
Pettegree, A. (2014). *The invention of news: How the world came to know about itself.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
Potter, S. (2003). *News and the British world: The emergence of an imperial press system, 1876–1922*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Potter, S. (2005). *Imperial communication: Australia, Britain and the British empire*. London: Menzies Centre for Australian Studies.
Potter, S. (2012). *Broadcasting empire: The BBC and the British world, 1922–1970*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Prutz, R. E. (1845). *Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus*. Hannover: Rius Verlag.
Rantanen, T. (1990). *Foreign news in imperial Russia: The relationship between international and Russian news agencies, 1856–1914*. Helsinki: Federation of Finnish Scientific Societies.
Raymond, J. (1996). *The invention of the newspaper: English newsbooks, 1641–1649*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Raymond, J., & Moxham, N. (2016). *News networks in early modern Europe*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
Reeve, E. (2014). *Evening news: Optics, astronomy and journalism in early modern Europe*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Scannell, P. (1996). *Radio, television and modern life: A phenomenological approach*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Scannell, P., & Cardiff, D. (1991). *A social history of broadcasting, 1922–1939: Serving the nation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Schreiber, M., & Zimmermann, C. (2014). *Journalism and technological change: Historical perspectives, contemporary trends*. Frankfurt and New York, NY: Campus Verlag.
Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*. New York, NY: Harper.
Schudson, M. (2008). Public spheres, imagined communities, and the underdeveloped historical understanding of journalism. In B. Zelizer (Ed.), *Explorations in communication and history* (pp. 181–189). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
Seaton, J. (2015). *Pinkoes and traitors: The BBC and the nation 1974–1987*. London: Profile Books.
Siebert, F. S. (1965). *Freedom of the press in England 1476–1776: The rise and fall of government control*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Sloan, W. D., & Williams, J. H. (1994). *The early American press, 1690–1783*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Smith, A. (1973). *The shadow in the cave*. London: Allen & Unwin.
Sommerville, C. J. (1996). *The news revolution: Cultural dynamics of daily information*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Sousa, J. P., Lima, H., Hohlfeldt, A., & Barbosa, M. (2014). *A history of the press in Portuguese-speaking countries*. Porto: Media XXI Publishing.
Sousa, J. P., & Teixeira, P. (2015). *Telling the world in the 17th century: The discourse of the first two Portuguese newspapers: Gazeta 'da restauração' (1641–1647) & Mercurio Português (1663–1667)*. Porto: Media XXI Publishing.
Stamm, M. (2015). Broadcasting news in the interwar period. In R. R. John & J. Silberstein-Loeb (Eds.), *Making news: The political economy of journalism in Britain and America from the glorious revolution to the internet* (pp. 133–163). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Street, S. (2002). *A concise history of British radio*. Tiverton: Kelly.
Thompson, E. P. (1967). *The making of the English working class*. London: Penguin.
Tucher, A. (2007). Hope for journalism history. *Journal of Magazine and New Media Research*, *9*(2), 1–6.
Tusan, M. E. (2005). *Women making news: Gender and journalism in modern Britain*. Urbana and Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Vittinghoff, N. (2002). *Die Anfänge des Journalismus in China, 1860–1911*. Wiesbaben: Harrassowitz Verlag.
Wasserman, H., & De Beer, A. S. (2009). Towards de-westernizing journalism studies. In T. Hanitzsch & K. Wahl-Jorgensen (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 428–438). Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
Wiener, J. (1988). *Papers for the millions: The new journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Wiener, J. (2011). *The Americanization of the British press 1830s-1914: Speed in the age of transatlantic journalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wiener, J., & Hampton, M. (2007). *Anglo-American media interactions 1850–1900*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.

Wijfjes, H. (2004). *Journalistiek in Nederland 1850–2000. Beroep, organisatie en cultuur*. Amsterdam: Boom.

Williams, R. (1974). *Television, technology and cultural form*. London: Fontana.

3

Journalism Theory

Laura Ahva and Steen Steensen

INTRODUCTION

Journalism studies is a multidisciplinary field of academic inquiry. As such, it employs theory from a wide range of academic disciplines and traditions, and—as its object of study changes—is in constant search of new ways of understanding what journalism is. This chapter aims at unmasking the nature of journalism studies through the ways in which it makes use of, and partly develops, theory. The chapter is based on three observations, which are all stated in the two first sentences above: journalism studies is multidisciplinary, it is a field, and it employs new theory when its object of study changes. These observations require an initial discussion for them to be more than just taken-for-granted assumptions.

First, on multidisciplinarity: journalism covers and shapes all aspects of society, from politics to fashion, from business to everyday life. It influences, articulates, and produces culture. It is the first draft of history, and it is where history can be found. Journalism is language, rhetoric, genres, and discourse. It is legitimized and limited by law. It is in industry, civil society, and the state. It is labor, it is management; it is commercial, nonprofit and idealistic. Journalism is technology. It is media and communication. It is local and global. It is about ethics. Journalism is epistemic, as it produces knowledge about the world. In other words, journalism is so multifaceted that it has been studied from a variety of disciplines and perspectives, including, but not limited to, sociology, political science, cultural studies, history, language studies, philosophy, economics, management, business, science and technology studies, and communication. The four volumes on *Journalism* edited by Tumber (2008) illustrate this point. They represent a canon of the study of journalism and therefore the legacy upon which journalism studies is built. They are dominated by texts from sociology and political science but also include several classical works from disciplines like philosophy, economics, and language studies. This means that a person interested in delving into the classics of journalism research has to familiarize himself or herself with a diversity of disciplinary traditions and styles.

This multidisciplinarity means that journalism can be either an object of study within a range of fields and disciplines, or an object of study within a field or discipline that integrates perspectives from a variety of other fields and disciplines. Or it can be both. This leads us to our second assumption, which is much more debatable than the first: journalism studies is a field. We will discuss this in more depth in the next section, but for now, let us recognize that the history of journalism in academia is long, while the history of journalism studies as a field is shorter. Since the turn of the millennium, journalism studies has risen as an increasingly autonomous field of academic inquiry, with its own conferences, journals and key publications, which come close to constituting a distinct "epistemic culture" (Cetina, 1999). Several books published since 2005 have been key to this process. The first (and now this second) edition of the *Handbook of Journalism Studies* (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009a) is an obvious example of such an exercise, as are titles such as *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies* (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, & Richardson, 2005); *Global Journalism Research* (Löffelholz, Weaver, & Schwarz, 2008); *Journalism Studies: The Basics* (Conboy, 2013); *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism* (Allan, 2010); and the two recently published encyclopedias of journalism. In addition, the two handbooks on digital journalism studies (Witschge, Anderson, Domingo, & Hermida, 2016; Franklin & Eldridge, 2017) have contributed to the construction of the field.

Our third assumption, that journalism studies employs new theory when its object of study changes, is based on the many publications we have seen in recent years that specifically address the need to rebuild our fundamental understanding of what journalism is, owing to the many changes mostly related to digitalization that have affected the profession and its practices since the turn of the millennium. This task is named as "rethinking" (Peters & Broersma, 2013); "rebuilding" (Anderson, 2013); "reinventing" (Waisbord, 2013); "reconstructing" (Downie & Schudson, 2009); "reconsidering" (Alexander, Breese, & Luengo, 2016); "remaking" (Boczkowski & Anderson, 2017); and even "rethinking again" (Peters & Broersma, 2016) what news and journalism is. Based on these book titles, it seems as if journalism studies currently is, and historically has been, preoccupied with deconstructing and reconstructing its object of study. As noted by Reese (2016, p. 3): "[U]nlike many other more settled fields, journalism research has been obsessed with the very definition of its core concept—what journalism is."

These three observations—the multidisciplinary nature of journalism research, the construction of journalism studies as a field, and reconsiderations of the domain of journalism itself—have all affected how theory is currently understood in this area. This chapter will map the various disciplinary traditions and theories that are used and, to a certain extent, developed to understand journalism. We will supplement this mapping with an empirical meta-analysis of the role of theory in articles published in two of the central journals of the field, namely *Journalism Studies* and *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*. Through this mapping and meta-analysis, the chapter will also address the most common attitude towards theory in journalism studies and discuss the question of *what journalism is*. The most important understandings of journalism we discuss are journalism as a social system; journalism as a democratic force; journalism as a producer, interpreter, and constructor of culture; journalism as a socio-material practice; and journalism as a postindustrial and commercial endeavor. Finally, we will argue that journalism studies, given its multidisciplinary nature, is in an anarchic state and that this should be viewed as a strength, not a weakness.

ON THEORY, DISCIPLINE, AND FIELD

Two clarifications are necessary to make before we move on: what do we mean by "theory"? And what do we mean by defining journalism studies as a field?

The word "theory" has many connotations. It can mean the opposite of practice. Theory can also be explanatory or mean something that can be tested, verified, or falsified. Theory can be grand or grounded, inductive, deductive, or abductive. It can be rational, critical, pragmatic, or normative. Theory usually means one thing to a natural scientist and something very different to a researcher from the humanities. Social sciences, in turn, can encompass the whole spectrum.

Mjøset (2006) distinguishes between three different attitudes towards theory in the social sciences: (1) the *standard attitude*, implying an understanding of theory as accumulated knowledge based on regularities as law-like or idealized as possible; (2) the *social-philosophical attitude*, implying an understanding of theory as something that is a result of investigations into how the human mind organizes knowledge; and (3) the *pragmatist-participatory attitude*, implying an understanding of theory as knowledge of observable patterns accumulated in "local research frontiers" consisting of previously conducted empirical inquires of similar cases and previously developed grounded theories related to the same topic.

These three attitudes also reflect important methodological distinctions addressing the core question of any research project: what is the purpose of the research and, consequently, the role of theory in it? First, and in line with the standard attitude, *testing a theory* is a common methodological approach especially in the natural sciences that is also commonly adopted in the social sciences. It involves, in its purest sense, derivation of hypotheses from macro theories and testing them on empirical material. Concepts like validity and reliability are central in this approach. However, the approach has been criticized for treating social life as submitted to laws and ideals existing *a priori*, and hence treating empirical material merely as facts suited to verify (or falsify) law-like or idealized theories, and therefore ignoring the potential knowledge-producing powers of empirical material (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Abbott, 2004; Mjøset, 2006).

The second methodology of *relating theoretical concepts to empirical material* is common in the social-philosophical tradition and stems from the humanities. It typically involves generating theoretical concepts suited to frame and interpret aspects of modernity. In the social sciences, popular notions like "risk society" (Beck, 1992) and "network society" (Castells, 1996) are prominent examples of such "diagnostic" social-philosophical theories, which quite often also embed normative evaluations. Therefore, within this approach, theory is also often understood normatively, as a way to assess the state of the empirical world against constructed ideal norms about what a good society should be like (Benson, 2008). Within the socio-philosophical attitude towards theory, empirical data are thus mostly used for the purpose of elaboration and exemplification. Theoretical concepts are generated at a macro level, remote from empirical data, and hence there is a risk of ignoring data that do not fit the concepts, critics claim.

Third, *developing theory from empirical data* can be perceived as an inductive move from the empirical to theory, and it is typical in the pragmatist-participatory attitude. This approach, also referred to as grounded theory, originates from the Chicago school of sociology (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and mostly involves generating middle-range theories. Such an attitude towards theory is, however, often criticized for being too naïve, because it might be interpreted as if it is possible to do empirical research without any preconceived concepts or ideas—as if the researcher could reduce herself or himself to a "tabula rasa" (see, e.g., Allan, 2003). It is debatable, however, whether grounded theory is as inductive as often stated; some argue that it is best understood as a hermeneutic, abductive approach in which theory is constantly revised by new empirical material (Mjøset, 2006).

Given the multidisciplinary nature of journalism studies, we can expect to find all the three attitudes towards theory in inquiries into journalism. However, we will argue that this multidisciplinary fluidity disqualifies journalism studies as an academic discipline in the strictest sense. Becher and Trowler (2001) argue that an academic discipline is recognized by the existence of a structural framework that identifies the discipline—such as scholarly organizations and journals—and a specific academic culture with a shared set of theories and methodologies. In journalism studies, the structural framework has come into place (Steensen & Ahva, 2015), but a shared academic culture with distinct theories and methodologies is more difficult to pinpoint precisely because of the multidisciplinarity of the field. However, attempts at determining the disciplinarity of journalism studies have been made. In her book *Taking Journalism Seriously*, Zelizer (2004) brought together the various disciplinary ways in which journalism has been theorized, and in doing so, she established what can be viewed as an interdisciplinary research program for journalism studies. She identified sociology, cultural studies, political science, history, and language as the backbone of the field.

Zelizer is also one of the three founding editors of the journal *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*. The first issue of the journal, published in April 2000, discussed what journalism studies is and should be, and Zelizer concluded that there was some urgency related to establishing a shared paradigm of knowledge within journalism studies "before journalism itself outruns our capacity to study it" (Zelizer, 2000, p. 60). Such a call for a shared, interdisciplinary knowledge paradigm, thereby establishing journalism studies as a distinct academic discipline of its own, can also be found in the inaugural issue of the journal *Journalism Studies*, published the same year.

Eighteen years later, Carlson, Robinson, Lewis, and Berkowitz (2018) made a similar attempt at pinpointing the characteristics of journalism studies, but this time as a field, not a discipline. Carlson et al. argue that journalism studies is a field within the discipline of communication and that this field is recognized through a set of shared commitments that make up a distinct academic culture. These commitments are contextual sensitivity, holistic relationality, comparative inclination, normative awareness, embedded communicative power, and methodological pluralism. However, these commitments are not derived from a descriptive analysis of the field. Instead, they constitute a normative framework that identifies the assumptions embedded in journalism research. These commitments are therefore not givens; they constitute a polemical statement on what journalism studies should be. Nevertheless, we agree with Carlson et al. that journalism studies is best viewed as a field, given the shared structural framework and thereby a sense of academic community and epistemic culture, and not as a discipline, because of its lack of agreed upon macro theories of journalism and shared methodological approaches. However, since this question around the degree to which journalism studies is a field or a discipline is, at least to a certain extent, an empirical one, in the following sections, we will not only map and discuss the disciplinary traditions and main theories that constitute journalism studies as a field, but also ground this mapping in an empirical investigation of theory employment within the field.

Our mapping of theories and the roles given to them in journalism studies is therefore based on a review of literature and an empirical investigation of articles published in the journals *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* and *Journalism Studies*. These two journals have been pivotal in the construction of journalism studies as a field. Hence, they constitute an appropriate avenue for studying the degree to which a shared disciplinary paradigm of knowledge has emerged within this field. In the analysis, we examined how explicit a role theory is given in the abstracts and keywords of the published articles, what types of theories are used, and from which disciplines the publications draw their theoretical frameworks.[1] The rest of this chapter is structured around four arguments based on our analysis of these two journals:

- Journalism studies is a field dominated by a pragmatist-participatory attitude towards theory.
- Even though journalism studies is a multidisciplinary field, it is dominated by sociological perspectives.
- The emerging theories within journalism studies are heavily influenced by a techno-economic discourse.
- Owing to the vast amount of different theories, journalism studies is developing in a diversified rather than unified direction.

A FIELD DOMINATED BY A PRAGMATIST-PARTICIPATORY ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEORY

Our first argument is that journalism studies is dominated by what Mjøset (2006) identified as *a pragmatist-participatory attitude towards theory*. This implies that theory is not necessarily the starting point of academic inquiry. Even if the field is slowly becoming more theoretically aware, much of journalism research published in journals seeks primarily to find answers to practice-based questions that can be investigated empirically rather than through theorization (see also Löffelholz, 2008; Erjavec & Zajc, 2011).

A pragmatist-participatory attitude towards theory implies that generalization and specification are not seen as a dichotomy (Mjøset, 2006). Generalizations are grounded in specified contexts and specifications are found by comparison. This research attitude typically involves the making of typologies, which are revised as knowledge grows. Examples of such evolving typologies in journalism studies include research on news criteria (from Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, 2016 and other studies); media systems (from Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Aalberg, Aelst, & Curran, 2010 and other studies); and journalistic role perceptions and cultures (from Weaver, 1998; Hanitzsch et al., 2011; and other studies).

Researchers who publish their work in *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* prefer to present their research in an empirical manner. This tradition seems to favor an *empirical data first and theory last, if at all* type of presentation pattern: in about a third of the abstracts, we analyzed, the role of theory remained implicit or hidden in how the study was summarized. In addition, about a quarter of all the examined abstracts throughout the sampled years did *not* mention any theory at all. We of course recognize that the journal article as a genre does not allow extensive theorization,[2] but we also believe that this empirical orientation is related to a more general adoption of the pragmatist-participatory attitude where theory-building is a bottom-up process that does not have to be explicated as a framework. Such empirical approaches have remained a central form of inquiry in journalism studies (Löffelholz, 2008, p. 18). Historical reviews of research point out that studies of journalism from the 1950s and onwards, especially in the United States, were indeed heavily influenced by empirical rather than theoretical work (Erjavec & Zajc, 2011). Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009b) connect the empirical phase of journalism studies to the ties between journalism research and education: educators with a background in practical newsroom work started to share their knowledge in academic formats.

Furthermore, previous studies from the broader field of mass communication research also indicate an adherence to a pragmatist-participatory attitude. Bryant and Miron (2004) found that in 1,806 randomly sampled articles from *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *Journal of Communication* and *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* published between 1956 and 2000, only 32 percent "included some theory." Kamhawi and Weaver (2003) found the same to be true in about 31 percent of articles published between 1980 and 1999 in ten major mass communication journals in the United States. This suggests that journalism journals are in line with the research culture of the journals from the broader field of communication research.

The pragmatist-participatory attitude can also be seen as a willingness to stay in touch with the practice that is examined. The relationship between researchers and journalists has been uneasy: journalists have even resisted the study of their work environment (Zelizer, 2009) and interpreted research results as unfair criticism or over-theorization that does not resonate with the realities of the craft (Erjavec & Zajc, 2011). Hence, the tendency to underline the empirical aspects of research can be interpreted as a sign of a field that takes a pragmatic attitude as a starting point in order to better serve the community of journalists.

The *empirical data first, theory last* tradition is of course also linked to the inherently multidisciplinary nature of the field, which creates a situation where there is a lack of journalism-specific macro-level theories that would require authors to automatically acknowledge them as the starting point of their studies. The well-known models that can be seen as classical *journalism* theories, such as gatekeeping (White, 1950); agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972); and news value (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) theories, are middle-range theories that theorize the individual-organizational level of journalism or explain specific aspects of journalism (Löffelholz, 2008).

However, our investigation of abstracts published in *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* also indicates that there were more direct mentions of theories in the later years than in the early stages of the journals. This implies that researchers of journalism have become more prone to tie their work to theoretical argumentation also in journal articles. It seems fair to assume that the growing number of academic monographs and edited volumes on "rethinking" journalism noted in the introduction of this chapter, have contributed to a theoretical awareness also in journal articles.

MULTIDISCIPLINARITY WITH A SOCIOLOGICAL EMPHASIS

Our second argument is that, *even though journalism studies is a multidisciplinary field, it is dominated by a sociological emphasis in its theorization*. Journalism research has been noted to have strong ties with the social sciences. Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009b, p. 6), for example, point out a clear "sociological turn" in journalism research in the 1970s and 1980s. Likewise, Reese (2016, p. 4) talks about a "shift to a sociology of news," where the previous research preoccupation with questions of processes of journalistic communication and its effects on the public was abandoned in favor of a focus on journalism as a social practice. The sociological turn brought with it questions of "power, control, structures, institutions, class, and community" (ibid.). In our journal analysis, we find that sociology appeared as the strongest background discipline of journalism studies, followed by political science and cultural as well as language theories. In the following sub-sections, we will address the main theories of journalism stemming from these disciplinary traditions.

Journalism as a Social System

Sociological perspectives imply that journalism is understood as a kind of *social system in which certain roles are performed and practices undertaken*. Rühl (2008) describes this societal approach to journalism as one that focuses on macro conceptions, such as systems and social roles, and uses these to understand the relationship and difference between journalism and other forms of public communication. A range of social system-related macro theories have been used to explain and explore the role that journalism plays in societies, why it matters, and what makes it different from other forms of communication and other parts of society. Luhmann's *theory of social systems* can help explain journalism's position in a society by how it differentiates itself from other social systems and creates boundaries of meaning (Görke & Scholl, 2006). Bourdieu's *field theory*, in which journalism can be understood as a subfield of the field of cultural production, has been used to analyze the connections between journalistic organizations, practices, products, and professionals, on the one side, and larger social systems of power, economy, and politics, on the other (Benson, 1999, 2006). Like field theory, *new institutionalism* is a social system theory that mediates "the impact of macro-level forces on micro-level actions" (Ryfe, 2006,

p. 137). Analyzing journalism as an institution means analyzing the presuppositions and tacit knowledge that guide journalistic practice across newsrooms, news organizations, and other journalistic organizations.

Central to these theories is that they provide explanations and questions from a macro perspective for how an institution/field/system like journalism functions and develops in societies through analysis of how individual behavior coincides with larger, cross-organizational structures. As such, social system theories provide frameworks for analyzing interplays between mental structures (norms, values, and ideals); material structures (economy, and technology); and agency in journalism. We also find ways of analyzing the same interplay in middle-range theories like *organizational theory* and *hierarchy of influences theory*. The difference is that such theories do not aim at explaining societies on a macro level. Organizational theory provides a framework for understanding how various kinds of organizations are configured and reconfigured by internal and external structures and by the actions of different kinds of professions and labor that are part of the organization. Organizational theory has been applied in journalism studies to analyses, for example, of how specific beats, like science journalism (Lublinski, 2011), develop. News production studies also take news organizations as their starting point, analyzing how agency and mental and material structures shape how news is produced. Based on extensive ethnographic research, news production studies became a popular way of analyzing journalism as meso- and micro-social systems during the 1970s (see Becker & Vlad, 2009, for an overview). Such studies were important in showing that news is constructed based on certain routines. They produced some of the best-known middle-range theories of journalism, like the theory of *news values* (see, for instance, Harcup & O'Neill, 2016) and the *gatekeeping theory* (see Shoemaker & Vos 2009).

Recognizing that journalism has become increasingly independent of news organizations and influenced by all kinds of structures and agency on macro, meso, and micro levels, the hierarchy of influence theory introduced by Shoemaker and Reese (1996) provides a model of the levels that influence journalism: from the macro-social systems, via social institutions and organizations, to the micro levels of routine practices and individuals. Similarly, *practice theory* (Bourdieu, 1977; Schatzki, 2001) opens up pre-defined conceptions of organizations and delves deeper into the interplay between the mental and material structures, and the agency, that both restrain and facilitate (professional) practice. For example, practice theory has been used to analyze how activities, materiality, and discursive reflexivity connected to participatory journalism shape what journalism is and why it develops as it does, preferably without preconceived ideas on who the key agents are (professionals or amateurs) or within what kind of organizational framework journalism operates (Ahva, 2017).

The increasing uncertainty as to where journalism is to be found, who produces it and how various groups of professionals and amateurs participate and cooperate in its coming into existence has led to the popularity of social system theories that do not take macro-societal perspectives as their starting point. Latour's *actor-network theory* is one example of such a social system theory with no preconceived ideas on who and what shapes the social system. This approach has gained significant traction in journalism studies in recent years (see Primo & Zago, 2015 for an overview, and discussion below).

In our journal analysis, we find examples of all the above-mentioned theories. Almost a third of the 20 most popular keywords drew from sociology (keywords like "professionalism," "globalization," "practice," "role," "news values," "newsroom," "community," "values"). A third of the abstracts referred to *professionalism*, which makes it the single most popular sociological framework in journal articles. Professionalism has been applied as a theoretical framework in journalism studies in three main ways. First, there are historical analyses of how news work and its forms have professionalized over time and whether this occupational culture can be described as a profession (e.g., Carey, 2007). Second, there are studies that focus on examining the professional ideology or culture of journalism: its core values and norms that mark the value-based boundaries of the field (e.g., Deuze, 2005). This tradition is also typically interested in the sense-making and positioning of journalists themselves: how they view the norms and surroundings that guide and impact their work and roles, also in a comparative fashion (e.g., Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2017).

Third are the studies that focus on the legitimacy and jurisdiction of professional journalism as a societal agent, its distinct practices and roles in relation to other professions or political, economic, and cultural fields (e.g., Waisbord, 2013). However, the theoretical framework of professionalism has also been criticized for limiting the domain that is seen as a valid information source about journalism and hence potentially omitting the role of participating non-journalists in the construction of journalism (Ahva, 2017).

Journalism as a Democratic Force

The second most common disciplinary framework in journalism studies, according to our journal analysis, is political science. Keywords typical of this framework (like "election," "democracy," "public relations," "politics," and "public sphere") dominated at the beginning of the new millennium but declined towards 2016. Overall, these keywords indicate that the political science tradition sees *journalism as a democratic force that shapes public discourse*.

Democracy theories provide typical starting points for journalism studies and enable us to understand the role that journalism plays as a facilitator of the public sphere and how it covers issues that require public attention. Within this framework, we can identify various approaches. So-called *procedural or competitive democracy theories* have long framed journalism studies and guided researchers' attention towards the role that journalism plays in providing information to citizens as voters between the elections and the ways in which politicians compete over power in the public sphere (Strömbäck, 2005). While this tradition is still strong, *participatory and deliberative democracy theories* (ibid.) became more prominent in the 1990s. These models invite us to examine and assess whether journalism enables or restricts civic agency and reasoning beyond the moment of voting, and the role of public discourse in the formation of the political culture (e.g., Ettema, 2007). As a more middle-range theory developed within communication studies, *agenda-setting theory* (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) provides a framework for analyzing how journalism shapes the public sphere and consequently the ways in which we, as the public, understand the world. Priming and framing are core concepts within agenda-setting theory and provide tools to analyses what and how issues gain importance in the media and thereby in public and political discourse. Refining agenda-setting theory, theories of *second-level agenda setting* (Ghanem, 1997) and *inter-media agenda setting* (Danielian & Reese, 2009) provide frameworks for analyzing, respectively (1) how the media discuss issues that have already made the agenda and (2) how certain media (like elite newspapers) influence what other media should have on their agenda.

There are long, historic ties between journalism and democracy/public sphere theories. A free, independent press which facilitates a public sphere in which ideas and politics can be disseminated, debated, critiqued, and shaped has been considered a cornerstone for democracy ever since the Age of Enlightenment, in which catchphrases like Thomas Jefferson's "information is the currency of democracy" began to dominate the democracy discourse (Zelizer, 2013, p. 463). Such links between journalism and democracy were directly articulated in the theory of journalism as the "*fourth estate*," in which journalism is prescribed a role as a guardian of democracy and as a mediator between public opinion and the governing institutions of a state (Boyce, 2008).

The fourth estate theory and similar theoretically assumed links between journalism and democracy are normative theories, which prescribe what role journalism *should* have in a society and what a democracy *should* be like. Embedded in such normative theories is the notion that journalism is a prerequisite for democracy, and vice versa; journalism and democracy are so intertwined that the one cannot exist without the other.

Such normative theories of journalism (and democracy) have been criticized for a number of reasons. First, they cannot explain how and why journalism exists in semi- or non-democratic societies. Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) addressed this problem in their categorization of how journalism functions in various political systems expressed as *the four theories of the press*: the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet-totalitarian. However, the four theories of the press did not provide an escape from normative theory, as it was discursively embedded within a libertarian logic that clearly ranked the four categories along an axis from good to bad (Nerone, 1995). Several revisions of the four theories of the press and alternative models have since been suggested, all of which are based on some degrees of normativity (see Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2010, chapter 1, for a review).

Moreover, normative theories linking journalism and democracy tend to disregard the fact that journalism is not the only channel through which trustworthy information can flow in a society and a public sphere marked by a diversity of opinions. Blogs, social media, citizen journalism, and other information channels have democratized public speech, and Zelizer (2013) has therefore, and for other reasons, suggested it is time to put democracy theory to rest in journalism studies. Zelizer (ibid.) also notes that journalism has been as biased, partisan, and connected with governance as it has been free and independent. Furthermore, journalism is much more than hard news about politics and democracy. Commercialization and tabloidization have pushed it towards the entertainment industry while at the same time making it more dependent on market forces, while forms and genres like lifestyle journalism (Hanusch, 2014); sports journalism (Boyle, 2006); and feature journalism (Steensen, 2018) promote other social functions of journalism than those related to politics and democracy.

Journalism as Cultural Production and Discourse

Like social and political theory, cultural theory occupies a position among the top disciplines that influence journalism studies, according to our journal analysis. Reflecting the last point above about the diversity of journalism beyond issues related to politics and democracy, the cultural analysis of journalism argues that it is more fruitful to view journalism as broad-spectrum cultural production.

Analyzing journalism through the lenses of cultural theory implies questioning what is presupposed in journalism, figuring out how journalists view themselves, trying to understand the diversity of journalism and connecting journalistic practices and products to questions of power, ideology, class, ethnicity, gender, identity, and so on. The cultural analysis of journalism is interested in how journalism intersects with everyday life. Audiences' perceptions of and interactions with journalism are therefore important to cultural studies of journalism. In the words of Hartley (2008, p. 47), the cultural analysis of journalism is interested in the "moment at which media production becomes communication and culture—the moment of the use in the circumstances of everyday life."

Keywords belonging to cultural theories, such as "identity" and "culture," were among the most popular especially in 2014–2016 in our journal analysis. The named theories within this framework were also the most diverse in our study. They ranged from *feminist theory* (discussed and developed, for example, in North, 2009) to *cultural or affective public sphere theories* (e.g., Papacharissi, 2015) and *myth theories* (e.g., Eko, 2010). The cultural perspectives underline the role and significance of, for example, emotions (vs. rationality) and storytelling (vs. reporting) in journalism and connect everyday life with structural and power-related questions.

There is a strong connection between the cultural analysis of journalism and *critical theory*, especially as related to neo-Marxism and the Frankfurt school of thought (for a review, see Kellner, 1993). This implies an ambition to unmask the social and ideological power structures embedded in journalism and to uncover the discrepancies between journalistic self-perception and "metajournalistic discourse" (Carlson, 2016), on the one hand, and the actual expressions and meaning production systems of journalism, on the other. Hence, language-based traditions of studying journalism are closely related to cultural ones. The field of *semiotics*, in which text is understood as not only written language, but also as still and moving images, body language, and so on, has been important in recognizing journalism as visual culture and discussing the diversity through which journalism produces meaning. Language studies also increasingly emphasize the social and cultural situatedness of journalistic texts, which requires that studies of text be informed by material and contextual dimensions (Richardson, 2008).

The most common frameworks within language-oriented perspectives on journalism are *discourse theory* (recently discussed and developed, for example, in Kelsey, 2015; see also Chapter 16); *narrative theory* (e.g., Johnston & Graham, 2012); and *genre theories* (Marques de Melo & Assis, 2016). Among these, discourse theory is the most popular, according to our journal analysis. There are various approaches within the umbrella of discourse theory, but critical discourse analysis (CDA) is perhaps the most widely used and influential in the field of media and journalism studies. CDA explores the dialectical relationship between discourses and the social systems in which they function to expose how language and meaning are used by the powerful to oppress the dominated, so that the approach could be said to have an emancipatory trajectory (Pöyhtäri, 2014). For example, van Dijk (2009) has underlined that a major dimension in discourse analytical studies of journalism is the ideological nature of news: the approach can help in examining the expression and reproduction of ideology in news, the axiomatic beliefs underlying the social representations shared by a group. He furthermore points out that the role of discourse in reproducing racism, nationalism, and sexism should be more carefully studied in the future.

Thus, taken together, the disciplinary perspectives of culture and language regard *journalism as a form of cultural production that shapes us and our world through discourse*.

EMERGING THEORIES TAKE INSPIRATION FROM TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMY

If the above-discussed threesome—sociology, political science, and cultural and language studies—provides the relatively stable theoretical backbone to the multidisciplinarity of journalism studies, the *perspectives of technology and economy are the booming newcomers*. This third argument of ours is no surprise, given the prevalent discourse of crisis in journalism. Discourse surrounding the financial crisis, for example, has centered on the question on how to make journalism a profitable business in the digital age; while discourse of the technological crisis has concerned how the practices, products, and proliferation of news work are dramatically changing due to digitalization. Therefore, techno-economic discourse (Kunelius & Ruusunoksa, 2008) has emerged as a strong sense-making category for newsroom management as well as scholarship.

Our abstract analysis indicates that the share of economics as a background discipline rose from 0 to 5 percent, and technology from 3 to 6 percent in 2000–2016. Therefore, among the smaller disciplines, economics and technology are the perspectives that have increased their share the most. It also seems that such perspectives have a stronger impact than others. Based on analysis of citation metrics, we found that articles framed within a techno-economic discourse were more likely to be cited than articles framed within any other disciplinary traditions. We will now introduce the emerging theories within the traditions of technology and economy.

Journalism as a Socio-Material Practice

The increasing role of technology is reflected in our journal analysis through the emergence of new keywords, such as "computational journalism," "materiality," and "visualization." On the one hand, technology as an underlying approach appears as one that can be adopted in order to reexamine certain traditional aspects of journalism (such as visualization in the form of digital data visualization) or to update popular journalism-related middle-range theories, such as gatekeeping (reworked into gate*watching*, see Bruns, 2005). On the other hand, the technological perspective has brought entirely new theoretical input to the field. For example, science and technology studies is one of the most important new fields to have influenced theorization of journalism in the digital age (Ahva & Steensen, 2017). *Socio-technical theories*, such as Latour's (2005) actor-network theory, have gained ground in journalism studies, especially since the publication of Boczkowski's seminal book *Digitizing the News* (2004), which paved the way for understanding the interplay between technology, materiality, and social practice related to the production of (online) journalism. However, perspectives like actor-network theory are as much methodological approaches as theories, and they have therefore been criticized for their lack of explanatory power (Benson, 2017).

Nevertheless, the use of the keyword "network" has in recent years grown significantly in journalism studies, as have spatial keywords related to "ecosystems" and "landscapes." Reese (2016, p. 10) refers to "the ecosystem shift" in theories of journalism and connects this to the emergence of digital platforms that have made some of the classical conceptual categorizations invalid. This technological perspective thus seems to regard *journalism as a materially defined practice*.

Journalism as Post-Industrial Business Endeavor

Our analysis of journal article keywords points to an interesting shift in how economy/business/industry-related perspectives are framed in journalism studies. By 2014–2016, keywords within this branch such as "media industry" and "economic theory," which were among the most popular in 2000–2013, had been replaced by a variety of more flexible, individual-focused, and business-related conceptualizations, such as "sustainability" or "entrepreneurialism." This shift is connected to a situation where the journalism industry as a clearly demarcated branch within the media industry needs to be rethought—as proposed by the notion of "post-industrial journalism" (Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2012). This rethinking of journalism as industry and business involves journalism's move from organizational enterprises to individual entrepreneurship.

The emphasis on individuals becomes explicit, for example, in how the notion of entrepreneurial journalism has been recently discussed and theorized. Here, the discourse is centered on how individual journalists can (and should) reinvent themselves as independent entrepreneurs by starting a company outside of legacy news organizations. Hence concepts and theories from management and business studies, such as *business model canvas* (Singer, 2017), are applied to address how journalists can see change and disruption as business opportunities (Briggs, 2012). This indicates that the perspectives of economics and business perceive *journalism as a commercial endeavor* that pertains to changing structures as well as individual activities.

THE LONG TAIL OF THEORIES

Our fourth argument is that the *story of theory in journalism studies is very much a story of the long tail*. This means that, while the field has matured and become more theoretically aware, the sheer number of theories applied has also increased. In our journal analysis, we found 116 different theories mentioned in the abstracts of the three volumes (2002/2003, 2012, and 2016) of *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies*. In 2016 alone, we found 58 different theories in the 126 articles.

Only a few theories were clearly more popular than others, like professionalism and democracy theories, but most were mentioned only once. Examples from the long tail include varied frameworks such as *ideational theory*, *cultural chaos theory*, *cumulative prospect theory*, *theory of voice*, and *cartography*. This situation resonates with Bryant and Miron's (2004) analysis of the role of theory in mass communication journals between 1956 and 2000. In the 1,806 articles they analyzed, 604 different theories were identified, most of which were referenced only a few times.

The long tail of theories prompts the following question: is it possible to build a unifying knowledge paradigm for journalism studies, and is such a paradigm necessary? As our analysis reveals, the questions asked by journalism scholars are close to being outnumbered by the theoretical approaches used. From a classical perspective on the nature of disciplines, in which a shared knowledge paradigm is considered important, one might therefor argue that because journalism is described and analyzed through so many different academic languages, it runs the risk of resembling the cacophony at the biblical tower of Babel. Consequently, one might ask: is the shared knowledge paradigm only a distant fata morgana that individual journalism scholars gaze at from the isolation of their own theoretical islands?

For a number of reasons, we would advise against asking such questions. First, a shared knowledge paradigm does not necessarily mean a fixed and stable set of theories. Instead, as proposed by Carlson et al. (2018), it could be understood as a shared set of commitments, which constitute a shared way of knowing as an epistemic culture. Second, the pragmatist-participatory attitude towards theory has a strong foothold in journalism studies, and even though this attitude does not constitute a shared knowledge paradigm, it represents an agreement that empirical material is the center around which theories circle. This does not necessarily mean that theory plays a *subordinate* role in journalism studies. Rather, if the pragmatist-participatory, grounded theory-inspired attitude is understood as Mjøset (2006) suggests, it means that theoretical knowledge is essential in the construction of a "local research frontier," meaning the accumulated knowledge established by previous grounded research on the same area. Such an approach implies that theoretical constructs are constantly negotiated by empirical material. Hence, theories emerge, and disciplinary resonance may need to be sought, from various directions, not just from the traditional ones.

Such an attitude towards theory is perhaps a fruitful path for journalism studies, the object of whose study is in a constant flux. Deuze and Witschge (2018, p. 177) argue along these lines, as they observe that journalism is a profession in a "permanent process of becoming," which requires of journalism studies to have a constantly evolving toolkit of perspectives from which to understand this process.

In fact, instead of resembling the tower of Babel, one could argue that the magnitude of theoretical perspectives and the consequent lack of a shared knowledge paradigm fits well with Feyerabend's (1993, p. 9) notion of the perfect state of science: "Science is an essentially anarchic enterprise: theoretical anarchism is more humanitarian and more likely to encourage progress than its law-and-order alternatives."

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we have painted a picture of what theory looks like in journalism studies. We structured our examination along the lines of four arguments based on an analysis of articles published in *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* from 2000 to 2016. This examination pointed at general trends in the use of theory and gave us a backbone along which to map the families of theories in journalism studies more broadly.

As a summary, we can say that journalism studies is a vivid and maturing multidisciplinary field which tries to capture a constantly moving object by asking new, empirical questions guided by an increasingly larger pool of different theories and frameworks. At the same time, theoretical awareness of the field seems to be on the rise.

Journalism studies is strongly rooted in the sociological research tradition and also heavily shaped by the political science and cultural and language studies traditions. It is understood in numerous and sometimes competing ways but is most often viewed as a kind of social system, as a democratic force, as cultural production and discourse, and increasingly also as a socio-material and commercial practice.

Moreover, journalism studies has strong ties to normative and critical theories, and there is a rising awareness around the role of normative theory in the field. For example, Carlson et al. (2018, p. 15) argue (normatively!) that normativity is a key characteristic of both journalism and journalism studies that should be recognized, embraced, critically scrutinized, and made transparent:

> A commitment to normative awareness can manifest itself as a form of reflexivity that examines both the explicit and implicit assumptions that show up in the data and analyses of researchers. Such awareness can also result in a critical stance that challenges the effects of journalism's normative commitments on news.

In the first edition of this handbook, Zelizer (2009, p. 34) argued that journalism studies was "at war with self" and dominated by "a slew of independent academic efforts taking place in a variety of disciplines without the shared knowledge crucial to academic inquiry." It seems that not much has changed, but we do not necessarily agree with the presupposition embedded in the above quote around the necessity of a shared knowledge paradigm. We believe that journalism studies is well served by a constant search for new approaches and new perspectives from a variety of disciplines. This means that journalism scholars should not lament such theoretical anarchy, but embrace it. Even though most of the innovative theoretical endeavors that come out of this anarchic state might make no mark on the field, the ones that do can push it in new and fruitful directions.

However, continuous search for theoretical innovation may promote new theories over old ones simply because they are new and not necessarily because they are better. There is, therefore, a potential normativity in such theoretical anarchy that favors the new and unknown over the old and familiar. Journalism scholars should be aware of such a potential bias and not disregard the knowledge accumulated by previous intellectual inquiries into the subject. At least, there should be reflexivity in regard to the specific disciplinary traditions within which authors locate themselves.

Even though we salute the current state of theoretical anarchy in journalism studies, we recognize that the field is in almost constant need of shared meeting places, both physically, typically in conferences, and intellectually, in the form of edited volumes and monographs that aim at pulling the various theoretical threads together. This is what makes journalism studies an interpretive community while at the same time revealing what a vibrant, evolving field it is.

NOTES

1. The sample included all keywords from articles published in all volumes of the journals *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* during the period 2000–2016, and all abstracts of the volumes of 2002–2003, 2012, and 2016. The results presented in this article are a combination of our previous study (Steensen & Ahva, 2015) and an update of it with data up until 2016. The number of analyzed keywords from *Journalism* was 4,297, and from *Journalism Studies* 7,671, so altogether 11,968 keywords. The number of analyzed abstracts from *Journalism* was 32 (2002–2003), 33 (2012), and 63 (2016), and from *Journalism Studies* 58 (2002–2003), 50 (2012), and 63 (2016), so altogether 299 abstracts.
2. We also acknowledge that, with our study based on abstracts and keywords, we can merely make conclusions only about how research is *presented*. Examining how theories are put to use in the studies would require another review study on full articles.

REFERENCES

Aalberg, T., van Aelst, P., & Curran, J. (2010). Media systems and the political information environment: A cross-national comparison. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *15*(3), 255–271.

Abbott, A. D. (2004). *Methods of discovery: Heuristics for the social sciences*. New York, NY: W. W Norton & Company.

Ahva, L. (2017). Practice theory for journalism studies: Operationalizing the concept of practice for the study of participation. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(12), 1523–1541.

Ahva, L., & Steensen, S. (2017). Deconstructing digital journalism studies. In B. Franklin & S. A. Eldridge (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies* (pp. 25–34). Abingdon: Routledge.

Alexander, J. C., Breese, E. B., & Luengo, M. (2016). *The crisis of journalism reconsidered*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Allan, G. (2003). A critique of using grounded theory as a research method. *Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, *2*(1), 1–10.

Allan, S. (2010). *The Routledge companion to news and journalism*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Anderson, C. W. (2013). *Rebuilding the news: Metropolitan journalism in the digital age*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Anderson, C. W., Bell, E., & Shirky, C. (2012). *Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present. Tow centre for digital journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia School of Journalism.

Becher, T., & Trowler, P. (2001). *Academic tribes and territories: Intellectual enquiry and the culture of disciplines* (2nd ed.). Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. New Dehli: Sage Publications.

Becker, L. B., & Vlad, T. (2009). News organizations and routines. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 59–72). Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.

Benson, R. (1999). Field theory in comparative context: A new paradigm for media studies. *Theory and Society*, *28*(3), 463–498.

Benson, R. (2006). News media as a 'journalistic field': What Bourdieu adds to new institutionalism, and vice versa. *Political Communication*, *23*(2), 187–202.

Benson, R. (2008). Journalism: Normative theories. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication* (pp. 2591–2597). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Benson, R. (2017). From heterogenity to differentiation: Searching for a good explanation in a new descriptive era. In P. J. Boczkowski & C. W. Anderson (Eds.), *Remaking the news. essays on the future of journalism scholarship in a digital age* (pp. 27–45). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Boczkowski, P. J. (2004). *Digitizing the news: Innovation in online newspapers*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Boczkowski, P. J., & Anderson, C. W. (Eds.). (2017). *Remaking the news. Essays on the future of journalism scholarship in the digital age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Boyce, G. (2008). The fourth estate. The reappraisal of a concept. In H. Tumber (Ed.), *Journalism*, *1*, 66–88. London: Routledge.
Boyle, R. (2006). *Sports journalism: Context and issues*. London: Sage Publications.
Briggs, M. (2012). *Entrepreneurial journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Bryant, J., & Miron, D. (2004). Theory and research in mass communication. *Journal of Communication*, *54*(4), 662–704.
Carey, J. W. (2007). A short history of journalism for journalists: A proposal and essay. *Press/Politics*, *12*(1), 3–16.
Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. *Communication Theory*, *26*(4), 349–368.
Carlson, M., Robinson, S., Lewis, S. C., & Berkowitz, D. A. (2018). Journalism studies and its core commitments: The making of a communication field. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(1), 6–25.
Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Cetina, K. K. (1999). *Epistemic cultures: How the sciences make knowledge*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Christians, C. G., Glasser, T., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R. A. (2010). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Conboy, M. (2013). *Journalism studies: The basics*. London: Routledge.
Danielian, L. H., & Reese, S. D. (2009). A closer look at intermedia influences on agenda setting: The cocaine issue of 1986. In Pamela J. Shoemaker (Ed.), *Communication campaigns about drugs: Government, media, and the public* (pp. 47–66). New York, NY and London: Routledge.
Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, *6*(4), 679–694.
Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2018). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 165–181.
Downie, L. Jr., & Schudson, M. (2009). The reconstruction of American journalism. *Columbia Journalism Review*, *19*.
Eko, L. (2010). New technologies, ancient archetypes: The Boston Globe's discursive construction of internet connectivity in Africa. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *21*(2), 182–198.
Erjavec, K., & Zajc, J. (2011). A historical overview of approaches to journalism studies. *Medijska istraživanja*, *17*(1–2), 9–29.
Ettema, J. S. (2007). Journalism as reason-giving: Deliberative democracy, institutional accountability, and the news media's mission. *Political Communication*, *24*(2), 143–160.
Feyerabend, P. (1993). *Against method* (3rd ed). London: Verso.
Franklin, B., & Eldridge, S. A. (Eds.). (2017). *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies*. Abingon, Oxon: Routledge.
Franklin, B., Hamer, M., Hanna, M., Kinsey, M., & Richardson, J. E. (2005). *Key concepts in journalism studies*. London: Sage Publications.
Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, *2*(1), 64–90.
Ghanem, S. (1997). Filling in the tapestry: The second level of agenda setting. In M. E. McCombs, D. L. Shaw, & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory* (pp. 3–14). Mahwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Hawthorne: Aldine Transaction.
Görke, A., & Scholl, A. (2006). Niklas Luhmann's theory of social systems and journalism research. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(4), 644–655.
Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., & Kee Wang Yuen, E. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: A comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 273–293.

Hanusch, F. (Ed.). (2014). *Lifestyle journalism*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Hanusch, F., & Hanitzsch, T. (2017). Comparing journalistic cultures across nations. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(5), 525–535.

Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), 261–280.

Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2016). What is news? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*, *18*(12), 1470–1488.

Hartley, J. (2008). Journalism as a human right: The cultural approach to journalism. In D. H. Weaver, A. Schwarz, & M. Löffelholz (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 39–51). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Johnston, J., & Graham, C. (2012). The new, old journalism: Narrative writing in contemporary newspapers. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(4), 517–533.

Kamhawi, R., & Weaver, D. (2003). Mass communication research trends from 1990 to 1999. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *80*(1), 7–27.

Kellner, D. (1993). Critical theory today: Revisiting the classics. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *10*(2), 43–60.

Kelsey, D. (2015). *Media, myth and terrorism: A discourse-mythological analysis of the 'Blitz Spirit' in British newspaper responses to the July 7th Bombings*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kunelius, R., & Ruusunoksa, L. (2008). Mapping professional imagination: On the potential of professional culture in the newspapers of the future. *Journalism Studies*, *9*(5), 662–678.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Lublinski, J. (2011). Structuring the science beat. *Journalism Practice*, *5*(3), 303–318.

Löffelholz, M. (2008). Heteregeneous—multidimensional—competing. Theoretical approaches to journalism: An overview. In D. H. Weaver, A. Schwarz, & M. Löffelholz (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 15–27). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Löffelholz, M., Weaver, D. H., & Schwarz, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Marques de Melo, J., & de Assis, F. (2016). Journalistic genres and formats: A classification model. *Intercom—RBCC*, *39*(1), 39–54.

McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The agenda setting function of the mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*(2), 176–187.

Mjøset, L. (2006). No fear of comparisons or context: On the foundations of historical sociology. *Comparative Education*, *42*(3), 337–362.

Nerone, J. C. (Ed.). (1995). *Last rights: Revisiting four theories of the press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

North, L. (2009). Rejecting the 'f-word': How 'feminism' and 'feminists' are understood in the newsroom. *Journalism*, *10*(6), 739–757.

Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peters, C., & Broersma, M. J. (Eds.). (2013). *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Peters, C., & Broersma, M. J. (Eds.). (2016). *Rethinking journalism again: Societal role and public relevance in a digital age*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Primo, A., & Zago, G. (2015). Who and what do journalism? *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 38–52.

Pöyhtäri, R. (2014). *Immigration and ethnic diversity on finnish and Dutch magazines*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Reese, S. D. (2016). Theories of journalism. In J. F. Nussbaum (Ed.), *Oxford research encyclopedia of communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.83

Richardson, J. E. (2008). Language and journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *9*(2), 152–160.

Rühl, M. (2008). Journalism in a globalizing world society: A societal approach to journalism research. In D. H. Weaver, A. Schwarz, & M. Löffelholz (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 28–38). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Ryfe, D. M. (2006). Guest editor's introduction: New institutionalism and the news. *Political Communication*, *23*(2), 135–144.
Schatzki, T. R. (2001). Introduction: Practice theory. In T. R. Schatzki, K. Knorr-Cetina, & E. Von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory* (pp. 10–23). New York, NY and London: Routledge.
Shoemaker, P., & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*, Second edition. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers.
Shoemaker, P., & Vos, T. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Singer, J. (2017). The journalist as entrepreneur. In C. Peters & M. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism again: Societal role and public relevance in a digital age* (pp. 131–145). New York, NY: Routledge.
Steensen, S. (2018). *Feature journalism. The Oxford research encyclopaedia of communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.810.
Steensen, S., & Ahva, L. (2015). Theories of journalism in a digital age. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 1–18.
Strömbäck, J. (2005). In search of a standard: Four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(3), 331–345.
Tumber, H. (2008). *Journalism*. Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.
Van Dijk, T. (2009). News, discourse, and ideology. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 191–204). Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (Eds.). (2009a). *Handbook of journalism studies*. Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (2009b). Introduction: On why and how we should do journalism studies. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 3–16). Oxon and New York, NY: Routledge.
Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Weaver, D. H. (1998). Journalists around the world: Commonalities and differences. In D. H. Weaver (Ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world* (pp. 455–480). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
White, D. M. (1950). The gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*(3), 383–390.
Witschge, T., Anderson, C. W., Domingo, D., & Hermida, A. (Eds.). (2016). *The Sage handbook of digital journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Zelizer, B. (2000). What is journalism studies? *Journalism*, *1*(1), 9–12.
Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Zelizer, B. (2009). Journalism and the academy. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 29–41). Oxon: Routledge.
Zelizer, B. (2013). On the shelf life of democracy in journalism scholarship. *Journalism*, *14*(4), 459–473.

4

Journalism Education

Beate Josephi

INTRODUCTION

Journalism education has undergone extensive change in the last ten years. Much of this transformation, as outlined throughout this volume, is due to the changing face of journalism and the challenges of adjusting to the proliferation of information sources and delivery on digital platforms. On the positive side, journalism education at tertiary level has largely spread around the globe (Berger & Foote, 2017), proven by the fact that worldwide almost two-thirds of journalists aged 24–40 have a degree in journalism or communication studies (WJS, 2017). This figure has to be seen in the context of almost 90 percent of all journalists holding a degree (WJS, 2017).

This chapter will begin with the history of journalism education and look at its key texts. The section entitled "The Aims of Journalism Education" will examine the efforts to turn journalism into a profession and the need to mediate between industry and the academy. This tension is ongoing, although, in the times of strained economic circumstances, the industry is ever more accepting of the fact that colleges and universities teach future journalists. In today's crowded market, journalism education plays an important part in helping journalists to set themselves apart from other information providers. The section entitled "A Question of Curricula" shows an increasingly coordinated approach to journalism education globally. Research into journalism students has progressed significantly in the last decade, analyzing their interests and aspirations throughout their course of study and their actual likelihood of becoming journalists. Given the increasingly precarious nature of employment in journalism, the section entitled "Brave New World" tries to chart likely developments in journalism education. The final part will point to areas of "Future Research."

THE HISTORY OF JOURNALISM EDUCATION

A key element of journalism education is that it is seen as laying the foundations for the skills, attitudes, and knowledge of future journalists. Journalism education, however, took shape over many decades and at different paces and forms before establishing itself globally at tertiary institutions.

The idea of achieving better journalism by giving journalists a college or university education was born in the United States in the second half of the 19th century (Weaver, 2003). For much of the 20th century, the United States was the main site providing journalism as a tertiary study. Only in the 1980s and 1990s did journalism become accepted as a subject field worldwide, often in new universities. One reason why the United States broke new ground was that the country not only pioneered journalism education but also journalism practice. According to Chalaby (1996), journalism, as we define it today, is an Anglo-American invention. Journalism in continental Europe was closely linked with the literary field, which demanded a different set of talents and writing skills from those of a daily reporter.

The person credited with implementing the idea that future journalists should receive a college education was the losing general of the US Civil War, Robert E. Lee. As president of Washington College—today Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia—he offered scholarships for journalism studies as part of a liberal arts degree as early as 1869 (Medsger, 2005).

Already then, doubts were raised about journalism as an academic discipline. Lee's initiative came at a time when newspapers were small enterprises with the editor and printer often being the same person. The early courses included technical printing skills, as well as writing and editing, rather than focusing on reporting (Johansen, Weaver, & Dornan, 2001). Irrespective of this earlier effort, James Carey claimed that journalism education did not begin in earnest until Joseph Pulitzer pressed money into the somewhat reluctant hands of Columbia University to establish a school of journalism (Carey, 1978). The Columbia School of Journalism opened in 1912 as a graduate school rather than the undergraduate college initially envisaged by Pulitzer (Adam, 2001). Pulitzer's motive was to improve the minds of journalists at a time when many, if not most, reporters came from working-class families. He wanted to achieve this by providing them with the liberal arts education they lacked (Medsger, 2005).

Other pioneers of journalism studies took a different direction. Willard Bleyer, in the late 1920s, placed the new field within Wisconsin University's PhD programs in political science and sociology. To him, research into journalism was an essential part of journalism education. This decision to locate journalism in the social sciences had long-term implications. Soon there were three distinct models of journalism education at the university level. These operated as independent journalistic schools at either graduate or undergraduate level, or as separate departments within colleges of liberal arts, or within the social science faculties.

A further model was introduced by Wilbur Schramm. Schramm was head of journalism education at the University of Iowa at the end of World War II and later became the founder of communication studies and communication research institutes at the University of Illinois and Stanford University (Rogers, 1994). While Schramm initially chose to place his new communication program within the existing discipline of journalism, communication as a field of study soon overtook its host and left behind journalism education, which could not shed its tag of vocational training. Unlike Pulitzer, Professors Bleyer, Williams, and Schramm were mainly interested in *journalism*, not *journalists*. This left journalism education in the uneasy spot between practical and academic studies, and the discussion about the professionalism of journalism and the journalism educational curriculum highlights the unresolved nature of the debate.

The United States is by no means the only country with a history of journalism education, but no other nation has had a similar impact on the discipline. France opened its first journalism school, L'Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme, in 1899, which was attached to the École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales a year later (Gaunt, 1992). In the Nordic countries, an apprenticeship system was gradually replaced by journalism education (Gardeström, 2016), whereas in Britain formal journalistic training and education outside the workplace only became established from the 1980s onwards (Frost, 2017).

The darker side of journalism education was shown in Spain, where the National School of Journalism was set up in 1941 by General Franco and placed under the control of the Falangist

Party (Barrera & Vaz, 2003). The National School of Journalism was the most important training center in Spain, and it remained under government supervision until the early 1970s. The journalists in the major Spanish government-controlled papers had to pass through this journalism school, attesting to the idea that journalism education was seen as an important element, if not tool, for shaping journalists and journalism.

As journalism education has established itself around the world at universities, with more than a third of journalism programs in the People's Republic of China alone (Nordenstreng, 2017a), studies of the history of journalism education have proliferated, mostly as the introductory part of the study of journalism education in a particular country. These studies illustrate that the media traditions of each country strongly shape this history, although the early development of a college journalism education and journalism studies in the United States, through the literature it produced, exercised a worldwide influence on journalism education when other countries established it in tertiary institutions.

KEY TEXTS

The literature on journalism education mainly falls into two categories. There are those texts that outline model curricula and those that explain and discuss how journalists are educated in select countries around the world.

The texts on what and how to teach tend to have a brief shelf life, reflecting the fact that journalism, particularly in digital times, is in a continual state of flux for which journalism education has to account (Goodman, 2017a; Westlund & Lewis, 2017). In the decades when legacy media was unchallenged, many books and articles on journalism education were written in the United States, where tertiary journalism education was most advanced and the large number of students constituted an appreciative market. Great Britain, the other prominent disseminator of English language books, did not enter the field until much later, because its journalism education system was industry-based, and did not require the output of publications expected in a university-based system (Frost, 2017). As journalism education is strongly shaped within national boundaries, most countries, be they Scandinavian, Spanish-speaking, or Lusophone countries, rely on texts written in their own languages, especially as journalism is closely connected to the finer nuances of writing (Hovden, Nygren, & Zilliacus-Tikkanen, 2016; Moreira & Lago, 2017). The language of research, on the other hand, tends to be English, which has led to the literature on journalism education being presented in that language.

From the beginning, books or journal editions on journalism education had a survey quality in that they dealt with each country in a separate chapter or section. This trait will never quite disappear for the very reasons mentioned: journalism education is to a large extent deeply bound to national media and their working traditions. What has changed, are the conceptual and ideological parameters within which journalism education is evaluated. From the 1990s onwards, journalism education at a tertiary level proliferated exponentially around the world, demonstrating that it was not only the United States and the Western European democracies educating journalists, but that journalism was produced all around the world, irrespective of whether the political system was deemed, to use US Cold War parlance, "democratic," "semi-democratic," or "authoritarian." When the World Journalism Education Council (WJEC) was established in 2007, it acknowledged in the preamble to its principles that "[j]ournalism education is defined in different ways" and that at "the core is the study of all types of journalism" (WJEC, 2008).

The earliest survey of journalism education, as it existed then around the globe, was Philip Gaunt's UNESCO-sponsored book (1992). Gaunt first assessed the differences in training systems, training needs, and structures, before proceeding continent by continent and country by country to detail the features of their journalism education. In a comment, typical for its time, Gaunt (1992, p. 158) draws a clear distinction between journalism in democratic and non-democratic nations:

> In countries in which journalists are considered to be government employees, or "flacks," the profession is unlikely to attract the best and brightest students or the most qualified teachers. In such systems, courses on ethics, professional standards, investigative reporting, press history and different aspects of communication theory have no place in the curriculum.

Following a similar evaluative distinction, Romy Fröhlich and Christina Holtz-Bacha concentrated on countries in which journalism could proclaim itself as the fourth estate. Their book on journalism education in Europe and North America consists of 14 contributions and highlights, despite common trends throughout Europe, the wide variety of journalism education pathways and "the unexpected diversity of educational philosophies" (Fröhlich & Holtz-Bacha, 2003, p. 321). When Georgios Terzis published his 2009 edited volume, also on journalism education in Europe, he drew on Hallin and Mancini's (2004) incisive study of North America's and Western Europe's media systems. Terzis arranged the countries in chapters following the media system configurations Hallin and Mancini had distilled in their study, i.e., the liberal, the corporatist, and the polarized/pluralist model. His book also contains a further section, on post-communist media. Although Terzis' and Fröhlich and Holtz-Bacha's books are rooted in the same conceptual approach of viewing journalism as an integral part of democracy, they highlighted in their various ways that the American journalism education paradigm was not the model that fitted the whole world.

The efforts to "de-Westernize" or internationalize media studies, the increasing number of international students attending Western universities, and the proliferation of journalism courses all around the world led to countries being studied that had previously stayed under the radar of scholarly attention. Josephi (2010) tried to shine some light on what and how journalism education was taught in nations deemed "not free" or "partly free" by Freedom House, which charts freedom of the press around the world. The outcome was an edited volume, which included entries on countries as diverse as Oman, Palestine, Tanzania, China, Singapore, and Romania (Josephi, 2010).

The contributors of that volume helped to establish a clearer picture of how journalism was understood in these places. As most countries had ceased to subsidize media and expected it to be reliant on market forces, the more attractive and market-oriented Western style of reporting was in demand. Further, it was hoped that "application of these stylistic rules implies a news sense that prioritizes community conflict and consequence above other news values, leading to the gradual formation, and preferably official acceptance, of a narrative convention akin to civic and interpretive journalism" (Guo, 2010).

While such ideas were incorporated into the teaching of, for example, environmental journalism in China (Josephi & Pan, 2015), governments also saw increased professionalism as beneficial to getting the state's or the party's message across and supporting the training of "competent communicators." Journalism education was therefore often linked to national development, but it also meant honing the basic skills of news gathering, sourcing, interviewing, and writing or presenting, and learning about the community the journalists are to serve.

However, it was also shown that journalism education alone could not compellingly influence the media via the journalists it taught. The constraints of industry were strong, and the hopes that had arisen with the marketization of the media in post-communist countries and China had to be largely discarded as these countries had neither raised the quality of the media nor put them at arm's length of government. In fact, market dependency soon became a deep-seated concern for media houses in North America, Western Europe, and Australia, where the digital delivery of news has dramatically diminished the capital available to fund journalism. The deep uncertainty about the media's future, and how the needs of the industry are changing, has also become a primary concern for journalism teachers. Much of the discussion about what to teach and how to prepare students for survival in journalism has been taking place in articles, especially in those countries most affected by the impact of digital information delivery and social media. This has led to the addition of entrepreneurial journalism to the curriculum in several Western countries (Hunter & Nel, 2011; Baines & Kennedy, 2010). Scholars who place much confidence in journalists themselves and wish to restore agency to their hands include Mark Deuze and Tamara Witschge (2017). They put their faith into educating students to be entrepreneurial journalists who can experience creativity and freedom from routines in start-ups, although this leaves them in a precarious commercial environment where they carry the economic burden of news production and distribution.

Attention continues to be given to journalism education in all parts of the world. This is particularly true of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). A special issue of *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator* (Nordenstreng, 2017b) looks at the BRICS nations to track innovation and transformation in countries that were once labeled the "developing world," but whose economy and population size, in particular China, India, and Russia, places them among the most important powers in the world. Kaarle Nordenstreng, who has edited the special issue, cannot discern a unified trajectory among the BRICS countries but describes their situation as a state of "dynamic *flux* around curricula and underlying philosophies—the dominant Western tradition is challenged by alternative models and soul-searching." He also notes that journalism education is "increasingly integrated with other media and communication studies," with the traditional concept of journalism and mass communication challenged by multimedia and social media (Nordenstreng, 2017a, p. 262).

The most comprehensive key text was initiated and supported by the WJEC. The edited volume, *Global Journalism Education in the 21st Century: Challenges and Innovations* (Goodman & Steyn, 2017) is an ambitious undertaking at a time of profound change. Editor Robyn Goodman asks in her introduction whether journalism educators can seize the economic, political, technical, and cultural upheavals and use them as an opportunity to instill in their students a belief in the value of journalism that can also be conveyed to the wider public (Goodman, 2017b).

Conceptually, the volume holds on to the values of the Western journalistic tradition, such as journalistic autonomy. But the chapters wear their ideological outlook lightly and no longer expect journalism or journalism education to be a cornerstone of democratic development. Their emphasis is instead on the support of civic life. Ten chapters cover journalism education in select countries on all continents, before evaluating journalism programs globally. This wish for a possible convergence and accreditation of learning outcomes reflects the underlying desire for journalism education to produce an assessable professional outcome.

Further chapters deal with the how and what to teach at a time when digital production and delivery modes are far from settled. Oscar Westlund and Seth Lewis (2017) urge educators to provide their students with an awareness of the ways technology is increasingly replacing human actors in the media industries. Journalism students should be given "more nuanced perspectives" on how to approach and collaborate with technological actants, meaning all nonhuman technologies, such as algorithms, applications, networks, interfaces, and the like, and audiences. Their chapter is indicative of a broader body of literature in journalism education which attempts to provide students with the technical knowhow as well as the journalistic skills suited to the shifting needs of the media industry.

Joe Foote, the initiator of the WJEC, reminds us that journalism has seen very difficult periods and undergone many transitions in that time span. In a global context, journalism education's task of being "a beacon on conscience" is as pressing as ever (Foote, 2017, p. 446), a judgement echoed by Robyn Goodman who wishes to see journalism education striving to maintain the value of journalism in the eyes of the community and remain committed to critical engagement and facticity (Goodman, 2017a).

THE AIMS OF JOURNALISM EDUCATION

When Joseph Pulitzer drew up his basic concept for a school of journalism in 1904, he first set out to refute the argument that journalists are "born" (Pulitzer, 1904, p. 20). The question was whether news instinct or moral courage could be taught and whether a journalist should learn in the office rather than at school. Pulitzer made clear that his aim was to provide journalists with an education that would give them the same standing as lawyers or physicians. In other words, he wanted journalism to turn into a profession.

The ideal of journalism as a profession has accompanied journalism education ever since (Splichal & Sparks, 1994), although it took much of the 20th century to get closer to that aim. Until then, the debate on whether the newsroom or the classroom provides the best education for journalists continued unabated. Newspapers in many countries kept to the tradition of hiring cadets or trainees directly from school and turning them into journalists by "learning on the job." This was the customary type of training in the United Kingdom (Frost, 2017), where it was seen as more important to be able to "bash out a quick story on a local murder" than to have knowledge of communication theory (Keeble, 2006, p. 260). In Austria, journalism is an open profession, which requires no specific educational qualifications (Dorer, 2003). Also, Switzerland and Sweden are among the countries where "a formal journalism education is not required to become a journalist" (Bonfadelli, Keel, Marr, & Wyss, 2012, p. 325). In other countries, such as Germany and Spain, media houses have set up their own highly regarded journalism schools. For much of the 20th century, the British model of taking school leavers at trainee level could also be found in a number of Commonwealth countries, such as Australia (O'Donnell, 2017). The debate of academy versus industry was never quite settled, except that the media organizations' increasingly straitened circumstances forced them to devote less resources to, or entirely abandon, cadet training (O'Donnell, 2014).

Academic literature on journalism education amply demonstrates the efforts of uniting theory and practice. Bromley, Tumber, and Zelizer, writing at the beginning of this century, saw little chance of this occurring, noting that the "academy and industry employ criteria for measuring success in journalism education which are currently too divergent," calling the coming together of the two "some form of shotgun marriage" (2001, p. 252). Others sought to find common ground and called "for a culture of mutual respect" (Greenberg, 2014, p. 294). The WJEC, in its principles, embraces both, stating that "journalism educators should be a blend of academics and practitioners" (WJEC, 2008). They further emphasize that it is important for educators to have working experience as journalists.

Given the fact that in the second decade of the 21st century, on average 84.2 percent of journalists around the world hold a university degree (bachelor's, master's, or doctorate), and almost two-thirds of journalists aged 24–40 have studied journalism or communication courses (WJS, 2017), it is clear that Pulitzer's idea of journalists being university graduates has come to pass. But the question remains as to whether journalists should be recognized as professionals.

One of the most wide-ranging attempts to outline what professionalization might mean to journalism was made by Hallin and Mancini (2004), with the arguments partially based on Hallin's

(1997) earlier chapter “Commercialism and Professionalism in the American News Media.” Hallin’s view was strongly influenced by his awareness of journalism’s lack of detachment from commercial and political forces and also by the position that journalism is “very different from the classical professions—law, medicine, architecture, engineering—in that its practice is not based on any systematic body of knowledge” (Hallin, 1997, p. 245). Yet despite these drawbacks, Hallin sees the potential in professionalization—i.e., formal, college-based education—to act as a shield for journalists against commercial pressures and political instrumentalization.

While concerns about journalists’ autonomy and distinct professional norms dominated the discussion about professionalization in the 1990s, when journalism was mostly thought of as a feature of Western democratic countries, globalization and the advent of the digital sphere have altered the direction of the debate. The participatory affordances of the internet challenged the aim of professionalization, gained through journalism education, as elitist and potentially anti-democratic in nature (Hermida et al., 2011). Journalists, however, tried to distinguish themselves from the myriad of information providers found on the internet (Fenton, 2010; Schudson & Anderson, 2009; Domingo et al., 2008). As Waisbord (2013, pp. 4/10) noted, professionalism could be judged harshly as “a discursive strategy mobilized by publishers and journalists to gain social prestige” but could also be used “to negotiate boundaries with other fields while producing a distinctive form of knowledge and news.”

In the introduction to Carlson and Lewis’ (2015) book on boundaries of journalism, Carlson observes that contests over journalism’s boundaries are “symbolic contests” over the right to call oneself a journalist. “Being deemed a ‘legitimate’ journalist accords prestige and credibility, but also access to news sources, audiences, funding, legal rights, and other institutionalized prerequisites” (Carlson, 2015, p. 2). While the view of journalism as cultural practice, produced by many actors, is gaining ground (Domingo & Le Cam, 2015; McNair & Bruns, 2016), the spotlight on fake news has led to a reappraisal of values, especially related to credibility and ethical standards. This reevaluation of professional norms, such as media ethics and fact-checking, which are an essential part of journalism education courses, is also feeding into the debate over journalistic professionalism.

Understandings of professionalism, as Silvio Waisbord puts it, are based not only on an internal consensus around what practitioners deem their tasks, but also on an external consensus around what society expects them to do. In this way, professionalism transcends being merely a legitimizing claim and tool for boundary marking by journalists, but accedes to being judged by readers, listeners, and viewers. It is this “relational perspective” within which Waisbord wants to place professionalism. To him, it is the journalistic skill set, the ability of “thinking journalistically,” which “refers to a way of apprehending the world that distills bottomless amounts of information into news,” that sets journalistic work apart from other occupations. These reporting practices, which are “widely followed across the world” from Mumbai to Mexico City (Waisbord, 2013, p. 227), are now predominantly passed on to the younger generation of journalists at a tertiary level.

Despite these commonalities, journalism education has understandably varied over time and across regions. The former is chiefly bound up with the technological changes of the news industry, whereas the latter, unsurprisingly, is strongly dependent on the social and political structures within which journalism education occurs. If the norms are articulated from within Western notions of democracy, they are most likely to emphasize journalistic autonomy and journalism’s critical distance to power. If they are drawn up in countries that expect their journalists to facilitate the aims of the state, they are more likely to embrace notions of collective orientation and social harmony (Hanitzsch, 2007). While this does not exclude assuming the monitorial role, which expresses itself in constructive criticism, it does not allow the sometimes aggressively adversarial stance exercised in democratic countries. However, in all parts of the world, journalism education is united in its view of the profession as a public service (WJEC, 2008).

The value of public service has been the most consistent part of professional ideology taught in journalism education. The Hutchins Commission report (1947), entitled *A Free and Responsible Press*, declared it the responsibility of the press and journalists to fulfill the informational and watchdog role for the public good. Over half a century later, the public service ideal was still seen "as a powerful component of journalism's ideology" (Deuze, 2005, p. 447). As the preamble to the World Journalism Education Congress principles states: "Above all, to be a responsible journalist must involve an informed ethical commitment to the public" (WJEC, 2008). It is this principle that can be seen as guiding journalism education globally.

A QUESTION OF CURRICULA

A degree of global convergence has also been achieved on what constitutes state-of-the-art journalism teaching (Banda & Berger, 2017). This statement does not ignore regional differences, but the UNESCO model curricula, published in 2007 in consultation with university-based journalism educators and scholars in Africa, South and North America, Europe, South and East Asia, and Australia, proclaims what should be considered core skills for journalists. According to the model curricula, "the professional skills of journalists involve methods of knowing and thinking as well as recording and representing" (UNESCO, 2007, p. 7). As fundamentals, journalism education should impart the following abilities and knowledge:

- An ability to think critically, incorporating skill in comprehension, analysis, and synthesis; evaluation of unfamiliar material; and a basic understanding of evidence and research methods.
- An ability to write clearly and coherently using narrative, descriptive, and analytical methods.
- A knowledge of national and international political, economic, cultural, religious, and social institutions.
- A knowledge of current affairs and issues and a general knowledge of history and geography.

(UNESCO, 2007, p. 8)

The full title of the 2007 UNESCO model curricula, *Model Curricula for Journalism Education for Developing Countries and Emerging Democracies*, affirms the idea of journalism as an agent of change towards democratic governance. Although this belief does not have the currency it once had, by spelling out journalists' expected core skills and areas of knowledge it provides an important platform from which to gauge journalistic performance, whether on traditional or digital platforms.

The 2013 UNESCO model curricula, more neutrally titled *Model Curricula for Journalism Education: A Compendium of New Syllabi*, confronts the changes impacting the media industry in the wake of the digital transformation of information provision. It places media sustainability (Picard, 2013) and data journalism (Verweij, 2013) as the opening two syllabi in its compendium. Other new syllabi acknowledge similarly pressing needs, such as intercultural journalism, humanitarian journalism, reporting human trafficking, and safety and journalism (UNESCO, 2013).

Universities in Western countries, where the disruption to media businesses and journalism has been most severe and journalism students have to prepare for precarious employment, are attempting to meet these needs with new technological set-ups and lessons on social media (Royal, 2017; Josephi, 2017; Hovden et al., 2016). Edit-suites and computer labs are arranged to offer the widest possible interdisciplinary approach to textual and visual knowledge for online and broadcast production. State-of-the-art studios allow training on all digital platforms and their courses include, for example, photojournalism and documentary filmmaking to provide students with a high degree of flexibility in the job market.

The question of curricula, as it was debated in the 1990s and 2000s, centered on the issue of critical reflection on journalistic work, a focus that was largely seen as unhelpful by the industry and destined to drive even more of a wedge between academy and industry. With the coming of the digital age, the media industry pushed aside these issues for more pressing concerns, including commercial survival and attacks on the media in the political arena. The recognition that universities and colleges are not necessarily competitors but helpers in journalism education, especially as far as young, digitally trained staff are concerned, has led to a more companionable relationship between media outlets and tertiary institutions. The media industry recognizes that tertiary journalism education provides an ongoing flow of young media practitioners keen to see their industry survive and to uphold professional standards.

JOURNALISM STUDENTS AND JOURNALISM EDUCATORS

The shift to journalism education being mostly provided in university or college courses made it easier for researchers to establish a profile of journalism students, to interrogate their motivations for studying journalism, their role perceptions of journalism, and their expectations of future work.

Slavko Splichal and Colin Sparks' study of tendencies of professionalization among first-year students in 22 countries pioneered comparative studies on journalism students. They tested a diverse range of countries to ascertain "whether or not universal tendencies of socialization, particularly towards professionalization, exist among journalism students in different countries" (Splichal & Sparks, 1994, p. 7). Surmising that "journalism is primarily constructed within national boundaries" (p. 6), they hoped to discern common trends. Bearing in mind that this was a study of first-year journalism students, Spichal and Sparks concluded that their attitudes were not determined by the nature of the national, social, or economic structure of the country in which they lived. Instead, a number of "striking similarities emerged," in particular "a desire for the independence and autonomy of journalism" (p. 179). The criticisms made of Splichal and Sparks' study were that first-year journalism students had hardly entered the socialization process and that too few questions were asked regarding journalistic roles and ethical dilemmas (Weaver, 1998).

A research series called "Journalism Students Across the Globe," initiated by Claudia Mellado, has produced newer comparative studies into students' professional views (Mellado et al., 2014) or expectations of their working future, in countries including Cuba, Venezuela, and Ecuador (Oller, Olivera, Arcila, & Chavero, 2017). These studies, unlike Splichal and Sparks', found that students' notions of professional roles were more heterogeneous. By the end of their courses, students had more noticeably absorbed the social and political influences of their country, but not to the degree that they would outweigh the normative values taught to them (Mellado et al., 2014; Oller et al., 2017).

In the Nordic countries, longitudinal studies have been carried out on journalism students. Hovden and Ottosen's book is subtitled *Nordic Students Entering an Age of Uncertainty*, reflecting the tenor of all recent studies. On one hand, the authors find students have become more similar in their professional orientation. On the other hand, they note that students view their course choice as "merely a first area of study in a longer career—which may or may not involve a job in journalism" (Hovden & Ottosen, 2016, p. 62). Studies carried out by Mellado and Scherman (2017) and Hanusch et al. (2014) echo these findings in that their results showed "an almost universal decline in students' desire to work in journalism at the end of their program" (2014, p. 141).

Gender has emerged as a notable characteristic of tertiary journalism students. Female students outnumber male students by roughly 2:1, as reported in single-country studies, for example, in Britain (Franks, 2013) or Lebanon (Melki, 2009), or in comparative studies of journalism students (Hanusch et al., 2014; Oller et al., 2017; Hovden, 2017). This fact has been seen as a likely reason for the increase in female journalists since the 1990s (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007; Lukina & Vartanova, 2017).

A project on journalism educators in 28 European countries (Drok, 2018) highlights an ongoing problem of journalism education, especially in times of rapid change. Only 28 percent of teachers are 39 years old or younger, whereas almost 60 percent are between the ages of 40 and 59, and 12 percent are older. Yet 86 percent see having the technical skills for digital media as essential for their students. While not bridging the generational divide, journalism educators can claim to be a link between industry and the academy. Eighty percent hold PhDs or master's degrees, and two-thirds have between 6 and 30 years' experience as journalists.

BRAVE NEW WORLD

Uncertain and precarious are two of the most frequently used adjectives applied to the job prospects of budding journalists in Western countries, notably the United States, Australia, and a number of other European nations. Redundancy figures in these countries are a reminder of how traditional media is shrinking, in particular the legacy press (Reinardy, 2016; Sherwood & O'Donnell, 2016). The Netherlands and Italy show over half or a third, respectively, of journalists are working part-time or freelance (WJS, 2017). Given this situation, Mark Deuze and Tamara Witschge (2017, p. 8) write about the need for journalists to find "his or her permanence in impermanence, forever flexibilized on the outside *as well as* on the inside of news institutions."

Journalism education in the affected countries has to address the changing employment situation and determine which courses would be most useful for the future of their students. Daniel Kreiss and J. S. Brennan, in their chapter "Normative Models of Digital Journalism" (2016), highlight the four major aspects of how they see journalism developing, implicitly outlining the parameters of future journalism education. The first feature is that journalists are expected to work in a more participatory environment. The second is that deinstitutionalization is likely to increase, "challenging organizational hierarchies and distinctions between producers and consumers" (p. 299). Third, the demand is for innovation, to keep pace with technological developments and ensuing audience expectations. Fourth, journalists should be entrepreneurial, which requires journalists "to be self-starters, build their own audiences, raise their own funding, and brand themselves in the social media" (p. 299).

The last facet, in particular, has been "held up in much of the digital journalism literature as what will save journalism" (p. 308). Numerous universities have started teaching entrepreneurial journalism, or, as they label it, "Future Journalism," which puts emphasis on business skills and being at the forefront of understanding technological affordances. Entrepreneurial journalism, however, has also attracted criticism as it is seen to severely limit journalistic autonomy with its "vulnerability to market influence." The "start-up's audience-as-customer must be catered to in order to survive financially," which makes for a much stricter dependency than exists in institutionalized media (Singer, 2015, pp. 30–31).

Engaging with curricula content, Westlund and Lewis, when "Reconsidering Four Stages of News Production for Teaching Purposes" (2017, pp. 414–423), have divided the news production process into four stages—access/observation, selection/filtering. processing/editing, and distribution. They examine current production methods to illustrate the interplay of journalists (actors), technological actants, and audience in this process. Their methodological approach, which conjures up neither frightening scenarios nor great promises for the future, provides journalism educators with the tools to determine where, in the digital transformation process, the likely destinations of their students lie and what skills and knowledge will be most helpful to them in the brave new world of journalism.

FUTURE RESEARCH

The major objective Joseph Pulitzer hoped for when urging Columbia University in New York to open a school of journalism, was to give reporters an education. A little over 100 years later, this objective has been fulfilled (WJS, 2017). But mass media no longer play the role they once did, and their importance will continue to diminish. The digital era, with its shared information ecology, has different expectations of journalists.

What exactly these expectations are, and which skill set is most likely to meet them, is one of the most pressing questions for journalism education. While it seems that a core skill set, consisting in the main of being able, to use Waisbord's words, to "distil bottomless amounts of information into news," will remain a constant; the economic and political situation keeps changing for the media industry.

Future research ought to track the effects of deinstitutionalization on journalists' working conditions and help to develop journalism education courses that provide the skills and knowledge needed in a changing employment environment. Understanding the interplay of actors, actants, and audiences, as Westlund and Lewis (2017) write, is a vital task for journalism educators as they prepare students for a working world where the ways of receiving and distributing information have shifted considerably from what has been customary.

However, the impact of digital development is not occurring evenly around the globe. All the same, as Banda and Berger point out, "journalism educators in *all* countries—Western and non-Western—have to confront the escalating disruptive impact" of the new information and communication technologies (2017, p. 320). They urge a rethinking of journalism curricula along interdisciplinary paths, as skills and knowledge from other fields are increasingly becoming part of journalism practice. By expanding teaching to integrate the visual elements of journalism and carrying out further research into areas such as journalism and the environment, climate change, migration and refugees, or conflict-sensitive journalism and journalism and disinformation, journalism education can underpin its claim for ongoing relevancy.

REFERENCES

Adam, G. S. (2001). The education of journalists. *Journalism*, *2*(3), 315–339.

Baines, D., & Kennedy, C. (2010). An education for independence: Should entrepreneurial skills be an essential part of the journalist's toolbox? *Journalism Practice*, *4*(1), 97–113.

Banda, F., & Berger, G. (2017). Afterword by UNESCO. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 319–321.

Barrera, C., & Vaz, A. (2003). The Spanish case: A recent academic tradition. In R. Fröhlich & C. Holtz-Bacha (Eds.), *Journalism education in Europe and North America. An international comparison* (pp. 21–48). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Berger, G., & Foote, J. (2017). Taking stock of contemporary journalism education. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 245–265). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Bonfadelli, H., Keel, G., Marr, M., & Wyss, V. (2012). Journalists in Switzerland. In D. H. Weaver & L. Willnat (Eds.), *The global journalist in the 21st century* (pp. 320–330). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bromley, M., Tumber, H., & Zelizer, B. (2001). Journalism education. *Journalism*, *2*(3), 251–254.

Carey, J. (1978). AEJ presidential address: A plea for the university tradition. *Journalism Quarterly*, *55*(4), 846–855.

Carlson, M. (2015). Introduction. In M. Carlson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 1–18). New York, NY: Routledge.

Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Chalaby, J. (1996). Journalism as an Anglo-American invention. *European Journal of Communication*, *11*(3), 303–326.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, *6*(4), 442–464.

Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2017). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1177/1464884916688550

Domingo, D., & Le Cam, F. (2015). Journalism beyond the boundaries. The collective construction of news narratives. In M. Carlson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 137–151). New York, NY: Routledge.

Domingo, D., Quandt, T., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Singer, J., & Vujnovic, M. (2008). Participatory journalism practices in the media and beyond. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(3), 326–342.

Dorer, J. (2003). The historical development and present state of journalism education and training in Austria. In R. Fröhlich & C. Holtz-Bacha (Eds.), *Journalism education in Europe and North America. An international comparison* (pp. 237–253). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Drok, N. (2018). *Journalistic roles, values and qualifications in the 21st century: How journalism educators in Europe view the future of a profession in transition*. Research Report. Zwolle: Windesheim.

Fenton, N. (2010). Drowning or waving? New media journalism and democracy. In N. Fenton (Ed.), *New media, old news* (pp. 3–16). London: Sage Publications.

Foote, J. (2017). Journalism education's first century: Markers of progress. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 429–447). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Franks, S. (2013). *Women and journalism*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co.

Fröhlich, R., & Holtz-Bacha, C. (2003). *Journalism education in Europe and North America. An international comparison*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Frost, C. (2017). The United Kingdom juggles training and education: Squeezed between newsroom and classroom. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 199–215). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Gardeström, E. (2016). Educating journalists: The who, when, how, and why of early journalism programmes in the Nordic countries. In J. F. Hovden, G. Nygren, & H. Zilliacus-Tikkanen (Eds.), *Becoming a journalist. journalism education in the Nordic countries* (pp. 25–37). Göteborg: Nordicom.

Gaunt, P. (1992). *Making the newsmakers: International handbook on journalism training*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Goodman, R. S. (2017a). Epilogue—global journalism education moving forward: Its state of mind, pursuit of truth, and support of civic life. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 449–455). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Goodman, R. S. (2017b). Introduction—global journalism education: Accelerating forward, coasting, or losing ground? In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 1–13). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Goodman, R. S., & Steyn, E. (2017). *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century*. Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin. Retrieved from https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/books/GlobalJournalism.pdf

Greenberg, S. (2014). Theory and practice in journalism education. *Journal of Media Practice*, *8*(3), 288–303.

Guo, Z. (2010). Through barbed wires: Context, content and constraints for journalism education in China. In B. Josephi (Ed.), *Journalism education in countries with limited media freedom* (pp. 15–32). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Hallin, D. (1997). Commercialism and professionalism in the American news media. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (pp. 243–262). London: Arnold.

Hallin, D., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory*, *17*(4), 367–385.

Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Boshoff, P., Humanes, M. L., de Leon, S., Pereira, F., . . . Yes, L. (2014). Journalism students' motivations and expectations of their work in comparative perspective. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *70*(2), 141–160.

Hermida, A., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt, T., Reich, Z., . . . Vujnovic, M. (2011). *The active recipient: Participatory journalism through the lens of the Dewey-Lippmann debate*. Paper presented to the international symposium on online journalism, University of Austin, TX.

Hovden, J. F. (2017, May). *Global patterns in recruitment to journalism education*. Paper presented at the ICA conference, San Diego, CA. Retrieved from https://janfredrikhovden.files.wordpress.com/2017/05/global-patterns-in-recruitment-to-journalism-education.pdf

Hovden, J. F., Nygren, G., & Zilliacus-Tikkanen, H. (2016). *Journalism education in the Nordic countries*. Göteborg: Nordicom.

Hovden, J. F., & Ottosen, R. (2016). New times, new journalists? Nordic journalism students entering an age of uncertainty. In J. F. Hovden, G. Nygren, & H. Zilliacus-Tikkanen (Eds.), *Journalism education in the Nordic countries* (pp. 51–70). Göteborg: Nordicom.

Hunter, A., & Nel, F. (2011). Equipping the entrepreneurial journalist: An exercise in creative enterprise. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *66*(1), 9–24.

Hutchins Commission. (1947). *A free and responsible press*. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/freeandresponsib029216mbp

Johansen, P., Weaver, D. H., & Dornan, C. (2001). Journalism education in the United States and Canada: Not merely clones. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(4), 469–483.

Josephi, B. (2010). *Journalism education in countries with limited media freedom*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Josephi, B. (2017). Mapping communication and journalism studies in Australia. *Publizistik*, *62*(4), 465–478.

Josephi, B., & Pan, J. (2015). Follow the Huai River: Investigative environmental reporting with Chinese characteristics. In Q. Luo (Ed.), *Global media worlds and China* (pp. 19–30). Beijing: Communication University of China.

Keeble, R. (2006). *The newspaper handbook*. London: Routledge.

Kreiss, D., & Brennan, J. S. (2016). Normative models of digital journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 299–314). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Lukina, M., & Vartanova, E. (2017). Journalism education in Russia: How the academy and media collide, cooperate, and coexist. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 155–174). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

McNair, B., & Bruns, A. (2016). *Journalism beyond the crisis: Emerging forms, practices and uses. Queensland University of Technology ARC discovery grants*. Retrieved from www.qut.edu.au/creative-industries/research/grants-and-achievements#h2-1

Medsger, B. (2005). The evolution of journalism education in the United States. In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists* (pp. 205–226). London: Routledge.

Melki, J. (2009). Journalism and media studies in Lebanon. *Journalism Studies*, *10*(5), 672–690.

Mellado, C., Hanusch, F., Humanes, M. L., Roses, S., Pereira, F., Yes, L., . . . Wyss, V. (2014). The pre-socialization of future journalists: An examination of journalism students' professional views in seven countries. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(6), 857–874.

Mellado, C., & Scherman, A. (2017). Influences of job expectations among Chilean journalism students. *International Journal of Communication*, *11*, 2136–2153.

Moreira, S. V., & Lago, C. (2017). Journalism education in Brazil: Developments and neglected issues. *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 263–273.

Nordenstreng, K. (2017a). A different window to common concerns: Editorial to BRICS special section. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 260–262.

Nordenstreng, K. (2017b). Journalism education in the BRICS countries [Special section]. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 260–321.

O'Donnell, P. (2014). Journalism education. In B. Griffen-Foley (Ed.), *A companion to the Australian media* (pp. 225–227). Melbourne: Australia Scholarly Publishing.

O'Donnell, P. (2017). Journalism education in Australia: Educating journalists for convergent, cosmopolitan, and uncertain news environments. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 17–40). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Oller, M. A., Olivera, D., Arcila, C., & Chavero, P. (2017). La cultura periodistica pre-profesional en el *triangulo de las Bermudas* del periodismo latinamericano: Cuba, Ecuador y Venezuela. In M. A. Oller (Ed.), *Cultura(s) Periodistica(s) Iberoamericana(s)* (pp. 223–274). La Laguna, Tenerife: Sociedad Latina de Communicacion Social.

Picard, R. (2013). Media sustainability. In F. Banda (Ed.), *Model curricula for journalism education*: *A compendium of new syllabi* (pp. 31–41). Paris: UNESCO.

Pulitzer, J. (1904). Planning a school of journalism—the basic concept in 1904. *North American Review*, *178*(5), 19–60.

Reinardy, S. (2016). *Journalism's lost generation: The un-doing of US newspaper newsrooms*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Rogers, E. (1994). *A history of communication study: A biographical approach*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Royal, C. (2017). Coding the curriculum: Journalism education for the digital age. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 383–407). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.

Schudson, M., & Anderson, C. (2009). Objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking in journalism. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 88–101). London: Routledge.

Sherwood, M., & O'Donnell, P. (2016). Once a journalist, always a journalist? *Journalism Studies*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1249007

Singer, J. (2015). Out of bounds. Professional norms as boundary markers. In M. Carlson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 21–36). New York, NY: Routledge.

Splichal, S., & Sparks, C. (1994). *Journalists in the 21st century: Tendencies of professionalization among first-year students in 22 countries*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Terzis, G. (2009). *European journalism education*. Bristol: Intellect Books.

UNESCO. (2007). *Model curricula for journalism education for developing countries and emerging democracies*. Paris: UNESCO.

UNESCO. (2013). *Model curricula for journalism education*. *A compendium of new syllabi*. Paris: UNESCO.
Verweij, P. (2013). Data journalism. In F. Banda (Ed.), *Model curricula for journalism education*: *A compendium of new syllabi* (pp. 43–52). Paris: UNESCO.
Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Weaver, D. H. (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Weaver, D. H. (2003). Journalism education in the United States. In R. Fröhlich & C. Holtz-Bacha (Eds.), *Journalism education in Europe and North America: An international comparison* (pp. 49–64). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Weaver, D. H., Beam, R., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Westlund, O., & Lewis, S. (2017). Reconsidering news production: How understanding the interplay of actors, actants, and audiences can improve journalism education. In R. Goodman & E. Steyn (Eds.), *Global journalism education: Challenges and innovation in the 21st century* (pp. 409–428). Austin, TX: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas, University of Texas at Austin.
WJEC. (2008). *Declaration of principles*. Retrieved from https://wjec.net/about/declaration-of-principles
WJS [Worlds of Journalism Study]. (2017). *Socio-demographic backgrounds*. Retrieved from www.worldsofjournalism.org/data/data-and-key-tables-2012-2016/

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Part II

NEWS PRODUCTION

5

News Organizations and Routines

Oscar Westlund and Mats Ekström

INTRODUCTION

The first studies on news routines emerged in the 1950s, and since then, a wealth of studies have followed that focus on routines among journalists in newsrooms. Clearly, however, much has happened in journalism since then, as a profession, with the news media industries, with digital developments and the tools, systems, and digital intermediaries that have emerged and become established. News reporters in the 1950s were embedded in a significantly different newsroom. They used radically different tools and systems to produce news, as compared to contemporary news reporters. At the same time, reporters both then and now engage in similar routines in their pursuit of information from a diverse set of reliable sources, and in turning this into something deemed credible enough to be published as news. Some routines persist and help journalists to cope with the pace of news work; yet new routines also emerge in digital and increasingly data-driven newsrooms. Digital journalism encompasses many different forms of news journalism, and discussions often focus on what is new rather than what remains essentially the same (e.g., Eldridge, Hess, Tandoc, & Westlund, 2019). Amid growth in perceptions about disinformation becoming more and more widespread in society, many have held that journalists and their professional and routinized practices play a key role. Shared routines are important for the collaboration and coordination of activities in the newsroom, for the way in which news journalists efficiently produce, frame, and publish their stories, approach sources, seek to verify information, and so forth.

This chapter presents a literature review focusing on routines in news organizations, and makes two distinct contributions by discussing: (1) the organizational context and routines for coordination in news organizations and (2) routines in relation to the concrete situated practices forming epistemological news production processes. We begin, however, by turning to existing concepts and definitions of routines.

KEY CONCEPTS

Organizational researchers Levitt and March have suggested routines “include the forms, rules, procedures, conventions, strategies, and technologies around which organizations are constructed and through which they operate” (1988, p. 320). In journalism studies, Becker (2004) has stressed the collective and contextual and stressed how organizational factors may shape routines. Journalism studies has also stressed that the systematic routines of doing news work help distinguish journalism from other forms of information production. More generally, the ways in which journalists and the news media work towards distinguishing journalism from other forms of information has been approached through analyses of boundary work. The boundaries of journalism are contested (Carlson & Lewis, 2015), and the journalistic authority is upheld not only by routines of news work but also through different forms of meta-journalistic discourse (Carlson, 2017). Other scholars have defined routines in journalism as: "those patterned, routinized, repeated practices and forms that media workers use to do their jobs" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 100). Ryfe (2016) argues that the latter definition is too industry-, habit-, and consensus-oriented and implies that routines guide practice. As an alternative, he suggests that practice theory provides a better understanding of how routines are performed and invoked as resources to justify actions. Ryfe (2016, p. 128) writes:

> [W]ithin practice theory, routines are properly understood not as expressions of external pressures on journalists (whether understood as organizational, political, or economic pressures), but as cultural resources that bind journalists to a shared community of understanding.

Moreover, he notes that news production is more closely connected to practical knowledge than formal knowledge, what Grant (1996) calls tacit and explicit knowledge, respectively. Although routines are generally associated with patterns of action, conceptualizations differ in emphasizing routines as *either* structured by organizational contexts, managed, and reproduced in actions, *or* as shaped and worked out in social practices. The first perspective tends to understand routines as organizational features preceding concrete actions, while the second perspective suggests that routines emerge from the day-to-day activities and habitual performances of journalists (Ryfe, 2016). Accordingly, the review in this chapter will be guided by a synthesis of these two key dimensions of routines: *organizational context* on the one hand and *concrete practices* on the other. We suggest that these dimensions refer to levels of social organization with distinct explanatory power. Routines both precede and are shaped within social activities.

Organizational context here refers to the organizational rules, conventions, and procedures, including social, cultural, and structural pressures of different kinds that condition different forms of media work. More specifically, organizations employ rules and conventions to routinize work, including but not limited to the ways in which diverse groups of social actors coordinate with each other. The chapter will thus discuss literature on how news organizations develop routines for *knowledge coordination* among social actors within the organization.

Concrete practices here refer to the routinized practices that function as mechanisms of stability and uncertainty reduction. Routines, to some extent, guide practice; they are invoked as resources, they are negotiated in the accomplishment of concrete tasks, and they can also be used to justify concrete practices (Ryfe, 2016). There is much research focusing on news practices but less on journalistic performance (Ryfe, 2018). News production routines help structure, stabilize, and justify the recurrent tasks of reporting about both expected (planned) and unexpected events. News production is closely associated with routinized patterns of news work, often seen as embedded in an organizational and ideological context and performed in concrete settings. These processes of producing news are helpfully viewed as epistemological activities that result in the creation of different forms of knowledge. This chapter will therefore dedicate much attention to literature focusing on epistemology, to unpack the epistemological nature and justification of concrete practices in news production routines.

The next section offers a bird's-eye view of routines in news work, outlining the main contours of research over the past 70 years. Thereafter we turn to the main rationale of the chapter: the role of routines when it comes to *organizational context* and *concrete practices*.

ROUTINES IN NEWS PRODUCTION RESEARCH: A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

Almost 70 years has passed since the publication of the first study on routines in news work. This was David White's seminal work on gatekeeping and how newspaper editors choose what news to publish, when exposed to different wire stories (White, 1950). It was soon followed by a formative study by Warren Breed on the implementation of policy to coordinate and socialize news workers (Breed, 1955). The findings from this time period essentially were, at least ideally, that the news *mirrors reality* as long as organizational pressures do not prevent the journalists from doing so. Journalists were assumed to select what news events to report on or not, based on what "is out there."

Since then, numerous articles and chapters have looked into various aspects of routines in journalism and news organizations. Among those pieces reviewing the research in this area we find a contribution to the previous edition of this handbook by Lee B. Becker and Tudor Vlad titled "News Organizations and Routines." The authors reviewed literature on how journalists and news organizations have developed routines and how news work is a form of construction of reality (as opposed to a mirror of events and reality). An important contribution of their review involves highlighting how previous scholarship has found very little heterogeneity in routines over time and among different news media organizations and journalists. With shifts in journalism in a digital age they anticipated some routines would change, something which was emerging in research and which they argued was important (Becker & Vlad, 2009).

In his review titled "News Routines, Role Performance, and Change in Journalism," David Ryfe (2016) applies the *practice view* and thereby makes a distinctive contribution to the literature. Practices can be translated as routine behaviors, connecting with both explicit and tacit knowledge. Prior to developing his argument on the practice view, Ryfe identifies three waves of scholarship on news production:

First wave: Tuchman's pioneering work based on in-depth research into the American newsroom witnessed the importance of routines in everyday news work and the construction of reality based on selection of stories and sources (Tuchman, 1972, 1978). Several classic studies also found that journalists across newsrooms developed similar routines, producing constructs of reality rather than mirroring it. Applying largely similar routines, different news media produced relatively similar types of news materials (Becker & Vlad, 2009; Gans, 2004; Tunstall, 1971). Overall, this line of research suggested that there was consensus about routines, so that news production was marked by habitual practices and organizational constraints.

Second wave: Studies in the 1980s and 1990s showed that routines were not as stable and homogenous as previously suggested, that journalists had much more room for interpretation, and that processes were marked by conflicts and contradictions. There was an emphasis on heterogeneity, suggesting that organizational and economic conditions resulted in journalists adapting their routines. At the time, routines were seen as rules that guided and justified practice. While there was variation in news production routines, news coverage remained quite uniform (Ryfe, 2016).

Third wave: With tremendous changes in the technological and financial conditions surrounding journalism and news production, news media and journalists have adapted as well as developed new routines. During the 2010s, there has been a revival of newsroom ethnographies and research into news production. Many findings in the third wave suggested the news essentially *mirrors reality*, unless the journalists are prevented from doing so because of organizational pressures.

Journalists were assumed to act in the capacity of selecting what news events to report on or not, by selecting based on what "is out there" (Ryfe, 2009a, 2009b; Willig, 2013). Among the studies, Usher's in-depth ethnography from the *New York Times* in 2010 focuses on values, practices, and decisions in a news organization balancing between print and online. Her findings on routines mirror those based on newsrooms of varying sizes and from many other countries (Usher, 2014).

Mapping and reviewing patterns in journalism studies literature focusing on routines is important for the bird's-eye view and so are critical and conceptually oriented approaches like the practice view. As discussed in the introduction, this chapter gives specific attention to the epistemology of news production and the related issue of knowledge coordination. This brings us to the stages of the news production process (Domingo et al., 2008; Lewis & Westlund, 2015a) and how these correspond more specifically with different routines. This serves as the point of departure for the most recent review of routines in news work, authored by Tandoc and Duffy (2018). In brief, they find that for the first stage of news production, the *access and observation stage*, key routines are connected to sourcing as well as using a beat system. Second, they discuss routines for selection and deselection of news material in the *selection and filtering stage*. Third comes the *editing and processing stage*, involving routines for using direct quotes, editing, verification or fact-checking, and automation of writing and editing, as well as applying the inverted pyramid format in text-based news articles. Fourth, the *distribution stage*, concerns social media and live coverage, and the fifth and final stage focuses on the role of various forms of analytics for measuring routines in editorial decisions (Tandoc & Duffy, 2018), which has to do with production and analysis of metrics, something which falls into so-called measurable journalism (Carlson, 2018).

Contemporary research into the epistemologies of digital journalism has typically studied only specific aspects of the routines reporters and editors engage in throughout news production processes. Relatively little attention has been devoted to how a broader set of social actors get involved in news production processes (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a). Moreover, little is known about how journalists routinely *apply* knowledge in their routine acts of *producing* knowledge. Also, the routines for organizational coordination (Grant, 1996), within and between departments, guide and justify specific practices (Ryfe, 2016). There are both consistencies and heterogeneities in the routines of news production across diverse news media and countries (Becker & Vlad, 2009), as well as distinct stages of the news production process (Tandoc & Duffy, 2018). Additional patterns of heterogeneity in routines emerge when broadening the approach to include the routines involving other social actors in contemporary news organizations (Westlund, 2011, 2012). Ultimately, the routines for applying and producing knowledge presumably vary across different parts of news organizations.

The basic components of journalistic knowledge, involving *explicitly articulated* knowledge in distinct subject areas and *tacit* knowledge in producing news (Grant, 1996), are changing. The evolving digital mediascape has resulted in the need for new expertise and skills, in areas such as big data (Lewis & Westlund, 2015b); audience analytics and metrics (Ferrer-Conill & Tandoc, 2018; Zamith, 2018); and mobile journalism (Burum & Quinn, 2015). Essentially, news organizations have difficulties simply maintaining well-established routines, and they must also innovate, developing new kinds of routines that involve a more diverse set of social actors (including also different kinds of technologists). Importantly this may also encompass actors external to the news organizations, such as web analytics companies (Belair-Gagnon & Holton, 2018), entering newsrooms with technological systems and tools that become significant for news production routines. The news media develop and maintain an organizational context through which social actors with specialized knowledge can coordinate, developing routines for their concrete news production practices.

Ultimately, this chapter considers literature focusing on the two dimensions discussed in the introduction: *organizational context* vis-à-vis *concrete practices*. From an organizational standpoint, routines in news organizations cannot be reduced only to the newsroom and journalists. The chapter will therefore devote one section to reviewing routines in the news organization more holistically (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a), discussing how a news organization conditions routines for *knowledge coordination* among its social actors (Grant, 1996). Thereafter follows a section focusing on routines in concrete practices. This relates to the *epistemic news production processes* (Ekström, 2002; Carlson, 2017) in different stages of the news production process (Domingo et al., 2008; Tandoc & Duffy, 2018), which journalists as well as other social actors such as technologists and businesspeople in news organizations may engage in. Social actors are all working under certain organizational constraints, and their competencies and professional aspirations influence how they work (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a).

ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT AND COORDINATION IN THE NEWS MEDIA

This section focuses on news organizations and their *organizational context*, that is, how they establish and maintain rules, conventions, procedures, and ways of coordination that condition different forms of media work and the routines associated with these. Seminal studies of newspapers identified three functional interests: advertising, audience, and news (Tuchman, 1978) and also that news production has a double market (Picard, 1989). News is produced for paying readers/audiences, which in turn are "produced" to yield advertising revenue (with the support of increasingly advanced digital footprint data). A distinct feature of news organizations is that alongside serving business purposes and financial gains (as typical firms), they are also cultural and social institutions. Journalism and news has long since been assumed to play a significant role for an informed citizenry and democracy (Nielsen, 2017).

Knowledge is one, if not the, most important resource of any organization. It plays a dual role: knowledge generation and knowledge application. Coordination in the pursuit of knowledge application is often a main goal of organizations (Grant, 1996), but in news organizations, this may extend also to knowledge creation. Journalism and news production, the labor of "making news" (Tuchman, 1978), clearly represents a knowledge-creating activity (Ekström, 2002). News organizations' primary resource is de facto the knowledge of its media professionals, not only journalists, but the diverse set of media workers.

The ways in which organizations acquire, apply, and *routinely* coordinate knowledge are thus important activities. The overall capability and competitive advantage of the organization is the outcome of how knowledge is being used and integrated by its diverse sets of individual specialists (i.e., social actors). Coordination and integration of knowledge is important and thus offers an understanding of the dynamics involved in the creation and application of organizational knowledge (Grant, 1996). Organizations need different kinds of expertise and thus employ different professionals to routinely perform distinct tasks, by themselves or in coordination with each other. Cestino and Matthews (2016, p. 26) write: "as a result of the efficiency gains of specialization, the central exercise of organizations is to coordinate the work of different specialists." Contemporary news organizations include journalists, technologists, and businesspeople (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a), all of whom possess specialist knowledge. Organizational learning research, for example, has shown how varied forms of experiential and vicarious learning may become part of organizational knowledge (see e.g., March, 1991). "May" because a prerequisite for organizational knowledge involves staff members developing routines for communicating with each other. However, many news organizations have traditionally been structured for separation rather than collaboration (Drew & Thomas, 2017).

In other words, the *organizational context* has established rules, conventions, and procedures in which certain social actors in the news organization have been kept apart. A key reason has been that cross-departmental coordination, particularly between editorial and commercial functions, has been seen to hamper the professional autonomy of journalists, viewed as important for establishing trustworthy journalism. The rationale for separation, rather than coordination, is linked to both journalism and business. It is linked to the professionalization of journalism and its aspirations to act independently of commercial influences on the one hand and ambitions to give greater value to journalism in order to achieve greater value for advertisers on the other hand.

The organizational context has resulted in more general corporate goals of success in both journalism and business, while still keeping business and journalism apart. This, in turn, has meant that news organizations have traditionally avoided routines of coordination between journalists and businesspeople (Achtenhagen & Raviola, 2009; Djerf-Pierre & Weibull, 2011). This lack of coordination between functions can be counterproductive to the news organization as a whole, since coordination and integration of specialists' knowledge can be crucial (Grant, 1996). With the changing economics of the mediascape and increasing pressure to innovate in news organizations, the organizational context has changed, and more and more news organizations have reformulated their routines to encourage cross-departmental coordination. Several studies report how journalists and businesspeople, as well as technologists, coordinate diverse work tasks with each other (Drew & Thomas, 2017; Nielsen, 2012; Westlund, 2011). For example, Nielsen's (2012) study of how journalists, managers, and technologists at two Danish newspapers developed blogs reveals a "tension-filled and often contentious collaborative process" in coordinating with each other. Westlund's longitudinal research into sense-making of mobile media (2011, 2012) indicates how top management has completely changed organizational routines for coordination between departments, requiring representatives from editorial, business, and IT departments to coordinate digital development. While we here focus on intra-organizational coordination, it is important to take into account that social actors inside news organizations develop routines for coordinating and collaborating with social actors outside the news organization, such as technologists in civic tech companies (Baack, 2018; Lewis & Usher, 2014). For example, in developing a mobile news application at *Göteborgs-Posten*, the technologists were collaborating with a media tech company developing services for a number of news publishers. Ultimately, they also had to coordinate with Apple to ensure that their mobile application was approved (Westlund, 2012).

Importantly, coordination is not equivalent to collaboration. An organization can strive towards coordinating knowledge among individuals and groups to facilitate organizational learning, which does not necessarily require collaboration. To achieve collaboration, an organization and its members must work towards harmonizing their diverse goals in line with the larger ambitions of the company. Much research has observed that organizations struggle with conflicts and tensions in the goals and interests of diverse and specialized employees (Westlund, 2011). Importantly, though, even when employees share common goals, an organization may struggle to coordinate their diverse sets of knowledge. Taking his departure in knowledge-based theory, Grant (1996) discusses four especially important ways in which organizations coordinate specialized staff, including routines:

- *Rules and directives* align specialists towards shared organizational goals.
- *Sequencing* involves coordinating the specialists' work into a time-patterned progression (becoming routinized and institutionalized).
- *Routines* are repetitive behavioral patterns that usually persist over time but also may evolve and change, and which are not enforced by top management.
- *Group problem-solving* is marked by much interaction and is often used in times of uncertainty.

Organizations develop norms, rules, and procedures that enable them to accumulate and store knowledge from their members (March, 1991). Such organizational knowledge comes into the forefront as lessons from past experiences are encoded into organizational routines that guide daily activities, function as mechanisms of stability, and also justify their practices.

The organizational context of separation versus coordination results in substantially different routines. Imagine that the sports section of a news organization decides to boost their reporting on the upcoming Olympics. Six months ahead of the Olympics, they contract an external provider of automated sport results reporting, to develop a news-oriented service to report across platforms. Involving the technologists is fundamental to developing digital services, although journalists do not necessarily coordinate with them in a systematic way. A traditional scenario has involved journalists proceeding in a way that does not involve the businesspeople in their coordination but instead informs them once they set their news service in motion. The businesspeople, trained in business development, would thus not have an opportunity to engage with the journalists' in-group problem-solving throughout the innovation process. Nor would they be able to plan their marketing campaigns ahead (which would work against sequencing). Many news organizations have struggled in convergence and cross-media news work when trying to integrate news publishing for their existing media alongside emerging digital platforms (van den Bulck & Tambuyzer, 2013; Westlund, 2011).

Next follows sub-sections that focus on *separation* and *coordination*. Each sub-section discusses how divergent organizational contexts have fostered substantially different routines among the social actors of news organizations. The first sub-section discusses an organizational context in which social actors are expected not to coordinate—and can also justify not coordinating—whereas the second sub-section outlines a situation marked by the opposite.

Revisiting the Organizational Context of Departmental Separation

Organizations are staffed by a diverse set of experts and typically apply specific *rules and directives* to align these specialists towards shared organizational goals (Grant, 1996). Traditionally news organizations have applied specific rules and directives as well as diverging organizational goals for their editorial and business-facing activities. In parallel to the professionalization of journalism throughout the 20th century, legacy news media (especially newspapers) erected "walls" between the editorial department and the business department. In essence, this means a CEO and the business department take charge of commercial activities, while the editor-in-chief and the editorial department focus on producing journalism. Importantly, some news organizations have appointed publishers that assume charge of both the editorial and business interests. Symbolic as well as practical rules and routines keep these departments separate. They organize themselves so as not to run into each other, using offices on different floors or in different buildings and elevators. Moreover, they employ routines of separating all activities from each other, including Christmas parties and other social events (Westlund, 2011). Many news organizations have thus applied a form of "duality management" that essentially involves a functional separation of the "money" and the "words" (Achtenhagen & Raviola, 2009; Djerf-Pierre & Weibull, 2011). This has been expressed via several dichotomies that legitimize journalistic work: journalism versus advertising, truth versus publicity, independence versus ownership interests (Raviola, 2010).

News organizations applying duality management have functionally and symbolically separated journalism from business, but this has taken place at the expense of organizational workflow. An organizational department may achieve *sequencing* (Grant, 1996), by coordinating the routine work of their staff specialists into a time-patterned progression. For example, the editorial department can sequence their work in the routines of news production, and the business department can sequence the planning and execution of a marketing campaign. Clearly, at its most basic level, diverse kinds of news publishers can achieve coordination and sequencing without different departments collaborating with each other much. A newspaper has been able to fill its pages with advertisements and then insert news articles and pictures into the remaining gaps. Similarly, a radio or TV broadcast can schedule advertising and fill the empty slots with news. However, if there is no coordination or *group problem-solving* across the departments, it will be more difficult to develop routines in which they achieve *sequencing* on an organizational level, especially when innovating new services and products.

An Organizational Context of Coordination

Throughout the 21st century, more and more news organizations have adapted their rules and directives, reducing the distance between departments. Some have started to enforce organizational rules and structures (such as project groups) that facilitate routines in which social actors in diverse departments coordinate everyday news work as well as innovation projects (for instance, through collective problem-solving). Empirical research from Denmark (Nielsen, 2012); Sweden (Westlund, 2011); and Norway (Westlund & Krumsvik, 2014) have yielded insights from Scandinavia on intra-organizational collaboration. For example, research shows how a Swedish newspaper implemented a coordination-oriented approach for all their media innovation projects in 2008. The new organizational context ruled that managers from the editorial, business, and technology departments had to establish routines for coordination; having meetings to decide on their way forward and routinely engaging in group problem-solving (Westlund, 2011, 2012). Moreover, the global news industry association WAN-IFRA has over several years worked towards establishing more coordination and collaboration among newspapers in pursuit of editorial and business goals. Similarly, in 2014, the *New York Times* revealed (in their internal report *Innovation*) that intra-organizational planning and workflow were some of their priority areas for development. Other legacy news media in the United States have reoriented towards collaboration among diverse professionals in their organizations (Drew & Thomas, 2017; Gade, 2004). This practice seems to extend itself also to digital startups (Carlson & Usher, 2016).

Recent research has found that successful collaboration between editorial and business functions depends on both organizational and individual factors, which are distinct but interrelated. Four organizational factors stand out: culture, proximity, empowerment and buy-in, and the right staff composition. It is important to social actors that their organization communicates clearly that they prioritize collaboration and supports them in making it worthwhile. Individual factors include the respect and trust established in interpersonal relationships, as well as open communication. This links to the literal and/or metaphorical distance between the editorial and business functions that often results in unwanted norms for communication, such as simply not informing each other about developments that will have significant effect on the other (Drew & Thomas, 2017). This in turn connects with issues of hierarchies and power, which are beyond the scope of this chapter.

ROUTINIZED CONCRETE PRACTICES IN THE NEWSROOM

Previously, we discussed three waves of research into the routines of news work. This section will discuss more closely the concrete practices in such routines, drawing upon the sociological approach. Several in-depth ethnographic studies from the 1960s and 1970s focused on newsroom practices (Epstein, 1973; Fishman, 1980; Schlesinger, 1987; Tuchman, 1978), in retrospect defined as the first wave of newsroom studies (Cottle, 2000; Ryfe, 2016; Stonbely, 2015). These studies marked a shift in not only focusing on journalists' day-to-day routines but also in introducing a sociological approach to news and news making. As Schudson (1989, p. 265) argues, the (then dominant) theory of gatekeeping tended to individualize organizational phenomena and "it leave(s) the 'information' (news) sociologically untouched." Drawing on organizational theories and social constructivism (the sociology of knowledge), the newsroom studies from this time period explained news as organizational products and analyzed news as a form of knowledge. Routines in the categorization of sources, and the processing and framing of news, were linked to organizational factors as well as professional norms of objectivity and impartiality. The roles of routinized practices in making news and justifying knowledge claims were made salient in, for example, Tuchman's (1978) *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* and Fishman's (1980) *Manufacturing the News*.

Two Aspects of Knowledge in the Newsroom Research Approach

The classic sociological newsroom studies developed research on knowledge in news journalism in two respects. First, they contributed an understanding of the professional knowledge and skills that news journalists, normatively speaking, were supposed to possess and how they are coordinated. Second, the social constructivist approach reframed questions of truth and objectivity in news, focusing on how claims of objectivity are articulated in the news and justified in routinized news work.

As regards the first aspect, newsroom studies explored the professional and tacit knowledge related to the performance of news values and news judgement, the selection of sources, and the construction of news stories (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1978). This is knowledge applied by reporters *coordinated* with other reports and news editors. The news was mainly explained as organizational output relatively independent of individual reporters' skills. Although Tuchman (1978), for example, discussed the professional status of individual reporters based on their relationships with sources, reporters were mainly understood as replaceable and knowledge as essentially embedded in the culture and bureaucratic organization of news production. The professional reporter was assumed to have developed tacit knowledge about routines related to the beat system, efficient ways to collect news stories, the typification of news events, the categorization of sources with respect to entitlement and authority, and the genre conventions of news discourse (Tuchman, 1973). Reporters also need a certain degree of explicit knowledge about the areas they covered, such as public affairs and finance. Such expertise, which feeds into another line of journalism research, namely what Patterson calls knowledge-based journalism (Patterson, 2013), and is substantially different from the many journalism schools and news media that prioritize journalists' tacit knowledge and their generic practical skills in producing news on almost any topic.

As Stonbely (2015, p. 264) notes, sociological newsroom research perceived professionalism as "internalizing organizational imperatives in service of established power." However, this is not to suggest that routines were understood simply as applied and transferred into actions. As Ryfe (2016, p. 129) notes, Tuchman argued that routines allow for significant flexibility in the reporters' work. The newsroom studies provided in-depth knowledge about the coordinating principles of sequencing and routines. Schlesinger (1987), for example, analyzed the coordination of different tasks and expertise within the daily cycles of news production at BBC News. The production is sequentially organized in a series of phases and transmission times. Schlesinger introduced the concept of stop-watch culture to emphasize the structuring role of deadlines and the related "need of co-ordination and synchronization of activities" (p. 84). In broadcast news, this involves people with many different roles and expertise—journalistic as well as technical.

The second—epistemic—aspect is analyzed in Gaye Tuchman's (1972) article "Objectivity as a Strategic Ritual." Tuchman identified a problem that has since been given considerable attention: how can news journalism justify such high claims of truth and objectivity? The answer suggested by Tuchman (1972, p. 662) was that journalists apply routine procedures and working notions of objectivity related to the specific conditions of news production:

> He (the newsman) must make immediate decisions concerning validity, reliability, and "truth" in order to meet the problems imposed by the nature of his task—processing information called news, a depletable consumer product made every day. Processing news leaves no time for reflexive epistemological examination. Nonetheless, the newsmen need some working notions of objectivity to minimize the risk imposed by deadlines, libel suits, and superiors' reprimand.

Tuchman discusses different procedures in the making of news (forms of quoting, the separation of facts and opinions, etc.), through which objectivity is constructed. How formal objectivity or neutrality is constructed in news discourse (through constructions of out-there-ness, practices of quoting, the formal neutral voice of journalists, etc.) has since been analyzed in a number of studies (Carlson, 2017; Clayman, 1992; Ekström, 2002; Montgomery, 2007).

The sociological approach to the epistemology of journalism was further developed by Ettema and Glasser (1987, 1998). With references to several of the first wave of newsroom studies (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1973), Ettema and Glasser compare the knowledge-producing practices of daily news reporting with those of investigative reporting. While Tuchman (1972) characterizes the notions of objectivity, routines, and classifications of a generalized "news work" in contrast to other professions, Ettema and Glasser open up for a discussion on significant differences *within* journalism. They introduced "contexts of justification" as a key concept for comparative analyses, suggesting that the epistemic claims and standards of justification in journalism are not homogenous but context dependent. A significant difference in the contexts of justification concerns the selection and processing of sources, a main focus of inquiry in sociological newsroom research (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 2004). In daily news reporting, organized networks of sources provide what Ettema and Glasser (1987, p. 344) call "pre-justified facts." In investigative reporting, presenting controversial disclosures with often far-reaching personal and/or political implications, the justification of facts and sources is a critical accomplishment of the individual reporters in their role as responsible authors. Next, we turn to subsequent waves of research into news routines.

Towards Contemporary Research Into News Routines

In recent years, the structural and organizational transformations of news journalism have inspired two additional waves of study into news routines. News work, interactions, norms, and routinized practices have been studied with a focus on the spatial reorganization of news work, media convergence, the introduction of new technologies, the integration of automated audience feedback, and increased productivity and financial pressure (Domingo & Paterson, 2011; Robinson, 2011; Tandoc, 2014; Undurraga, 2017; Usher, 2015; Willig, 2013). In this context, the theoretical and methodological approaches of the first wave of newsroom studies have also been critically evaluated (Cottle, 2000; Ryfe, 2016; Stonbely, 2015). Four aspects are particularly important to consider.

First, as Cottle (2000) argues, theories of news as organizational and bureaucratic output tended to overemphasize determining routines at the expense of agency. Cottle (2000) suggests a conceptual shift from routine to practice. Ryfe (2016) refers to recent studies on news production, arguing that routines are best understood as practices. The reconceptualization provides important accounts for the flexibility, negotiations, and contingency in news production as well as the practical and collaborative achievement of routinized news work.

Second, also discussed by Cottle, the classical orthodoxy tended to homogenize or even simplify the epistemology of news and the related routinized practices of justifications of knowledge claims. An important task for contemporary ethnographic research is to explore the diverse and shifting norms and practices within journalism and its different sub-genres and positions on the news market. For example, the emergence of social media platforms as key digital intermediaries has resulted in the news media losing control and influence over circulation (Ekström & Westlund, 2019), and a collapse in their revenues. Social media platforms have also lowered the threshold for new actors to publish other means of both information and disinformation, what some call “fake news” (Tandoc, Lim, & Ling, 2018). Transformation of news on social media has changed the practices of verification and triggered new forms of fact-checking.

Third, continuing the tradition of studying news work as situated practices, it is crucial to recognize that news work is no longer (if it ever has been) work solely performed by a group of in-house journalists in a centralized and spatially delimited newsroom. News production not only takes place at different locations outside the newsroom, the newsroom as such has also been transformed into what Deuze and Witschge (2017, p. 12) describe as “networks of loosely affiliated competitor-colleagues” when “news organizations retool an enterprising mode of production.” As discussed in the previous section, researchers also need to take into account that contemporary news work may well involve journalists coordinating different tasks with other specialized actors in their organization, including but not limited to technologists (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a).

Finally, the social, technological, and spatial reorganizations of news work shape practices and collaborations between other professions that are far more diverse and unstable than traditional news work. It is thus not the ethnographic method that has been questioned. Quite the contrary, in what several observers call a golden era of ethnographic research, scholars seem to agree that it is more important than ever to develop such in-depth studies in order to provide an understanding of changing practices. How routines are performed, negotiated, and oriented to in the accomplishment of news production is a practical and mainly tacit knowledge—hard to articulate in interviews but possible to explore in ethnographic research.

Towards Future Research on Knowledge Coordination Within and Beyond the Newsroom

A key merit of ethnographic newsroom research is that it opens up and explores “the black box” of news production (Stonbely, 2015, p. 260). Although this research tradition has tended to focus on the newsroom as a relatively bounded space and the center of news production, activities outside have been studied and the complexities of doing ethnography in distributed settings have been recognized (Ekström & Kroon Lundell, 2011). However, the paradigmatic contribution of the tradition of newsroom studies is not that scholars have focused on a particular space (the newsroom), nor that they have stayed in the newsroom doing observations for a long time. Rather, its main contribution is its approach to journalism as organized and situated social practices, performed to achieve certain institutional and professional tasks. Getting close to the realities of situated practices, interactions, and collaborations motivates and legitimates ethnography and related methodologies. A recent analytical review into the practice approach to study news production synthesizes different theoretical approaches. Relatively few scholars make direct observations of journalistic practice and how it is produced and reproduced in performance but instead gather indirect data through interviews and content analysis (see review in Ryfe, 2016). A real challenge therefore concerns how to develop ethnographic approaches, getting as close as possible to the concrete situated practices in a rapidly changing, diverse, networked, spatially dispersed (Deuze & Witschge, 2017), and even dislocated news journalism (Ekström & Westlund, 2019).

The conceptualizations and objects of inquiry in classical newsroom studies are still in many respects relevant. The acceleration of news production, increased productivity related to technological innovations and the general demand for more news with less staff, raises essential questions about the organized "manufacturing of news" (Fishman, 1980) and the routinized processing of events, facts, and sources in the making of news (Gans, 2004; Tuchman, 1973). There is no reason to assume that routinization has become less salient in how news production is practically managed (Ryfe, 2009a, 2009b, 2016; Tandoc & Duffy, 2018). However, to understand the routinized practices in knowledge coordination and justifications of knowledge claims requires a more dynamic approach to situated practices and interactions. More specifically, we suggest three complementary directions for such research, focusing on (1) sequential coordination of knowledge; (2) changing activities of daily news production; and (3) invoked, (re)shaped, and negotiated routines in situated practices of news production.

Sequential Coordination of Knowledge

Temporal synchronization and the related coordination of knowledge and expertise are central to news production. This has been analyzed in the context of daily news reporting, typically planned in the morning meetings and finalized in, for example, the evening broadcast (Ekström & Nohrstedt, 1996; Schlesinger, 1987). Several such practices of daily news reporting show a high degree of stability. However, in the contemporary news environment, containing forms of super "liveness," automated processing of news, continuous processing and repackaging of news in response to audience metrics, and recycling of news on headline services and social media, etc., the sequential coordination of knowledge is changing, and this concerns both the temporality and the expertise involved.

Changing Activities of Daily News Production

As with all social practices, news production is more or less routinized. However, much work remains in clarifying the forms of routinization related to concrete activities of contemporary news production, where a diversity of specialized (sub)activities are developed to achieve specific goals. Interviewing is an example. A number of specialized activities in interviewing (research interviews, "sync interviews," live interviews) are applied in the production of broadcast news, involving forms of routinization (Ekström & Kroon Lundell, 2011; Montgomery, 2007). Other core activities include, for example, finding news topics, writing headlines, quoting different voices, and editing and processing news stories for different publishing contexts. Such activities are conditioned but not determined by routines. As mentioned earlier, they involve collaboration. In-depth studies of these core activities are one way to increase our understanding of how knowledge is coordinated in the changing forms of news production.

Invoked, (Re)shaped, and Negotiated Routines in Situated Practices of News Production

Group problem-solving in situated interaction is a central form of coordination of knowledge (Grant, 1996). Journalism scholars have, however, shown scant interest in this level of analysis. Ethnographic newsroom research has been close to concrete practices but has most often focused on the routines as such rather than how they are invoked and negotiated, and more on journalists' interaction with sources than the interaction between actors within the newsroom. There are, however, exceptions that prove the value of such analyses. Risberg (2014) applies an ethnomethodological and conversation analytical approach to study the collaborative achievement of practical and technical tasks in the newsroom. Based on recorded and transcribed interactions, the study shows how knowledge is distributed and shared and how routines are invoked in collaborative news work. The next generation of this research should go beyond the intra-professional approach and study interactions between different professional functions within and outside the newsroom.

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

This chapter has analyzed and discussed research concerning the application and creation of knowledge in routinized news work. The chapter has reviewed key literature on routines in news work to make two key contributions. First, it has looked at the *organizational context* of routines for coordination in news organizations, involving a discussion of how specialized knowledge and expertise is coordinated among diverse sets of social actors. Second, the chapter has examined the nexus of news work routines and *concrete practices* and how this relates to literature focusing on more general inquiries of news epistemology. Both sections contain discussions of four coordination activities outlined by Grant (1996): rules and directives, sequencing, routines, and group problem-solving.

First, let us attempt to synthesize our discussion on knowledge coordination among workers in contemporary news organizations. Much journalism studies literature has typically treated knowledge-creation processes (news production) as social activities taking place in newsrooms. Journalists in newsrooms increasingly (need to) coordinate knowledge and news production practices with other specialized social actors (technologists, for example). Second, contemporary news organizations need to attain more and more specialized knowledge and expertise, such as data journalists and social media editors. Paying homage to Tuchman's classic, *Making the News*, in their edited book, *Remaking the News*, Boczkowski and Anderson (2017) argue that journalism research need not only focus on human journalists and the words but should also pay attention to the role that *things* (such as diverse technologies) play in news work.

Further, as opposed to the "generic" journalistic knowledge possessed and applied by many reporters and editors in news organizations, individuals' explicit and tacit knowledge becomes salient. Through organizational coordination, different specialists apply and create knowledge and thus engage in social processes rather than erecting boundaries that prevent them from coordinating knowledge with each other. The nexus and simultaneous interplay of organizational and individual knowledge deserves closer scrutiny. In future research, scholars should study the routines for applying, creating, and coordinating knowledge among diverse social actors in diverse functions in news organizations. Ultimately, far too little is known about coordination in the knowledge-intensive processes taking place inside and beyond news organizations. Organizational knowledge coordination focuses on the intra-organizational interplay between different social actors. Knowledge is also coordinated in the situated and sequentially organized activities of news production, in their concrete practices. It will be very important for scholars to study both desired and undesired, as well as intended and unintended, consequences of altered forms of organizing in the news media. A key question concerns whether new, and existing, routines are successful in fulfilling the objective of news production (as a form of knowledge).

Beyond this, and in line with recent conceptual scholarship on the agents involved in media innovation (Westlund & Lewis, 2014) or journalism and cross-media news work (Lewis & Westlund, 2015a), it would be worthwhile analyzing how knowledge is coordinated not only among the social actors of the organization but also with *audiences* and *technological actants*. Information and data related to "audiences" (users, customers, etc.) comprise knowledge materials that are often treated as key in so-called open-, user-, or distributed innovation (Gassmann, Enkel, & Chesbrough, 2010). Audiences may pass on information and knowledge to news organizations in several direct (such as participating in journalistic processes or a focus group) and indirect ways (leaving digital footprints through their use). Such forms of knowledge can become useful for the social actors in news organizations. Moreover, many news organizations turn to contemporary advanced technologies to perform their knowledge-oriented work. This includes software (such as content management systems, scripts, audience analytics, and news applications), as well as hardware (computers, mobile devices, etc.). News organizations depend on diverse technologies (Lewis & Westlund, 2016), and their technological resources should be assessed alongside human resources (Wade & Hulland, 2004). Humans pass on knowledge into an algorithm or script in the mere act of inscribing it with rules and directives for how sequences of work should be performed. As long as humans appropriate and "tame" technology, enrolling it into their work processes, they can expect that the technology delivers what it is programmed to do on a routinized basis. Ultimately, from the perspective of managers, being "able to work with various organizational stakeholders, to see different perspectives and speak their language, is a key factor in successfully integrating into, and performing well in, creative organizations" (Saintilan & Schreiber, 2017, p. 9).

In terms of concrete situated practices, scholars must study the increasingly complex routine practices, collaboration between social actors and coordination with technological actants, inside and beyond what has traditionally been known as the newsroom. Understanding routines as performed in situated practices is not to question that routines also exist as organizational structures and mechanisms that restrict and control practices. Both levels of analysis are required to understand the routinization of news work. What is more, it is a question for empirical research to explore the degree of control, reporter discretion, and flexibility in diverse forms of news production.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are thankful to Andrew Duffy and Edson Tandoc Jr. for their thoughtful and constructive comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

REFERENCES

Achtenhagen, L., & Raviola, E. (2009). Balancing tensions during convergence: Duality management in a newspaper company. *JMM International Journal on Media Management*, *11*(1), 32–41.

Baack, S. (2018). Practically engaged. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(6), 673–692.

Becker, M. C. (2004). Organizational routines: A review of the literature. *Industrial and Corporate Change*, *13*(4), 643–678.

Becker, L. B., & Vlad, T. (2009). News organizations and routines. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 59–72). New York, NY: Routledge.

Belair-Gagnon, V. & Holton, A. E. (2018) Boundary work, interloper media, and analytics in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(4), 492–508.

Boczkowski, P. J., & Anderson, C. W. (Eds.). (2017). *Remaking the news: Essays on the future of journalism scholarship in the digital age*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the newsroom: A functional analysis. *Social Forces*, *33*(4), 326–335.

Burum, I., & Quinn, S. (2015). *MOJO: The mobile journalism handbook: How to make broadcast videos with an iPhone or iPad*. Burlington, MA: Focal Press.

Carlson, M. (2017). *Journalistic authority: Legitimating news in the digital era*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Carlson, M. (2018). Confronting measurable journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(4), 406–417.

Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. London: Routledge.

Carlson, M., & Usher, N. (2016). News startups as agents of innovation. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(5), 563–581.

Cestino, J., & Matthew, R. (2016). A perspective on path dependence processes: The role of knowledge integration in business model persistence dynamics in the provincial press in England. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *13*(1), 22–44.

Clayman, S. E. (1992). Footing in the achievement of neutrality: The case of news interview discourse. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 163–198). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cottle, S. (2000). New(s) times: Towards a "second wave" of news ethnography. *Communications*, *25*(1), 19–42.

Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2017). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 165–181.

Djerf-Pierre, M., & Weibull, L. (2011). From idealist-entrepreneur to corporate executive. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 294–310.

Domingo, D., & Paterson, C. (2011). *Making online news*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Domingo, D., Quandt, T., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Singer, J. B., & Vujnovic, M. (2008). Participatory journalism practices in the media and beyond. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(3), 326–342.

Drew, K. K., & Thomas, R. J. (2017). From separation to collaboration: Perspectives on editorial—business collaboration at United States news organizations. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 196–215.

Eldridge, S., Hess, K., Tandoc Jr, E., & Westlund, O. (2019). Navigating the scholarly terrain: Introducing the Digital Journalism Studies Compass. *Digital Journalism*, *7*(3), 386–403.

Ekström, M. (2002). Epistemologies of TV journalism: A theoretical framework. *Journalism*, *3*(3), 259–282.

Ekström, M., & Kroon Lundell, Å. (2011). Beyond the broadcast interview. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(2), 172–187.

Ekström, M., & Nohrstedt, S. A. (1996). *Journalistikens etiska problem*. Stockholm: Prisma.

Ekström, M., & Westlund, O. (2019). The dislocation of news journalism: A conceptual framework for the study of epistemologies of digital journalism. *Media and Communication*, *7*(1), 259–270.

Epstein, E. J. (1973). *News from nowhere: Television and the news*. New York, NY: Random House.

Ettema, J. S., & Glasser, T. L. (1987). On the epistemology of investigative journalism. In M. Gurevitch & M. R. Levy (Eds.), *Mass communication yearbook* (pp. 338–361). London: Sage Publications.

Ettema, J. S., & Glasser, T. L. (1998). *Custodians of conscience: Investigative journalism and public virtue*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Ferrer-Conill, R., & Tandoc, E. C. (2018). The audience-oriented editor. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(4), 436–453.

Fishman, M. (1980). *Manufacturing the news*. University of Texas Press. Retrieved from https://utpress.utexas.edu/books/fishman-manufacturing-the-news

Gade, P. J. (2004). Newspapers and organizational development: Management and journalist perceptions of newsroom cultural change. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *6*(1), 3–55.

Gans, H. J. (2004). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, newsweek, and time*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Gassmann, O., Enkel, E., & Chesbrough, H. (2010). The future of open innovation. *R&D Management*, *40*(3), 213–221.

Grant, R. M. (1996). Toward a knowledge-based theory of the firm. *Strategic Management Journal*, *17*(S2), 109–122.

Levitt, B., & March, J. G. (1988). Organizational learning. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *14*(1), 319–338.

Lewis, S. C., & Usher, N. (2014). Code, collaboration, and the future of journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(3), 383–393.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015a). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 19–37.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015b). Big data and journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 447–466.

Lewis, S., & Westlund, O. (2016). Mapping the human-machine divide in journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *Handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 341–353). London: Sage Publications.

March, J. G. (1991). Exploration and exploitation in organizational learning. *Organization Science*, *2*(1), 71–87.

Montgomery, M. (2007). *The discourse of broadcast news: A linguistic approach*. London: Routledge.

Nielsen, R. K. (2012). How newspapers began to blog: Recognizing the role of technologists in old media organizations' development of new media technologies. *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(6), 959–978.

Nielsen, R. K. (2017). The one thing journalism just might do for democracy. *Journalism Studies*, 1–12.

Patterson, T. E. (2013). *Informing the news: The need for knowledge-based journalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Picard, R. G. (1989). *Media economics: Concepts and issues*. Sage Publications. Retrieved from https://books.google.se/books/about/Media_economics.html?id=5JwcAQAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y

Raviola, E. (2010). *Paper meets web* (Vol. 0). Jönköping: Jönköping University Press.

Risberg, J. (2014). *Kunskap i interaktion på en nyhetsredaktion: Om kollegiala möten i den redaktionella vardagen*. (Knowledge in interaction in a news room. Dissertation with English summary.) Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis.

Robinson, S. (2011). Convergence crises: News work and news space in the digitally transforming newsroom. *Journal of Communication*, *61*(6), 1122–1141.

Ryfe, D. M. (2009a). Broader and deeper. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *10*(2), 197–216.

Ryfe, D. M. (2009b). Structure, agency, and change in an American newsroom. *Journalism*, *10*(5), 665–683.

Ryfe, D. (2016). News routines, role performance, and change in journalism. In C. Mellado, L. Hellmueller, & W. Donsbach (Eds.), *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, contexts, and methods*. London: Routledge.

Ryfe, D. M. (2018). A practice approach to the study of news production. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 217–233.

Saintilan, P., & Schreiber, D. (2017). *Managing organizations in the creative economy: Organizational behaviour for the cultural sector*. Retrieved from www.routledge.com/Managing-Organizations-in-the-Creative-Economy-Organizational-Behaviour/Saintilan-Schreiber/p/book/9781138184602

Schlesinger, P. (1987). *Putting "reality" together : BBC news*. New York, NY: Methuen.

Schudson, M. (1989). The sociology of news production. *Media, Culture & Society*, *11*(3), 263–282.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Stonbely, S. (2015). The social and intellectual contexts of the US "newsroom studies," and the media sociology of today. *Journalism Studies*, *16*(2), 259–274.

Tandoc, E. C. Jr., (2014). Journalism is twerking? How web analytics is changing the process of gatekeeping. *New Media & Society*, *16*(4), 559–575.
Tandoc, E. C., Jr., & Duffy, A. (2018). News routines. In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Journalism Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Tandoc, E. C. Jr., Lim, Z. W., & Ling, R. (2018). Defining "fake news." *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 137–153.
Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as strategic ritual: An examination of newsmen's notions of objectivity. *American Journal of Sociology*, *77*(4), 660–679.
Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected. *American Journal of Sociology*, *79*(1), 110–131.
Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
Tunstall, J. (1971). *Journalists at work: Specialist correspondents: Their news organizations, news sources, and competitor-colleagues*. Beverly Hills, CA: Constable.
Undurraga, T. (2017). Making news, making the economy: Technological changes and financial pressures in Brazil. *Cultural Sociology*, *11*(1), 77–96.
Usher, N. (2014). *Making news at the New York Times*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
Usher, N. (2015). Newsroom moves and the newspaper crisis evaluated: Space, place, and cultural meaning. *Media, Culture & Society*, *37*(7), 1005–1021.
van den Bulck, H., & Tambuyzer, S. (2013). Collisions of convergence. *International Communication Gazette*, *75*(1), 54–75.
Wade, M., & Hulland, J. (2004). Review: The resource-based view and information systems research: Review, extension, and suggestions for future research. *MIS Quarterly*, *28*(1), 107–142.
Westlund, O. (2011). *Cross-media news work sensemaking of the mobile media (r)evolution*. (Doctoral dissertation, University of Gothenburg). Retrieved from https://gupea.ub.gu.se/bitstream/2077/28118/1/gupea_2077_28118_1.pdf
Westlund, O. (2012). Producer-centric versus participation-centric: On the shaping of mobile media. *Northern Lights*, *10*(1), 107–121.
Westlund, O., & Krumsvik, A. H. (2014). Perceptions of intra-organizational collaboration and media workers' interests in media innovations. *The Journal of Media Innovations*, *1*(2), 52–74.
Westlund, O., & Lewis, S. C. (2014). Agents of media innovations: Actors, actants, and audiences. *The Journal of Media Innovations*, *1*(2), 10–35. doi:10.5617/jmi.v1i2.856
White, D. M. (1950). The "gate keeper": A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Bulletin*, *27*(4), 383–390.
Willig, I. (2013). Newsroom ethnography in a field perspective. *Journalism*, *14*(3), 372–387.
Zamith, R. (2018). Quantified audiences in news production: A synthesis and research agenda. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(4), 418–435.

6
Journalists as Gatekeepers

Tim P. Vos

The basic idea that journalists act as gatekeepers of news has not been fashionable during most of the 21st century. In the popular discourse, gatekeeping is declining, dying, or dead. The sentiment is expressed as: “There’s no gatekeeper. There’s no gate. There’s not even a fence” (Whyte, 2008). With the arrival of the networked, internet age, the argument goes, everyone can publish; therefore, information cannot be controlled, and hence, gatekeeping is futile. The scholarly discourse contains similar sentiments. Williams and Delli Carpini (2004, p. 1208) argued that the new media environment “undermines the idea that there are discrete gates through which political information passes: If there are no gates, there can be no gatekeepers.” Largely absent in these discussions about the state of gatekeeping is an actual definition of gatekeeping. At best, the lack of definition muddles the claims made about gatekeeping. Muddling the discourse further, gatekeeping is often an adjective, referring to a function, a role, a model, or a theory.

This chapter sets out to revisit what it means when we talk about journalists as gatekeepers. In the process, I explore related concepts to aid in differentiating gatekeeping from related phenomena. Thus, I address related concepts of gatewatching and gatebouncing. Ultimately, I argue that notions of gatekeeping still capture relevant journalistic processes. In other words, gatekeeping is not declining, dying, or dead. What we mean by gatekeeping does need to be refined, but this is a necessary step to revitalize a key journalism and communication concept. Thus, I examine the history and key features of gatekeeping, the current state of the art, critical issues, and methodological issues. I also raise issues to consider moving forward. My hope is that in understanding these processes of gatekeeping we arrive at a better understanding of the news and information environment in which essentially everyone plays a part.

WHAT GATEKEEPING IS (AND ISN’T)

Gatekeeping has previously been defined as “the process of culling and crafting countless bits of information into the limited number of messages that reach people each day” (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 1). That definition holds up. It builds on a basic understanding of gatekeeping articulated by Kurt Lewin (1951), who theorized a process of social decision-making (more on this below). The reference to “culling and crafting” underscores the centrality of two closely related activities that are rooted in selectivity. Journalistic gatekeepers selectively gather, sort, write, edit, position, schedule, repeat, and otherwise massage information to become news. Out of a universe of infinite possibilities, journalists as gatekeepers cull and craft, resulting in a finite amount of news and often a corpus of news with striking similarities (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009; Chapter 14 in this book). Thus, the fundamental questions of gatekeeping are matters of selectivity: why is some information chosen to be part of a news story and some not? How is news framed or shaped? For example, how is it that conflict-based frames overwhelm peace frames (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005)? Why do journalists give more or less prominence to various news stories? Why does a terrorist attack in one foreign country lead to days of nonstop coverage while an attack in another foreign country barely registers notice (Patrick, 2014)? Ultimately, the matter of selectivity leads to the question: how or why does news turn out the way it does?

Given that our networked world is awash in information, we might question whether it is really the case that a "limited number of messages reach people each day." In other words, we might challenge the notion that selectivity practically limits the flow of information and news. Indeed, for some critics, this is the essence of the argument that gatekeeping is in its death throes. But, even with an explosion in the number and kinds of gates, evidence suggests it is still a select number and type of messages that achieve significant distribution. Thus, as Djerf-Pierre and Shehata (2017) conclude, even with high levels of media choice, traditional media still dominate the information environment. While social media clearly give individuals the ability to reach a mass audience, traditional media often amplify social media content such that it is able to reach a mass audience and it is often traditional news media content in the first place that is passed along via social media. Meanwhile, news organizations continue to embrace a gatekeeping role by deciding how they want to use their limited resources to create an identity or brand (Tandoc, 2014) while other news outlets strive to fulfill a trustee model, whereby they choose news believed to best serve the public interest (Schudson, 2003). News organizations—including aggregators—continue to make choices, and those choices—because they limit the news available to the public—have consequences for the public and institutional decision-makers (Starkman, 2014). It should also be pointed out that individual readers, listeners, and viewers of news have a limited capacity to attend to information channels; thus, it is true that only a limited number of messages break through to each individual member of the public.

That being said, journalists are but one set of actors in this drama. Put another way, journalists are not the only gatekeepers. Historically, journalists have been central gatekeepers—neither the first nor the last link in the process, but an important mediator. Thus, when the definition of gatekeeping refers to the "messages that reach people each day" it includes within gatekeeping processes those citizen channels—including social media and other means of distribution—that function as additional modes of selectivity. Singer (2014) refers to this as secondary gatekeeping. This builds on the long-recognized idea that "the act of *reading* (instead of the act of publishing) is the pivotal moment in the circulation of meaning" (italics in original) (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001, p. 7). In other words, gatekeeping processes do not "end" when journalists publish but when readers read, listeners listen, and watchers watch. Even then, the "end" can serve to reinitiate gatekeeping processes—for example, a reader writes a comment or tweet on a news story that leads a journalist to reframe a news story in subsequent versions of that story (Santana & Hopp, 2016). In fact, the idea that gatekeeping channels extend to individual members of the public comports with Lewin's (1947) original gatekeeping metaphor, whereby he maps the channels through which food travels before ending up on the family kitchen table. He did not stop with food leaving the grocery store.

In the same way, it would be mistaken if the food-based gatekeeping metaphor started with the grocery store (granted, Lewin's metaphor largely begins with the store, while also offering an alternative channel: the family garden). Food goes through various farm-based channels before it ever makes it to the grocery store. Likewise, information often proceeds through channels before appearing to journalists, and thus so-called news sources function as gatekeepers too (Sigal, 1973). In fact, the gatekeeping decisions of sources often leave a strong imprint, creating frames that journalists adopt and pass along (Reese, 2001a). All of which is to say again that journalists are not the only actors in the gatekeeping drama. However, given the nature of this handbook, journalists are the focus of analysis.

Confining our discussion to journalistic gatekeeping, we must also clarify what journalistic gatekeeping is not. Here, I want to emphasize that gatekeeping is not about control, strictly speaking, even though this is how it is often described in popular and scholarly discourse. While it is true that in the past the selectivity at the heart of gatekeeping often resulted in control of the information environment, the concept of gatekeeping is not predicated on control. Selection and control are conceptually distinct activities. Selection can lead to control, but as critics of gatekeeping have noted (Singer et al., 2011), the multiplicity of gates dilutes the control of any particular gatekeeper. As Bruns (2011, p. 119) puts it, "the power and influence of editors over the news agenda is inversely proportional to the number of available news channels."

A further step of clarity requires that this chapter distinguish gatekeeping from other conceptually related, but distinct, processes. Here, gatekeeping is distinguished from gatewatching and—to coin a term—gatebouncing. Both of these activities involve news that is already circulating in the information environment. In the case of gatewatching, the focus is on highlighting some subset of already circulating news items and thereby making them more visible to the journalists' audiences (Bruns, 2005). Here, journalists curate news, therein marking some stories as more valuable or worthy of attention. Thus, Bruns (2011, p. 120) distinguishes gatekeeping from gatewatching:

> A need for editorial intervention to direct potential news audiences to what are deemed to be the most important stories still remains, perhaps, but this need can now be addressed not by *excluding* all those news stories which fall below a certain threshold of importance set by the editor, as is practiced through gatekeeping, but simply by especially *highlighting* from the now massively enlarged newshole those stories which are seen to be most important.
>
> (italics in original)

Curation clearly involves selectivity and thus very much resembles gatekeeping. Thus, if gatekeeping is about making information into news, gatewatching is about making existing news more visible or readily available. This highlights an important feature of the old gatekeeping discourse. The focus was on turning *out* news. "Out" seems to imply that news was merely released rather than distributed or circulated. What exists "out there" is a news and information environment, and this environment is shaped by more than just gatekeeping. The circulation and recirculation of news undercuts assumptions about the linearity of gatekeeping processes. Singer (2008) is correct that our understanding of publication has shifted "from a journalistic framework based on the delivery of information in a traditional, linear media system to a framework based instead on relationships in a network" (p. 62).

This networked information environment also serves as the basis for a kind of activity that is here called gatebouncing. News and information is already circulating in the public information environment, but journalists or others seek to mark particular pieces of information as illegitimate. Journalists act like bouncers at a club, throwing out someone (or, in this case, something) that shouldn't be there. While news cannot be forced back through a gate and removed from public view or debate, it can be symbolically marked as illegitimate. Fact-checking, or sorting facts from alternative facts and news from fake news, is a sort of retroactive selectivity. While traditional gatekeepers checked facts before publication, the network environment has "let out" information that must now be gatebounced to an alternative status, such as PolitiFact's designations of "mostly true," "mostly false," or "pants-on-fire" (meaning it is an unambiguous lie). Critics who argued gatekeeping unduly put journalists in the role of policing the information environment have nevertheless found a new appreciation for fact-checking and debunking so-called alternative facts (Graves, 2016). As one journalist put it: "There is no gatekeeping function any more because there are no gates, there are no fences. There's just a constant wash of information, and mostly misinformation" (quoted in Graves, 2016, p. 193). This is a lament, amplified since the 2016 election in the US and the EU Referendum in the UK, which has reinvigorated political fact-checking as an important journalistic obligation. However, it underscores the limited control journalistic gatekeepers—or gatebouncers—have over the networked information environment, as fake news and dubious factual claims often outpace journalists' fact-checking efforts (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010).

As a final step of clarity, we must also disentangle the ways that gatekeeping is used in popular and scholarly discourse. As noted at the outset, discussion about gatekeeping often conflates a gatekeeping function with a gatekeeping role. Likewise, a gatekeeping model is often conflated with gatekeeping theory. The gatekeeping function refers to gatekeeping that happens as a function of those realities of the social, physical, and digital world that inhibit or advance the flow of information. These factors that inhibit or advance the flow of information can be independent of the agency or intention of any particular actors in the information environment. A news organization, for example, can perform a gatekeeping function whereby some information becomes news and some does not simply because of the selectivity that comes with the practical contingencies of daily work.

A gatekeeping role, on the other hand, refers to a normative role whereby certain actors in the information environment see it as their duty or responsibility to pass along some information and not other forms or kinds of information (Vos, 2016). This is largely how Janowitz (1975) used the term when he identified the gatekeeper and advocate roles as the two fundamental professional role orientations of his time. A gatekeeping role flows from an understanding of the role that news media should play in society if certain pro-social values are to be realized. The role can also be an expression of marketing considerations—seeking to target a particular market demographic. In other words, selectivity is a matter of intention. Journalists' insistence at various times and places that they should be society's sole gatekeepers has been the subject of much criticism (Thomas, 2016). Critics argue that democratic values require a greater shared gatekeeping role with the public (Deuze, 2003; Holton, Lewis, & Coddington, 2016). Nevertheless, journalists continue to embrace a gatekeeping role, whether shared with the public or not.

What adds to the confusion is that many scholars who refer to the gatekeeping role are really talking about a gatekeeping function. For example, Bruns (2011, p. 120) argues "as gatekeeping is a practice that is fundamentally born out of an environment of scarcity (of news channels, and of newshole space within those channels), any growth in the overall newshole must necessarily challenge its role." I argue that the gatekeeping function is born out of scarcity, whereas the gatekeeping role is born out of normative ideals or market positioning. Journalists, for example, often choose to withhold the names of rape victims, even though the name of the victim might otherwise be available elsewhere in the information environment (Thomason & LaRocque, 1995). The issue is not scarcity, but normative selectivity. Likewise, when Singer (2008, p. 61) refers to "a traditional gatekeeping role that no longer exists," she is not suggesting that journalists have stopped being selective; she is arguing that journalists no longer control the information environment.

Meanwhile, gatekeeping models and theories seek to understand how selectivity works and what accounts for patterns of selectivity. Thus those realities of the social, physical, and digital world that shape the news have led scholars to seek to understand and explain the processes by which "tips, hunches, and bits of information . . . get turned into news and how that news is framed, emphasized, placed, and promoted" and how it reaches a reader, listener, or viewer (Vos, 2015, p. 4). Scholars have sought to produce gatekeeping models that plot the channels of information distribution and identify the aspects and intentions of the social, physical, and digital world that shape the flow of information (Shoemaker, 1991; White, 1950). These models call researchers' attention to factors that, at certain times and in certain places, plausibly account for how certain kinds of information might make it to the public and certain kinds of information might not.

Gatekeeping theory, meanwhile, goes beyond the factors identified in a gatekeeping model and seeks to identify mechanisms—such as forces at the gates—that account for how selectivity works. Theory also posits enduring features of the social, physical, and digital worlds—things such as socialization and social institutions and norms—and enduring human characteristics—things like cognitive and rational capacities—to offer explanations for a range of enduring patterns of news production and reception (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Thus, gatekeeping theory can be culturally specific but also identify features that account for human actions across time and place.

HISTORY AND FEATURES OF GATEKEEPING

The gatekeeping function is as old as news sharing itself. Shoemaker (1996) argues that human beings are hardwired to attend to and share news and information, since doing so has always been necessary for human survival. Stephens (1996, p. 23) shows that preliterate societies created formal channels for distributing information:

> The oral news systems employed . . . by most of humankind throughout most of human history . . . feature a series of logical and effective methods for gathering and disseminating information, methods that testify to the importance these societies placed on the circulation of news. The roots of our own journalism lie in such methods.

Journalists would eventually perform this gatekeeping function by virtue of filling their pages with news clipped from other newspapers or from correspondence from key people. The function continued as newspapers turned to producing news with their own staffs and had to make decisions about what to cover as news, what to emphasize, where to place it, and so on.

The development of a normative gatekeeping role has a slightly more complicated history. Whereas news in the US was more or less transparently selected based on partisan affiliations and identities up until the latter half of the 19th century, the emerging claims of professional journalism, with objectivity eventually at its core, led to sizeable debates about the bases of news selection (Vos & Finneman, 2017). As journalism began to take on the trappings of a profession, a gatekeeping role would emerge as a meta-role—that is, it came to be identified with the nature of the profession (Vos, 2016): journalists had an obligation to provide news that was worthy of public attention and debate (Vos & Finneman, 2017). Selectivity could not be driven by bias, whether political, social, or commercial. The gatekeeping role proved tricky to rationalize, and as the gatekeeping function came to be associated with subsequent social power, critics emerged who tried to explain journalists' decision-making. For example, Upton Sinclair's 1920 book, *The Brass Check*, sought to locate the levers of journalistic decision-making in the control of powerful publishers (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

It was not until social scientific methods came to be used in the study of journalism in the mid-20th century that more systematic attempts were made to explain gatekeeping processes and outcomes. Still, gatekeeping is one of the oldest social science theories adapted and developed for use in the study of news and has been used by communication scholars continuously since the 1950s. One of the earliest theories in the field, gatekeeping is associated with one of the "four founders" of the field as identified by Berelson (1959) and one of the key "forerunners" nominated by Rogers (1994): Kurt Lewin. The influence of the gatekeeping model has been to direct attention to certain phenomena in a compelling manner. As a result, a number of research questions across a wide domain of communication activity have been guided by this major concept, taking it far beyond the original sense of the one coined by Lewin, a social-psychologist but trained as a physicist. He sought to apply the principles of physical sciences to human behavior by identifying channels and gates controlling what passed through them.

This simple but compelling model, applicable across a number of domains, served to clarify the seemingly infinite number of influences and individuals operating within a communication setting. Believing that psychological "forces" could be studied mathematically, Lewin's thinking resembled that of other early figures, such as Claude Shannon (see Shannon & Weaver, 1949) and Norbert Wiener (1948), who developed unifying "engineering" models that could be applied across mass and interpersonal communication regardless of "channel."

One key influence of Lewin was on former journalist David Manning White, an assistant of Lewin's at the University of Iowa (and a student of Wilbur Schramm). As White recalled it:

> One day I happened to run across a paper by Kurt Lewin in which he coined the term "gatekeeper." I thought that the complex series of "gates" a newspaper report went through from the actual criterion event to the finished story in a newspaper would make an interesting study, and thus pursued it.
>
> (cited in Reese & Ballinger, 2001, p. 646)

White's 1949 study of a news editor helped apply the concepts of Lewin to a journalistic setting and launch a tradition of research into journalistic "gatekeepers." His work tackled the intuitively obvious question of how news organizations solve the problem of so much information and so little space. White's widely reprinted and cited article in *Journalism Quarterly* in 1950, which called it "one of the first studies of its kind," examined the reasons expressed by a news editor for accepting or rejecting a list of potential news items. Although it addressed the decisions of only a single person, the concept proved highly influential.

Warren Breed's (1955) research on social control in the newsroom is a close contemporary of White's and often mentioned together. Breed—also a former newspaper reporter—interviewed a sample of newsmen at medium-sized newspapers to determine how they discerned the appropriate way to handle their story selection. Breed, in a sense, identified newspaper publishers as the *de facto* gatekeepers who operate through indirect means to ensure that only news consistent with organizational policy gets through. The relevant gatekeeping issue for Breed (1955, p. 193) was that "policy news may be slanted or buried so that some important information is denied the citizenry." Breed's (1955) contribution was to show how the most important gatekeeper might not be the one who is most immediately involved in the selection but may reside elsewhere within more influential levels of the organization.

If Breed's (1955) view placed gatekeeping control with the publisher, and White with the editor's subjective judgment, later work, a decade or more later, in media sociology placed it at the level of the organization. *Deciding What's News*, sociologist Herbert Gans' highly influential book (1979), identified sources of power within the organization and the incentives journalists have to conform to group norms and follow practical considerations. In a valuable corrective, this approach embeds gatekeeping in the ongoing and functional activities of organizations. Gans locates the construction of news not in the journalist, the publisher, or in the gatekeeping editor, but in the process by which all parts, routines, and arrangements of the organization are engaged for the creation of news.

The movement in gatekeeping scholarship away from an individualistic focus toward a sociological orientation was less a bold step forward than a bold step back. In fact, gatekeeping's continued relevance has come from a return to its roots. Lewin (1951) had emphasized the place of the gatekeeper within a "field." According to Lewin's "field theory," gatekeeping emerged from an interaction of factors within a social field. Lewin's field theory was rooted in what he called a "psychological ecology" (1951, p. 170), which became associated with ecological systems theory and human ecology theory. Individuals were to be understood within the context of four systems: a microsystem (immediate context), mesosystem (nexus of immediate contexts), exosystem (external institutions), and macrosystem (culture or social system) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These systems roughly corresponded with what Shoemaker (1991) and Reese (2001b) and colleagues (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) would eventually identify as five levels of analysis. These five levels are elaborated below.

STATE OF THE ART

A review of the literature would suggest that gatekeeping scholarship has seen a resurgence in the 21st century. Observers recognized that selectivity and control in the online, networked world no longer co-varied so closely as in the past, leading to a reexamination of the assumptions of gatekeeping and the identification of new gatekeepers, new gatekeeping mechanisms, and new gatekeeping channels (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008; Vos & Heinderyckx, 2015; Wallace, 2018). Much of the scholarship, for example, pointed to the nature of the networked media environment and to subsequent shifts in the relative influence of audiences in the construction of news. While the gatekeeping model identified the audience as an implicit and explicit influence on the construction of news, the new digital environment, where the audience has open channels to communicate and collaborate with journalists (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012; Singer, 2014; Wendelin, Engelmann, & Neubarth, 2015) and where web analytics provide real-time information on what audiences are clicking on (Tandoc, 2014; Welbers, van Atteveldt, Kleinnijenhuis, Ruigrok, & Schaper, 2016), demonstrates the heightened significance of the audience in the construction and distribution of news. Based on such factors, scholars have varied in their claims: some argue that new empirical realities cast old conclusions about gatekeeping processes in a new light (Cassidy, 2006) while others suggest that gatekeeping theory itself must be reinvented or replaced (Williams & Delli Carpini, 2004).

Nevertheless, gatekeeping research continues to help us understand how news turns out the way it does by studying gatekeepers, their news work, and the context in which their work happens. Thus, as the demographic profile of gatekeepers, the routines of news work, and the context of news work have changed, a body of empirical research has emerged to understand how those changes have led to the news we see and hear each day. These studies have typically relied on earlier theorizing about the mechanisms of gatekeeping. For example, the concept of the news subsidy, articulated by Gandy (1982) and others (e.g., VanSlyke Turk, 1986), has been used to study new forms of subsidy (Hecht, Martin, Donnelly, Larson, & Sweetser, 2017), such as the emergence of video news releases aimed at electronic news organizations (e.g., Machill, Beiler, & Schmutz, 2006). The vibrancy of gatekeeping comes in part from a body of scholarship that has kept pace with changes in journalism.

Much of the scholarship seeking a more radical take on gatekeeping has offered alternatives that this chapter argues are most useful in helping to distinguish gatekeeping from related activities rather than in replacing gatekeeping as a theoretical approach. The concept of gatewatching, as noted above, is one such example. Gatewatching represents an activity similar to, but ultimately distinct from, gatekeeping. Similarly, the concept of way-finding has been offered as a metaphor to supplement and delimit the meaning of gatekeeping. Borrowed from architecture and other disciplines, way-finding is an activity focused on navigation through a data or information-rich environment. Pearson and Kosicki (2016, p. 1087) argue that journalism studies would do well to "focus on the paths taken by news users to individual stories via search engines, gatewatchers and social media." This focus is superior, they argue, because the information environment is structured less by journalists' selectivity than it is users' information seeking and navigating activities. Many of the most theoretically rich reconsiderations of gatekeeping, such as the work done by Barzilai-Nahon (2008), point to how new channels and new gatekeepers in the digital, networked environment play increasingly important roles in news consumption. These ideas help us think about the broader information environment in which journalists play a limited role.

CRITICAL ISSUES

Although gatekeeping research has a long track record in the journalism discipline, some critical issues remain. If gatekeeping is ultimately controlled by ideological factors, for example, as Herman and Chomsky (2002) have argued, then we need to be precise about why it is worthwhile to study other levels of analysis. One other critical issue will be considered here: the so-called "forces" at the gates in the gatekeeping process.

As noted above, Lewin (1951) held that forces at the gate determine which items become news and which don't. These forces limit the autonomy of individual gatekeepers and shape the news in consistent ways. Although some features of Lewin's gatekeeping theory invoked metaphors, such as channels and gates, "force" had a more literal meaning. There are pressures on gatekeepers to select or not select information. But what are those forces? For the most part, gatekeeping theorizing and research have skirted that question. For a variety of reasons, it is a question worth asking and answering. First, to the extent that society is not satisfied with the news that journalistic gatekeepers produce, we should empower practitioners to alter institutional practices or alignments. That will take knowledge of the forces that have shaped or empowered those practices and alignments in the first place. Second, the way that Lewin used "force" can obscure the nature and use of coercive "power" in the gatekeeping process. Hegemonic elites may exert power over the journalism field in ways that are not completely apparent to those with little power. Third, theorizing requires a consistent set of propositions (Shoemaker, Tankard, & Lasorsa, 2004). But without articulating the nature of the force at the gate, we may hold contradictory assumptions, for example, about the nature of human rationality. Or we may rely on functionalist assumptions that do not hold up to empirical scrutiny. Gans (1980, p. 291), for example, acknowledged the empirical limitations of functional analysis, calling even his own observations "speculative."

Although little has been done in the way of systematically examining the nature of the "forces" at the gate (Tandoc, 2017, being an exception), it would appear that they vary depending on the level of analysis. At the individual level for example, research has shown that not all decision-making is driven by conscious reflection—it can just as easily result from subconscious factors, such as an availability heuristic or a representativeness heuristic (Nisbett & Ross, 1980). At the social system level, meanwhile, social institutions create "constraints and opportunities to which media organizations and actors respond" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 296). These constraints and opportunities emerge based on the contemporaneous development of economic, political, and media institutions. News content is similar in a social system because actors respond rationally to the same constraints and opportunities. To the extent that the institutional environment may produce more than one rational path, we might expect variation even among rational actors.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Today, we understand gatekeeping to be a complex theory, and one that can be tested using a variety of methodological and statistical procedures. Many research methods have been used in gatekeeping studies: case studies (e.g., Ferrucci, Russell, Choi, Duffy, & sThorson, 2015); participant observation (e.g., Gans, 1979; Sissons, 2014); content analysis (e.g., Singer, 2001; Wendelin et al., 2015); surveys (e.g., Saldaña, Higgins Joyce, Schmitz Weiss, & Alves, 2016; Tandoc, 2017); and experiments (e.g., Hecht et al., 2017; Helfer & Aelst, 2015). Some studies use more than one method (e.g., Machill et al., 2006). Each method tackles a different aspect of gatekeeping.

Specifying the level of analysis and the unit of analysis are the most important decisions made in designing a gatekeeping study. A study's variables are characteristics of the *unit of analysis*. It is the thing being measured. In a data file, each *case* represents one unit of analysis, for example, web pages, magazine stories, television news shows, the front pages of several newspapers, reporters, editors, or producers, and company codes of ethics. The *level of analysis* of a study is more theoretical: what is the theory about? What is hypothesized about? What is the theory about? What is the degree of aggregation of certain phenomena? Levels of analysis divide the world into parts for theorizing, from micro (e.g., individuals) to macro (e.g., social systems).

These aspects of the study of gatekeeping cause more confusion than any other, partially because people sometimes use the terms synonymously. This is the result of the fact that most quantitative communication research uses survey and experimental methods—the level of analysis is generally the individual, as is the unit of analysis. We gather data about individual people in order to test theories about them. Gatekeeping studies, however, often use content analysis methodology, and the unit of analysis often differs from the level of analysis. Shoemaker and Vos (2009) propose that five levels of analysis are appropriate to the study of journalistic gatekeeping. More than one unit of analysis can be studied on each level of analysis. Often, explanation is offered at one level by reference to data gathered at a different level—explaining news organizations, for example, as the sum of the professionals within them.

In individual-level studies, micro units are studied, but these are not limited to individual people. For example, other individual-level units of analysis could include news stories, television news shows, blogs, or photographs as well as reporters, producers, or even audience members. Whether the newspaper or the day (date on which the newspaper is published) is the unit of analysis is an important decision. If the newspaper is the unit of analysis (in a study of major newspapers around the world), then we are working at the organizational level of analysis. On the individual level of analysis, variables are characteristics of individual people.

Studies that look at routine practices of communication work have units of analysis that are the routines with which work is accomplished. For example, a scholar interested in looking at the effects of ethics on gatekeeping decisions could study individuals or news organizations' codes of ethics. The code of ethics becomes the unit of analysis, with perhaps one code belonging to *Al Jazeera*, another to *The Guardian*, and so on. It is possible that journalists may be subject to more than one code of ethics, such as from a professional organization and the government. In this case, each code of ethics would be a separate case in the data file, not each newspaper.

Variables are characteristics of each code of ethics, such as topics covered, date revised, or degree of specificity.

Many gatekeeping studies use the organizational level of analysis, in which newspaper chains or separate newspapers, blogs, television networks, or stations become the unit of analysis, and all variables are characteristics of, for example, a newspaper. Variables might include hits per day, number of responses, news topics, and so on. If radio stations are the unit of analysis, then the variables would be characteristics of each station, such as profitability, signal coverage, or percentage of the coverage area that is of Asian ethnic origins.

The social institution level of analysis includes units of analysis such as governments, interest groups, or religious organizations. These are also organizations, but, unlike the organizational level of analysis, looking at non-media social institutions allows us to assess their separate influence on the gatekeeping process. Variables are characteristics of these units, such as the number of public relations people employed, the budget for outside public relations services, or the total expenditures on public relations efforts last year.

Finally, at the macro level, we look at variables that are characteristics of social systems. The social system is the base on which all other levels rest. Social system units of analysis include cities, countries, continents, and political alliances. Variables describe the units being studied, such as the political system, amount of imports, exports, population size, or number of ethnic groups.

When gatekeeping studies theorize about units on different levels of analysis, confusion is certain and incorrect conclusions probable. Scholars often avoid theorizing about one level of analysis and collecting data about units of analysis from another level, but it can be done. For example, Shoemaker, Eichholz, Kim, and Wrigley (2001) investigated the relative influences of variables from the individual and routine practice levels of analysis on the content of newspaper stories about 50 Congressional bills. The scholars conducted two surveys and a content analysis. The first survey went to the newspaper reporters who wrote articles about the 50 bills and the other to their editors. Reporters were asked only about their personal characteristics, including gender and political ideology. Editors were only asked to rate each of the 50 bills' newsworthiness. Because the data were collected from three different units of analysis, creating the final data file (with each case a newspaper article) required merging data from the two surveys with data about the newspaper articles. Such complexity is common in gatekeeping studies. The editors' ratings of the newsworthiness of each bill were averaged and assigned to each story about the bill in the final data file. Likewise, the characteristics of the reporter for each story were entered in the data file. Statistical analysis revealed that the routine "news values" was a better predictor how prominently the bills were covered than the characteristics of the people who wrote them.

Newer statistical procedures, such as hierarchical linear modeling, allow the scholar to assess quantitative data from more than one level of analysis. The major advantage of this is the extra precision gained by using data on lower levels as they were gathered instead of averaging or otherwise combining them in the dataset from the highest level of analysis. Whether using new statistical tests or more creative method designs, scholars should acknowledge that there are many factors working simultaneously in the gatekeeping process. A major advantage of grounded theory case studies is their ability to collect information about variables on multiple levels of analysis and to analyze them as a whole. Acquiring the cooperation of communication workers to gather information about how and why they conduct their work is difficult, but yields rich results. Observational methods may achieve the same results, once the problem of reactivity is overcome and those observed are at ease with the observer.

In contrast, if the scholar wishes to assess the relative importance of variables, quantitative methods may be useful. Survey research has been used to gather data from many individuals, such as communicators, sources, bosses, and audiences. Content analyses have been conducted of a wide variety of content, from the internet to what we now call traditional media. If scholars are interested in establishing causal order and enhancing internal validity, then the experimental method can be valuable. For example, scholars can show communicators news photos with and without people, and find out whether gatekeepers tend to select one or the other more often.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

News media environments are always changing and the body of knowledge about the gatekeeping process must stay current. Bourdieu argues that the journalistic field is "constantly being modified" (Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 3). Gans (1980, p. 68) reminds us that professional ideology "changes somewhat over time." Broader social changes also come to bear on journalism and subsequently how news turns out the way it does.

These modifications and changes create opportunities for many new empirical studies at all five levels of analysis. For example, the so-called deskilling and multiskilling of journalistic labor (Bro, Hansen, & Andersson, 2016) is likely changing the construction of news in direct and indirect ways. Deskilling in particular raises questions about who is attracted to journalistic work and how the individual-level characteristics of the news workforce might be changing, which in turn could shape how news is constructed. At the level of journalistic routines, various forms of automation—from robot-written news (Carlson, 2015) to news algorithms (Carlson, 2018)—raise new questions about how standards of newsworthiness come into play in constructing news. At the organizational level, many news start-ups are finding a place in the journalism ecology (Bruno, Nielsen, & Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2012), presumably bringing with them a start-up organizational culture that is distinct from legacy news organizations. There's more to explore in how a start-up culture shapes the construction of news (Usher, 2017). At the social institutional level (and organizational level), as more small, independent news producers, such as documentary news producers, become news players, their absence of elaborate organizational structures and protections may make them more vulnerable to pressure from flak groups or from the governments and businesses they investigate (Cook, Vos, Prager, & Hearne, 2015). This vulnerability, following the logic of gatekeeping theory, could result in changes to news. At the social system level, the rise of fascist and authoritarian modes of governance in nominally democratic regimes produces new dynamics that come to bear on journalists and possibly on the stories those journalists produce.

Other lines of research also need to be explored. Gatekeeping research has been slow to explore differences and similarities in gatekeeping across social systems. According to Schudson (2003, p. 166), understanding journalism in the context of the social system "should be not the closing line of a sermon but the opening of an inquiry into how different political cultures and institutions shape and structure different news cultures and institutions." This is essentially the same point made by Benson and Neveu: "Certain types of variation—especially at the broad system level—only become visible via cross-national research" (2005, p. 87). Comparative research in journalism has grown enormously in the 21st century, with some of that attention turning to matters of gatekeeping (e.g., Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011). Still, far more needs to be done. Likewise, transnational journalism continues to merit attention. The "global newsroom" metaphor helps describe how coordination occurs across national boundaries, particularly among cooperating broadcast organizations. In the largest such exchange, for example, the Geneva-based Eurovision network, decision-making is not concentrated by virtue of common ownership but rather shared among "distributed" gatekeepers in a way that leads to consensus over a commonly available pan-national agenda of television stories (Reese, 2008).

Future research must better understand the institution of journalism as a historical creation, not just an economic, rational institution. The theories of new institutionalism (Ryfe, 2017) require us to consider that institutional behavior emerges from a historical context that may not maximize utility and may in fact emerge as unintended consequences. Bourdieu argues that the gatekeepers in a particular institution are constrained by "the possibilities bequeathed by previous struggles, a space which tends to give direction to the search for solutions and, consequently, influences the present and future of production" (quoted in Benson & Neveu, 2005, p. 95).

Other areas for future research could be pursued—some theoretical (the possibilities of actor-network theory (Primo & Zago, 2015) for theorizing about the role of gatekeepers); some methodological (the need for more studies that connect observational studies with content analysis); and some empirical (the value of looking more for interaction effects among factors). Gatekeeping theory, even though it has one of the longest histories in mass communication research and even though some are ready to pronounce its demise, still holds much potential for a robust research program.

REFERENCES

Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. C. (2001). *The form of news: A history*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Barzilai-Nahon, K. (2008). Toward a theory of network gatekeeping: A framework for exploring information control. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, *59*(9), 1493–1512.

Benson, R., & Neveu, E. (2005). *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Berelson, B. (1959). The state of communication research. *Public Opinion*, *23*, 1–5.

Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the newsroom: A functional analysis. *Social Forces*, *33*, 326–335.

Bro, P., Hansen, K. R., & Andersson, R. (2016). Improving productivity in the newsroom? *Journalism Practice*, *10*(8), 1005–1018. doi:10.1080/17512786.2015.1090883

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruno, N., Nielsen, R. K., & Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. (2012). *Survival is success: Journalistic online start-ups in Western europe*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. (2011). Gatekeeping, gatewatching, real-time feedback: New challenges for journalism. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *7*(11), 117–135.

Carlson, M. (2015). The robotic reporter. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 416–431. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976412

Carlson, M. (2018). Automating judgment? Algorithmic judgment, news knowledge, and journalistic professionalism. *New Media & Society*, *20*(5), 1755–1772.

Cassidy, W. P. (2006). Gatekeeping similar for online, print journalists. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *27*(2), 6–23.

Cook, R. F., Vos, T. P., Prager, B., & Hearne, J. (2015). Journalism, politics, and contemporary documentaries: A "based on a true story" dossier. *Visual Communication Quarterly*, *22*(1), 15–33. doi:10.1080/15551393.2015.1026600

Deuze, M. (2003). The web and its journalisms: Considering the consequences of different types of newsmedia online. *New Media & Society*, *5*(2), 203–230. doi:10.1177/1461444803005002004

Djerf-Pierre, M., & Shehata, A. (2017). Still an agenda setter: Traditional news media and public opinion during the transition from low to high choice media environments. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(5), 733–757. doi:10.1111/jcom.12327

Ferrucci, P., Russell, F. M., Choi, H., Duffy, M., & Thorson, E. (2015). Times are a changin'. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(3), 247–264. doi:10.1080/1461670x.2015.1065197

Gandy, O. H. Jr. (1982). *Beyond agenda setting: Information subsidies and public policy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
Gans, H. J. (1979). *Deciding what's news*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Gans, H. J. (1980). *Deciding what's news: A study of cbs evening news, nbc nightly news, newsweek, and time*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
Graves, L. (2016). *Deciding what's true: The rise of political fact-checking in American journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Hanitzsch, T., & Mellado, C. (2011). What shapes the news around the world? How journalists in eighteen countries perceive influences on their work. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *16*(3), 404–426. doi:10.1177/1940161211407334
Hecht, R. D., Martin, F., Donnelly, T., Larson, M., & Sweetser, K. D. (2017). Will you run it? A gatekeeping experiment examining credibility, branding, and affiliation within information subsidies. *Public Relations Review*, *43*(4), 738–749. doi:10.1016/j.pubrev.2017.07.006
Helfer, L., & Aelst, P. V. (2015). What makes party messages fit for reporting? An experimental study of journalistic news selection. *Political Communication*, *33*(1), 59–77. doi:10.1080/10584609.2014.969464
Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2002). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Holton, A. E., Lewis, S. C., & Coddington, M. (2016). Interacting with audiences. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(7), 849–859. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1165139
Janowitz, M. (1975). Professional models in journalism: The gatekeeper and the advocate. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *52*(4), 618–626.
Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing twitter. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(1), 19–36. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825
Lewin, K. (1947). Frontiers in group dynamics ii. Channels of group life: Social planning and action research. *Human Relations*, *1*, 143–153.
Lewin, K. (1951). *Field theory in social science: Selected theoretical papers*. New York, NY: Harper.
Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism*. Stroud, England: Hawthorn Press.
Machill, M., Beiler, M., & Schmutz, J. (2006). The influence of video news releases on the topics reported in science journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(6), 869–888.
Nisbett, R., & Ross, L. (1980). *Human inference: Strategies and shortcomings of social judgment*. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall.
Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2010). When corrections fail: The persistence of political misperceptions. *Political Behavior*, *32*(2), 303–330.
O'Neill, D., & Harcup, T. (2009). News values and selectivity. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 161–174). New York, NY: Routledge.
Patrick, S. M. (2014). Framing terrorism: Geography-based media coverage variations of the 2004 commuter train bombings in madrid and the 2009 twin suicide car bombings in baghdad. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, *7*(3), 379–393. doi:10.1080/17539153.2014.957009
Pearson, G. D. H., & Kosicki, G. M. (2016). How way-finding is challenging gatekeeping in the digital age. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(9), 1087–1105. doi:10.1080/1461670x.2015.1123112
Primo, A., & Zago, G. (2015). Who and what do journalism? *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 38–52. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.927987
Reese, S. D. (2001a). Prologue-framing public life. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life: Perspectives on media and our understanding of the social world* (pp. 7–31). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Reese, S. D. (2001b). Understanding the global journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), 173–187.
Reese, S. D. (2008). Theorizing a globalized journalism. In M. Löffelholz & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Reese, S. D., & Ballinger, J. (2001). The roots of a sociology of news: Remembering mr: Gates and social control in the newsroom. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *78*(4), 641–658.

Rogers, E. M. (1994). *A history of communication study: A biographical approach*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Ryfe, D. (2017). *Journalism and the public*. Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Saldaña, M., Higgins Joyce, V. D. M., Schmitz Weiss, A., & Alves, R. C. (2016). Sharing the stage. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(4), 396–416. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1151818

Santana, A. D., & Hopp, T. (2016). Tapping into a new stream of (personal) data: Assessing journalists' different use of social media. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *93*(2), 383–408. doi:10.1177/1077699016637105

Schudson, M. (2003). *The sociology of news*. New York, NY: W. W Norton & Company.

Shannon, C. E., & Weaver, W. (1949). *The mathematical theory of communication*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Shoemaker, P. J. (1991). *Gatekeeping*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Shoemaker, P. J. (1996). Hardwired for news: Using biological and cultural evolution to explain the surveillance function. *Journal of Communication*, *46*(3), 32–47.

Shoemaker, P. J., Eichholz, M., Kim, E., & Wrigley, B. (2001). Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *78*(2), 233–246.

Shoemaker, P. J., Tankard, J. W., & Lasorsa, D. L. (2004). *How to build social science theories*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Sigal, L. V. (1973). *Reporters and officials: The organization and politics of newsmaking*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

Singer, J. B. (2001). The metro wide web: Changes in newspapers' gatekeeping role online. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *78*(1), 65–81.

Singer, J. B. (2008). The journalist in the network: A shifting rationale for the gatekeeping role and the objectivity norm. *Trípodos. Facultat de Comunicació i Relacions Internacionals Blanquerna*, *23*, 61–76.

Singer, J. B. (2014). User-generated visibility: Secondary gatekeeping in a shared media space. *New Media & Society*, *16*(1), 55–73.

Singer, J. B., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Hermida, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt, T., . . . Vujnovic, M. (2011). *Participatory journalism: Guarding open gates at online newspapers*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Sissons, H. (2014). Negotiating the news. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(2), 177–198. doi:10.1080/1461670x.2014.973147

Starkman, D. (2014). *The watchdog that didn't bark: The financial crisis and the disappearance of investigative reporting*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Stephens, M. (1996). *A history of news*. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace.

Tandoc, E. C. (2014). Journalism is twerking? How web analytics is changing the process of gatekeeping. *New Media & Society*, *16*(4), 559–575.

Tandoc, E. C. (2017). Gatekeeping influences and journalistic capital. *Journalism Studies*, 1–15. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2017.1345320

Thomas, R. J. (2016). In defense of journalistic paternalism. *Journal of Media Ethics*, *31*(2), 86–99. doi:10.1080/23736992.2016.1152895

Thomason, T., & LaRocque, P. (1995). Editors still reluctant to name rape victims. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *16*(3), 42–51.

Usher, N. (2017). Venture-backed news startups and the field of journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(9), 1116–1133. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1272064

VanSlyke Turk, J. (1986). Information subsidies and media content: A study of public relations influence on the news. *Journalism Monographs*, *100*.

Vos, T. P. (2015). Revisiting gatekeeping theory in a time of transition. In T. P. Vos & F. O. Heinderyckx (Eds.), *Gatekeeping in transition* (pp. 3–24). New York, NY: Routledge.

Vos, T. P. (2016). Historical perspectives on journalistic roles. In C. Mellado, L. Hellmueller, & W. Donsbach (Eds.), *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, models, and measures* (pp. 41–59). New York, NY: Routledge.

Vos, T. P., & Finneman, T. (2017). The early historical construction of journalism's gatekeeping role. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *18*(3), 265–280. doi:10.1177/1464884916636126

Vos, T. P., & Heinderyckx, F. O. (2015). *Gatekeeping in transition*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Wallace, J. (2018). Modelling contemporary gatekeeping: The rise of individuals, algorithms and platforms in digital news dissemination. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(3), 274–293.

Welbers, K., van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N., & Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *17*(8), 1037–1053. doi:10.1177/1464884915595474

Wendelin, M., Engelmann, I., & Neubarth, J. (2015). User rankings and journalistic news selection. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(2), 135–153. doi:10.1080/1461670x.2015.1040892

White, D. M. (1950). The 'gate keeper:' A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*(4), 383–390.

Whyte, M. (2008, September 21). How a fact-checking website became an electoral player. *Toronto Star*. https://www.thestar.com/news/world/2008/09/21/how_a_factchecking_website_became_an_electoral_player.html

Wiener, N. (1948). *Cybernetics, or control and communication in the animal and the machine*. Cambridge, MA: The Technology Press and John Wiley & Sons.

Williams, B. A., & Delli Carpini, M. X. (2004). Monica and bill all the time and everywhere:The collapse of gatekeeping and agenda setting in the new media environment. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *47*(9), 1208–1230. doi:10.1177/0002764203262344

7

Professionalism, Professional Identity, and Journalistic Roles

Thomas Hanitzsch and Henrik Örnebring

Research into professionalism, professional identity, and the roles of journalists is key to our understanding of journalism's place and legitimacy in society. Studies of this kind are of particular relevance at a time when journalism's identity is existentially shaken and journalistic ideals have become more ambivalent and liquid (Koljonen, 2013).

In this chapter, we look at professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles as discourses through which journalistic agents articulate their centrality to social processes and public conversation in an increasingly mediatized world. A discursive understanding would suggest that these concepts exist because and as we talk about them. Journalists' professionalism, identity, and roles have no true "essence"; in order to be intelligible, they exist as part of a wider framework of meaning—of a discourse (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017). As such, they set the parameters of what is desirable in the institutional context of journalism. Ultimately, professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles are never static; they are subject to continual discursive (re)creation, (re)interpretation, appropriation, and contestation, as we shall see below.

This chapter aims to provide an overview of the central themes and key works in the area. Starting with a discussion of the conceptual roots of the notion of professionalism, we argue that professionalism refers to a system of shared norms, rules, and practices that members of an occupation adhere to and live by. These norms, rules, and practices nurture a sense of professional self-awareness, or professional identity. Cultivated through occupational training and socialization, professional identity captures journalists' aggregated perceptions of themselves as members of a professional community through shared occupational views, experience, and mythology. Professional identity, we further argue, is indexed through journalists' adherence to specific journalistic roles, or combinations thereof. Here, journalistic roles make up the interpretative repertoire by which journalists articulate generalized expectations as to how journalism is serving society, in both normative and descriptive terms. The chapter will conclude by discussing a number of conceptual and methodological challenges.

PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

Central to the discourse of professionalism is a set of four interlinked concepts: profession, professional, professionalism, and professionalization. *Profession* is the "root word" of this discourse.

Early sociologists were interested in the professions as an emergent social-occupational category and in the increasingly important societal role of this category. "It seems evident that many of the most important features of our society are to a considerable extent dependent on the smooth functioning of the professions," as Talcott Parsons (1939, p. 457) wrote in his seminal text on the topic. Today, we would perhaps say that Parsons and other sociologists of his time were studying the emerging knowledge society, where a range of new knowledge-oriented occupations (along with several "old" ones) were defining and redefining themselves and working toward increased legitimacy, status, and authority. Teachers, architects, public administrators, nurses, engineers, social workers, accountants, and others (including journalists) attempted to model themselves after the formal and tightly controlled "traditional" professions of medicine and law and elevate their work beyond the status of trades or crafts, with varying degrees of success. A profession, in the minds of Parsons and others, was something *more* than a mere occupation.

Thus a central concern of the early sociological literature on professions was to define exactly what it was that made a profession more than "just a job" (as in Greenwood, 1957, for example), giving rise to what later came to be called trait theories or trait models of the professions (Abbott, 1988). Was the key difference a formal, theoretical education? An overarching societal duty? Specialized skills? Credentialing/licensing? The existence of a formal ethical code? The formation of professional organizations? The research review chapter of Geoffrey Millerson's (1964) book on professionalization famously identified 21 elements that could potentially distinguish "professions" from other lines of work. However, the trait approach was problematic because, as Millerson demonstrated, scholars of the professions could not agree on which traits were essential, and furthermore, the application of traits frequently took on a normative character. Many times, the intention of applying traits to define a profession is "to derogate attempts, made by members of an occupation, to establish professional status for themselves. Those struggling are judged unworthy of the classification" (p. 2).

The trait model for defining professions ran into trouble when scholars began using it to analyze journalism. As it turns out, it is entirely possible to act as a *professional* without unequivocally being a member of a *profession*. Early scholars of journalism as a profession applied the lists of criteria from trait theories of professionalization and found, unsurprisingly, that journalism did not meet all of them. Jeremy Tunstall (1971) thus identified journalism as a "semi-profession," signifying that it met some of the criteria of a profession but not others. Journalism, for example, did claim a specific core knowledge as its own (somewhat simplified, the ability to write in accordance with the demands of the various genres present in newspapers), but no formal education, qualification, or certification was necessary to guarantee this knowledge.

To complicate things further—and to point toward the need for comparative analysis—the degree of formalization of journalism education has been very different in different countries. For example, university education of journalists began very early on (1910s) in the US and very late (1970s) in the UK. Journalists did have formal organizations (both publishers' organizations and unions), but these organizations as a rule did not have the power to control entry into the profession. Indeed, controlling entry to the profession (as was done in medicine and law) has mostly been viewed as antithetical to the democratic function of journalism, meaning that journalism could not achieve this key criterion of a profession without losing its claim to societal legitimacy. Yet, while many journalists historically have resisted the label of profession for what they do, instead defining their work as a trade, craft, or even art (Kimball, 1965), the same journalists often insist that what distinguishes them from just any person in the street is that they are able to perform their work tasks in a *professional* manner.

Journalists, of course, use the word professional in a common sense way, not a social-scientific sense. Here, being professional could be taken to (roughly) mean being able to conduct your work tasks *independently*, in a *dispassionate manner*, and with a *reliable and predictable* quality, *regardless of who your employer is* (see, for example, Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). In this sense of "professional," the democratic role of journalism—generally seen as a key element to claims of social legitimacy and cultural authority—does not really enter into the equation except indirectly. Independence, emotional and political neutrality, and reliability of output may be justified as elements of being professional because they are all viewed as necessary to fulfill a particular role in representative mass democracy. But it is also—and not incidentally, as argued very forcefully by Meryl Aldridge and Julia Evetts (2003)—a definition of "professional" that aligns very strongly with the needs of journalists' *employers* (i.e., commercial news organizations). Employers need professionals (in this more everyday sense of the word) because they can easily slot into the organizations and conduct work to specifications without much need for training and supervision.

This brings us to the third and eponymous part of the professionalism discourse: *professionalism*. Professionalism refers to the *system of shared norms, rules, and practices* that members of a profession adhere to and live by. Sociologically speaking, professionalism is what connects norms (i.e., ideals about how the profession should be conducted and why it should be conducted in this way) to practice. Professionalism is learned through many different channels, where both formal education and on-the-job socialization play important roles—but so does popular culture, where fictional representations of journalism and journalists also express notions about what constitutes professionalism (Ehrlich, 2004). The (perceived) professional *roles* of journalists (discussed later in this chapter) can be understood as part of the professionalism of journalists—a professional role consists of both normative and descriptive elements defining the wider societal function of the profession as well as formal and informal rules for how this societal function should be fulfilled in practice.

The study of journalistic professionalism is thus the study of this system of shared norms, rules, and practices, identifying and analyzing its component parts as well as the relationship of these parts to each other. In this instance as well, many scholars have highlighted the instrumental nature of journalistic professionalism. Gaye Tuchman (1972), for example, noted how objectivity, a central element of professionalism, in practice was enacted in very limited and circumscribed ways, amounting to a "strategic ritual" rather than indicating any deeper normative commitment. Later scholars have made similar observations about other key elements of journalistic professionalism; one recent example is verification (Godler & Reich, 2013; Shapiro, Brin, Bédard-Brûlé, & Mychajlowycz, 2013).

The main thrust of research on journalistic professionalism has been critical, focusing on how professionalism functions less as a neutral set of rules for how norms should be enacted in practice and more as an ideology, serving to both discipline journalists and to justify their privileged position as primary definers (Soloski, 1989). Using professionalism as a way to examine this gap between ideals and practice has also recently been made explicit in the concept of (journalistic) role performance, or the extent to which the ideals expressed in professional roles are actually present in journalistic outputs (Mellado, 2015; Mellado & van Dalen, 2014).

If professionalism is the system of shared norms, rules, and practices that guide journalistic work, then *professionalization* is the *degree* to which journalists share this system. If journalists are in profound disagreement over what constitutes professionalism (i.e., norms, rules, and practices are not widely shared), then those journalists exhibit a low degree of professionalization. The word "professionalization" evokes process and historical progress, suggesting that there is a gradual temporal movement from less to more professionalism within any given occupational role, which sociologist Harold Wilensky (1964, p. 137) pointedly characterized as "the professionalization of everyone." However, while this historical understanding of professionalization is currently the most common one, it was not always so. The first study to apply the concept of professionalization to journalism, Jack McLeod and Searle Hawley's (1964) article "Professionalization Among Newsmen," was not at all concerned with historical processes but rather with studying precisely the degree of adherence to shared norms, rules, and practices among the employees of two news organizations. McLeod and Hawley found that such adherence did indeed vary significantly even within the same organization: some editorial employees were classified as “professionals,” some as “semi-professionals,” and some as “non-professionals” (though the latter category mostly consisted of employees from McLeod and Hawley’s control group of non-editorial employees). It is this comparative logic (comparing the relative professionalization of journalists in different types of news organizations as well as across different nations and media systems), rather than the historical logic (as expressed in various historical studies of the emergence and consolidation of journalism as a profession, e.g., Elliott, 1978; O’Boyle, 1968; Örnebring, 2013), that is the main focus of this chapter. We now turn to a more detailed account of how professionalism has been conceptualized and operationalized through the key concepts of *professional identity* and *roles*. It is these two concepts that have been the most influential in research on journalistic professionalism that follows the comparative logic.

PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AND JOURNALISTIC ROLES

In both normative and descriptive accounts, the discourse of professionalism is tightly related to journalism’s locus in society, its public legitimacy and epistemic authority, as well as the way journalists conceive of their roles. Here, comparative research suggests that, despite the many differences between journalists from different nations, there seems to exist a significant consensus about the role and identity of journalism in society (Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). Mark Deuze (2005) conceptualized this shared understanding as a “professional ideology” that is believed to serve as the cultural cement holding journalists together as a profession and forming the collective foundation of journalism’s identity. At the core of this ideology are traditionally held professional values that Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel (2001) described as “the elements of journalism”: accordingly, journalism is primarily oriented toward fact, provides timely and relevant information, and requires a certain degree of intellectual autonomy and independence (Deuze, 2005; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Furthermore, it is usually carried out in organized settings and seen as a professional service to the public, one that comes with certain duties, making it more than “just a job” (as indicated by earlier research on what constitutes a profession). In the daily practice of journalists, as Jenny Wiik (2009) argued, professional identity refers to a wider frame of identification and is tied to a sense of common understandings, experiences, and expertise, cultivated through professional socialization on multiple levels.

Wiik used the concept of professional identity to capture the *aggregated self-perceptions of journalists as professionals*. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, professional identity as an object of knowing and experience is discursively constituted and subject to constant (re)creation, (re)interpretation, appropriation, and contestation. Such continual change is also borne out by historical research on journalistic professionalization, like Johan Jarlbrink’s (2015) work on how the mobile role of the reporter became a more central part of journalists’ professional identity around the turn of the 19th/20th century, while the sedentary role of the editor at the same time became less central and more associated with newsroom leadership rather than professional identity in general.

At the core of professional identity and related discourses is journalism’s locus in society. Here, professional identity articulates the relations between competing discursive positions commonly referred to as conceptions of journalistic roles. The various understandings of journalists’ roles—as “disseminator,” “watchdog,” “advocate,” or other—compete in a discursive field, where journalistic actors struggle over authority in defining the meaning and role of journalism in society. The discursive field is thus the central arena where journalistic culture and identity is reproduced and contested; where the struggle over the preservation or transformation of journalism’s identity takes place (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017). As a result of this contest, dominant positions in this discourse crystallize as institutional norms and practices—the defining features of professionalism. While journalists are the central discursive agents in the articulation of roles (Zelizer, 1993), they do so in an exchange with interlocutors in the broader society and by using a discursive toolkit that the broader society recognizes as legitimate (Carlson, 2016). For example, Cook (1998) demonstrated how journalists' increasingly independent role vis-à-vis the political sphere and political actors in the late 19th century was articulated in negotiation with political and government actors, who increasingly allowed privileged access to journalists they saw as legitimate representatives of the press.

In other words, professional identity is indexed through journalists' adherence to specific journalistic roles, or combinations thereof. These roles make up the interpretative repertoire by which journalists articulate *generalized expectations as to how journalism is serving society*, in both normative and descriptive terms. Defined as a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors (Wetherell, 1998), this interpretative repertoire is a flexible discursive resource journalists routinely deploy as they render their work meaningful to themselves and external stakeholders. Emblematic of such rhetorical devices are journalistic roles such as the "neutral disseminator," "watchdog," or "agent of change" (see below).

Journalistic roles are widely recognizable and have a relatively stable and enduring form. They generally allude to a set of normative and cognitive beliefs as well as perceived and actual practices of journalists situated and understood within the institutional framework of journalism. Here, journalists articulate and enact journalistic roles on two analytically distinct levels: role orientations and role performance (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017; see Figure 7.1).

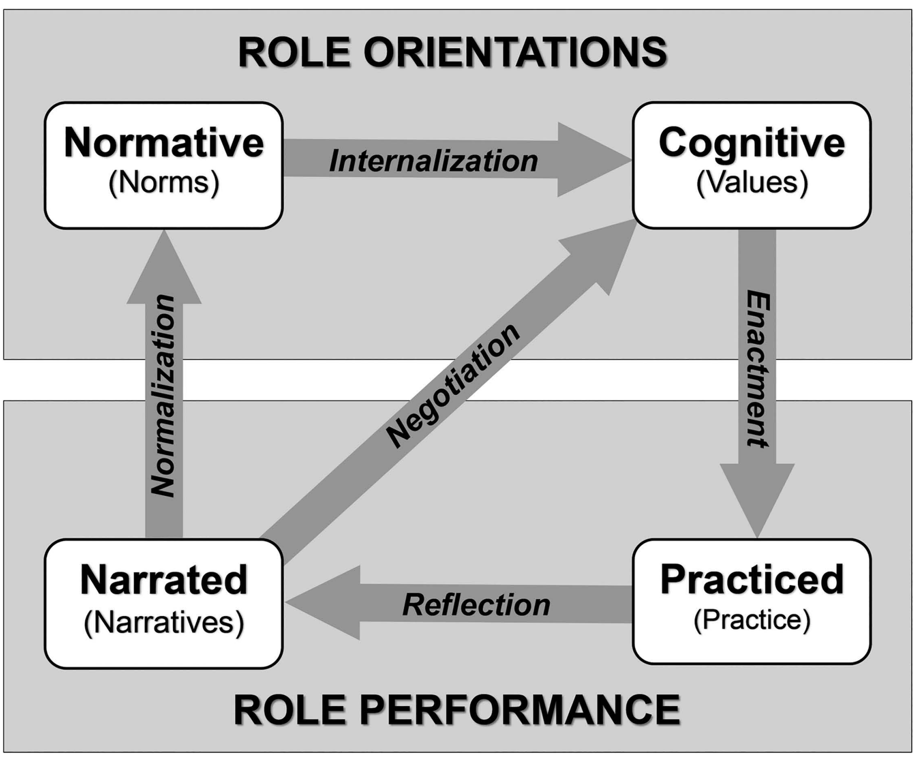

Figure 7.1 Process Model of Journalistic Roles

Source: Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017, p. 123.

Role orientations refer to discursive constructions of the institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs with regard to the position of journalism in society. These orientations can be normative and cognitive. Normative roles indicate what is generally desirable to think or do in a given context, while cognitive ideas provide the recipes, guidelines, and maps for concrete action (Schmidt, 2008). *Role performance* (Mellado, 2015), on the other hand, denotes journalistic roles as enacted in practice (practiced roles) as well as their observation, reflection, and narration by journalists (narrated roles). These four categories of journalistic roles correspond to conceptually distinct ideas: what journalists *ought to do*, what they *want to do*, what journalists *actually do* in practice, and what they *say they do*. The four categories of roles are connected through the processes of internalization, enactment, reflection, normalization, and negotiation in what Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim Vos (2017) proposed as the process model of journalistic roles.

NORMATIVE ROLE ORIENTATIONS

Normative journalistic roles appear external to journalists; they can be defined as "*generalized expectations* which journalists believe exist in society and among different stakeholders, which they see as normatively acceptable, and which influence their behavior on the job" (Donsbach, 2012, emphasis added). They speak to how journalists are expected to meet the aspirations and ideals of both the professional community and the general public.

Normative roles of journalists are socially negotiated and sensitive to context; they are in a constant state of flux. Confronted with journalists' performance in everyday news work, these roles are subject to discursive reproduction and conservation as well as to contestation and transformation. In this context, *injunctive norms* refer to journalists' beliefs about desirable practice in a given context, while *descriptive norms* refer to their beliefs about what is actually done by most other journalists (see Lapinski & Rimal, 2005). The context-sensitive nature of norms explains why some journalistic roles (e.g., the watchdog or "fourth estate" roles) are socially desirable in some contexts (mostly developed democracies) more than others (in authoritarian societies).

Normative roles of journalists are primarily derived from a view that emphasizes journalism's (potential) contribution to the proper workings of democracy. It comes as no surprise, then, that most of the roles advocated in the literature have a close connection to citizenship and democratic life. In this context, journalism is expected to provide surveillance of and information about potentially relevant events and their contexts; to deliver commentary, guidance, and advice on complex issues; to provide the means for political access, expression, and participation; to contribute to shared consciousness; and to act as critic and watchdog to hold the powerful to account. In an excellent overview, Clifford Christians, Theodore Glasser, Denis McQuail, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Robert White (2009) charged journalists with four principal roles: monitorial (collection, publication, and distribution of information of interest to audiences); facilitative (promoting social dialogue and active participation in political life); radical (providing a platform for criticism with the aim to support change and reform); and collaborative (supporting authorities in defense of the social order).

These roles, however, with the possible exception of the collaborative role, were all articulated from within Western perspectives and Western notions of democracy and furthermore from a notion of mass democracy that historically was intimately linked to the emergence of a mass press (Lee, 1976; Read, 1979). Such a view emphasizes individual liberties and freedom. As we will discuss below, other societies may prioritize collective needs and social harmony, urging journalists to refrain from coverage that could potentially disrupt the social order (Mehra, 1989; Xu, 2005). Hence, distinctive sets of normative ideas may be at work in many non-Western contexts, where journalists are expected to act in the capacity of nation builders, partners of the government, and agents of empowerment (Romano, 2005). Development journalism, for instance, calls for a facilitative and constructive role of journalists in the public domain, placing greater emphasis on the idea of social responsibility.

COGNITIVE ROLE ORIENTATIONS

Cognitive journalistic roles encompass the *institutional values, attitudes, and beliefs journalists as individuals embrace as a result of their occupational socialization*. While normative roles are in many ways imposed on journalists, cognitive roles capture their *subjective* aspirations and work-related ambitions. These ambitions mostly work in the subconscious; they tend to appear as evident, natural, and self-explanatory to the journalists (Schultz, 2007). As a discourse shared by journalists, cognitive roles belong to a collective interpretative repertoire selectively activated by journalists, both in context-specific situations and as a marker of their professional identity.

Normative roles do not directly translate into cognitive roles, however; they are *selectively internalized* by journalists. In this process, journalists learn about the institutional norms, values, and roles through occupational socialization both within the news organization and during vocational education and professional training. This way, journalists develop idealized expectations about their work and news organizations that remain a pervasive standard against which daily practices are compared (Russo, 1998). This socialization takes place in a specific community of practice in which the professional veterans have common goals and share a repertoire of myths and tales (Gravengaard & Rimestad, 2014). Forms of ritual solidarity that call on journalists to celebrate themselves as a professional community invigorate the articulation of institutional norms. Shared interpretations of and narratives about journalism's key moments, such as the exposure of the Watergate scandal, feed into the collective imaginary of journalists and serve to reinforce professional identity (Zelizer, 1993).

Cognitive roles of journalists have received considerable attention from empirical scholars, particularly from comparative researchers. Among the early examples are Wolfgang Donsbach's (1981) and Renate Köcher's (1986) comparisons of British and German journalists. Both authors observed that German journalists favored an active role of advocacy, whereas their British counterparts embraced the neutral reporter role more strongly. Thomas Patterson and Donsbach (1996), comparing journalists from five Western countries, found Germans and Italians to be more inclined to champion values and ideas in their reporting, while their American, British, and Swedish colleagues were less keen to do so.

Overall, comparative studies found considerable agreement among journalists around the world regarding the importance of detachment and noninvolvement, of reporting the news quickly, of acting as a watchdog, and of providing access for the people to express their views (Hanitzsch et al., 2011, 2019; Weaver, 1998; Weaver & Willnat, 2012). At the same time, these studies discovered strong national differences in journalists' cognitive roles, many of which related to interventionism—that is, journalists' willingness to involve themselves actively in social and political matters (see below). Much of this cross-national variation reflects differences in political systems, cultural value sets, socioeconomic development, and the media environment; differences that are in turn path-dependent and historically contingent. Based on a survey of journalists in 67 countries, Hanitzsch et al. (2019) found that this cultural diversity of journalistic roles can be meaningfully mapped onto four distinct bundles of roles: monitorial (political information, watchdog, and political mobilization); collaborative (government support and positive coverage of political leaders); interventionist (social change, influence of public opinion and political agenda, and support of national development); and accommodative (entertainment, audience interest, and orientation for daily life).

A growing number of studies specifically look at journalists' roles beyond the Western world. Arab journalists, for instance, conceive of their mission as that of driving political and social reform, thus acting as "change agents" in the political arena (Pintak, 2014, p. 494). Pakistani journalists found it most important to defend national sovereignty, preserve national unity, and foster societal development (Pintak & Nazir, 2013)—traits that were also pronounced among Indonesian journalists (Romano, 2003). All these values correspond to the idea of "development journalism" identified in several countries that broadly belong to the Global South (Edeani, 1993).

The impressive number of empirical studies notwithstanding, research into journalists' cognitive roles was relatively thin on theory for a long time. One of the first attempts to extract a theoretical classification of roles was undertaken by Donsbach and Patterson (2004), who identified two major dimensions of roles for Western democracies: passive versus active roles and neutral versus advocate roles. Capturing journalistic roles beyond the Western world, Hanitzsch (2007) suggested three theoretical dimensions: *interventionism* (the extent to which journalists pursue a particular mission and promote certain values), *power distance* (journalists' position toward loci of power in society), and *market orientation* (the extent to which members of the audience are addressed primarily in their role as citizens or as consumers).

PRACTICED ROLE PERFORMANCE

Recently, researchers have started to pay greater attention to the way journalistic roles are enacted in practice (e.g., Carpenter, Boehmer, & Fico, 2016; Mellado & van Dalen, 2014; Tandoc, Hellmueller, & Vos, 2013). Here, practiced journalistic roles capture the *behavioral aspect* of professional roles. Cognitive roles of journalists—and normative roles by extension—translate into practiced roles through a process commonly referred to as *role enactment*. Individuals tend to seek consistency between ideals and behavior, which is why journalists are likely to enact roles that are in line with the professional values they embrace (Tandoc et al., 2013)—a process, however, that is highly contingent on the contextual conditions of news work (Shoemaker & Reese, 2013).

Practiced roles are indicated through the tangible professional conduct and performance of journalists, which can be studied by means of observation and ethnography. Most of the time, however, practiced roles are extracted from news content—a technique that has gained popularity in recent years (Mellado & van Dalen, 2014; Skovsgaard, Albæk, Bro, & de Vreese, 2013; van Dalen, de Vreese, & Albæk, 2012). Early research discovered that journalism students, for instance, included more analysis and interpretation in their articles when they believed that journalism should play an active role (Starck & Soloski, 1977). David Weaver, Randal Beam, Bonnie Brownlee, Paul Voakes, and Cleveland Wilhoit (2007) found US journalists' self-reported roles to correlate modestly with the roles presented in what they considered their best works. More recently, surveys of journalists in Denmark, Germany, Spain, and the UK established a robust relationship between journalists' cognitive roles and journalist's reporting styles (van Dalen et al., 2012), while studies in Chile and the US point to a gap between journalists' "rhetoric and practice" (Mellado & van Dalen, 2014, p. 859; Tandoc et al., 2013). One explanation for this inconsistency may be that the processes of enactment are themselves dependent on media systems and/or national cultures—in some cultures, a bigger gap between ideal and practice may be more socially acceptable than in others.

In an attempt to theorize roles of journalists as they materialize in news content, Esser (2008) suggested *journalistic intervention*—here understood as the extent to which journalists report in their own words, scenarios, assessments—as a key marker of cross-national differences. Building on Hanitzsch's (2007) and Esser's (2008) work on interventionism/journalistic intervention, power distance, and market orientation (see above), Claudia Mellado (2015) proposed three similar dimensions of "role performance": *presence of the journalistic voice*, *power relations*, and *audience approach*.

NARRATED ROLE PERFORMANCE

Narrated journalistic roles denominate *subjective perceptions and articulations of the roles journalists carry out in practice*. Narrated roles are filtered through journalists' cognitive apparatuses and are ultimately reinterpreted against normative expectations and cognitive aspirations. In many Western societies, for example, the omnipresence of the neutral disseminator role as a high standard of professionalism compels journalists to rhetorically emphasize this role even when they fail to meet that standard. In this sense, it is helpful to think of narrated role performance in terms of a discursive relationship between journalists, sources, and their audiences. Paradigm repair is a classic example of this, for it suggests that journalists reimagine their work based on how their role performance is perceived by the interlocutor-public (Berkowitz, 2000).

The process by which practiced roles of journalists translate into narrated roles can be understood as *role reflection*. Reflection is a retrospective mechanism that puts journalistic practices—as well as their observation, interpretation, and categorization—into a coherent narrative. Turning actual practice into a narrative account, mediated through subjective experience, is an act of discursive transformation, in which journalists map their performance onto a standard set of journalistic roles provided by an orthodox repertoire of collectively shared exemplars. It is exactly for this reason that self-reports of journalists on their performance are little more than a mere approximation to journalists' real practice: rather than capturing journalists' actual practices, self-reports rely on recollections and enunciations of their performance in retrospect.

A common strategy for studying narrated roles is by asking journalists about the extent to which they think they are able to enact their cognitive roles in practice. Here, too, researchers found both a correlation between cognitive and narrated roles, and a lack of correspondence between journalists' perceived importance of some roles and their actual performance. Hugh Culbertson (1983), for instance, found journalists' roles to be correlated with perceived practice. From a survey of Danish journalists, Morten Skovsgaard, Erik Albæk, Peter Bro, and Claes de Vreese (2013) established that journalists' cognitive roles have substantial explanatory power with regard to how journalists implement the objectivity norm. Jyotika Ramaprasad and Shafiqur Rahman (2006) as well as Siegfried Weischenberg, Martin Löffelholz, and Armin Scholl (1998), however, discovered a substantial gap between the perceived importance of some roles and their reported performance.

Another way of studying narrated roles of journalists is by extracting them from professional discourse. This discourse carries myths and tales about "good practice" and "good journalists," which are inherited by successive generations of journalists (Zelizer, 1993). Several of these tales, such as the one around the exposure of the Watergate scandal by two relentless *Washington Post* reporters, assumed legendary status in the journalistic field and thus became drivers of professional culture for subsequent generations of journalists.

Narrated roles of journalists' feed back into discourses about normative and cognitive role orientations. In a routine setting, perceptions of journalistic practice serve to consolidate and reinforce established norms. Beliefs about what is actually done by most other journalists contribute to the *normalization*—or legitimation—of certain professional standards and ultimately lead to the preservation of journalistic cultures. At the same time, though less frequently, narrated roles also challenge—or delegitimize—professional consensus and, thus, destabilize hegemonic journalistic norms. A popular example is the idea of "peace journalism," which former BBC reporter Annabel McGoldrick (2000, p. 20) advocated as a new form of journalism that looks "at how journalists could be part of the solution rather than part of the problem." The contemporary movement of "constructive" or "solutions" journalism (Haagerup, 2014), which argues against excessive negativity in the news, presents a similar challenge to the professional consensus.

The way journalists perceive and frame their own practice is also put in *negotiation* with the cognitive roles they embrace. Here, narrated roles tend to assimilate journalists—especially young reporters—into newsroom culture and into journalism culture in the broadest sense. This way, journalists develop a professional identity that gives them a sense of self, which is continually reiterated and reinforced by the professional community (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). However, journalists may, at some point, realize that their practice does not live up to the standards set by their subjective aspirations. One way to resolve this dissonance is by appropriation, that is, by calibrating their professional ideals and bringing them in line with—actual or narrated—practice. Exit, finally, is another option to resolve this conflict: journalists may come to conclude that their professional aspirations are fundamentally incompatible with real-existing practice and, thus, decide to leave the profession (Örnebring & Möller, 2018).

TOWARD A UNIVERSAL CATALOGUE OF JOURNALISTIC ROLES

The strands of research discussed above resulted in a cacophony of partly overlapping and often very disparate catalogues of journalistic roles. One of the first systematic classifications of roles was proposed by Bernhard Cohen (1963), who identified a "neutral" and a "participant" role. His work was further developed by Morris Janowitz (1975), who distinguished between a "gatekeeper" and "advocate" role, and later continued by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986), who discovered three, rather than two, sets of journalists' professional roles—the "disseminator," "interpreter," and "adversarial" roles—to which they later added the "populist mobilizer" role (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996). Based on journalists' survey responses to the first Worlds of Journalism Study, Hanitzsch (2011) classified journalists into four global professional subgroups: "populist disseminators," "detached watchdogs," "critical change agents," and "opportunist facilitators."

A review of the broad literature (comparative work in particular) allows us to map this variety of journalistic roles onto two—analytically distinct but empirically related—domains central to people's lives: the domain of politics, and the domain of everyday life (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018). In the first domain, *political life*, journalism addresses the audience in its capacity as citizens, providing them with the information they need to act and participate in political life and, if given a chance, to be free and self-governing. The universe of politically oriented roles of journalists can be further organized into 18 specific roles that map onto a higher-order structure of six elementary functions of journalism, each addressing abstract needs of political life (see Figure 7.2).

- The *informational-instructive* function pertains to the idea that citizens need to have the relevant information at hand to act and participate in political life. Central to this function is the understanding of journalism as an exercise of information transmission, news (re-)packaging, and storytelling.

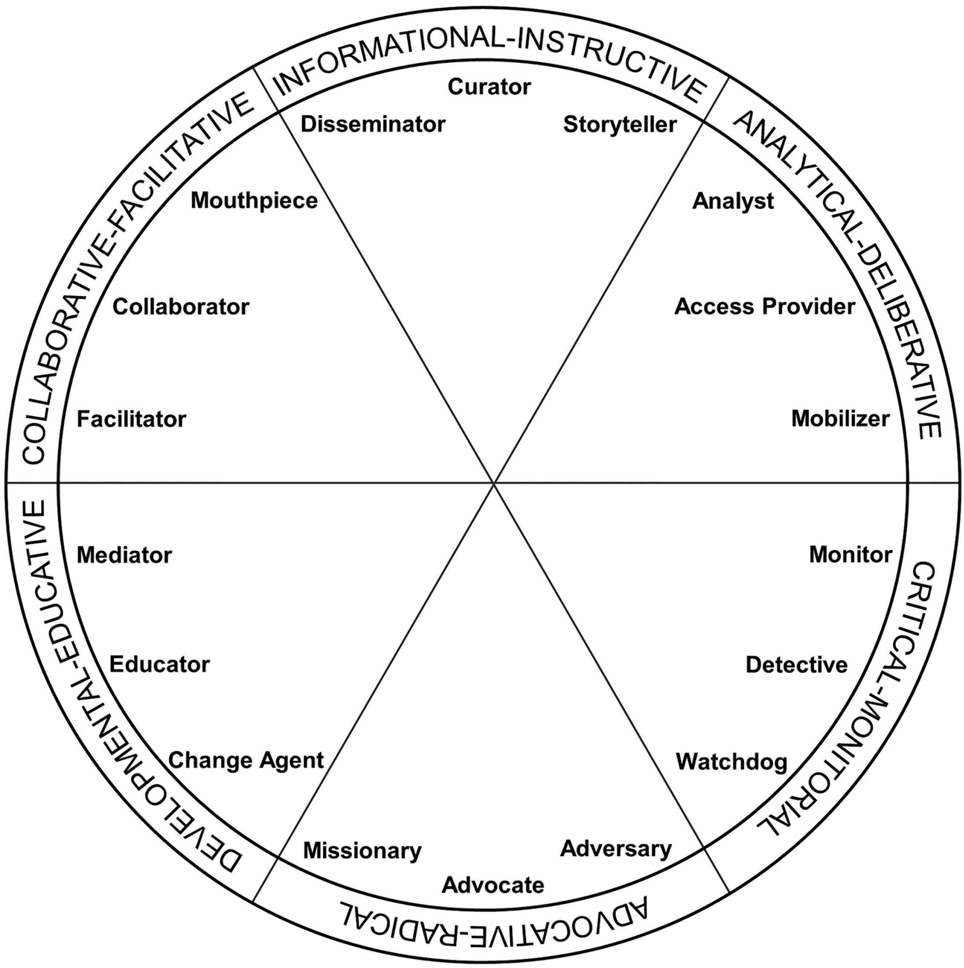

Figure 7.2 Roles of Journalists in Political Life

Source: Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018, p. 153.

- The *analytical-deliberative* dimension encompasses journalistic roles that are politically more active and assertive, either by making a direct intervention in a political discourse (e.g., through news commentary); by engaging the audience in public conversation; by empowering citizens; or by providing means for political participation.
- The *critical-monitorial function*, placed at journalism's normative core in the West, is grounded in the ideal of journalism acting as the "fourth estate," with journalists voicing criticism, holding powers to account and, in so doing, creating a critically minded citizenry.
- Roles that belong to the *advocative-radical function* compel journalists to conceive of themselves as participants in political life, speaking on behalf of specific groups or, more generally, the socially disadvantaged, by acting as advocates of values, ideologies, and causes, and positioning themselves as adversaries of the powerful.

- The *developmental-educative* function compels journalists not to stay outside the flow of events but to participate, intervene, get involved, and promote social change. This dimension takes journalistic intervention beyond the discursive realm—by actively promoting real-world change and by contributing to public education, social harmony, and other goals that journalists share with their audiences.
- The *collaborative-facilitative* dimension emphasizes an understanding of journalists acting as constructive partners of government and supporting it in its efforts to bring about national development and socio-economic well-being. In this capacity, journalists may serve as facilitators, collaborators, or as a mouthpiece of the government.

Journalism's contribution to political life is only one side of the coin, however. Modernity and processes of individualization continue to push journalism and the news further into the domain of *everyday life* (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018). In a time when traditional social institutions cease to provide a normative framework people can hold on to, the media have to some extent taken over this role, filling the void through providing collective orientation in an increasingly multi-optional society (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). In this role, journalists provide help, advice, guidance, and information about the management of self and everyday life through consumer news and "news-you-can-use" content (Eide & Knight, 1999; Underwood, 2001). Given the historical, discursive toolkit available to them (which emphasizes journalism's contribution to political life), however, journalists have been slow to articulate this role within journalism's institutional framework.

Hence, we can identify another seven roles positioned vis-à-vis three central spaces of everyday needs: consumption, identity, and emotion (see Figure 7.3).

- In the area of *consumption*, journalism addresses audience members in their capacity as consumers by featuring various kinds of products and patterns of leisure-time activities, thus contributing to the construction of desirable consumer lifestyles.
- The area of *identity* responds to the fact that identity work in modern society is more than ever an individual exercise. Identity is transformed from a "given" into a "task,"

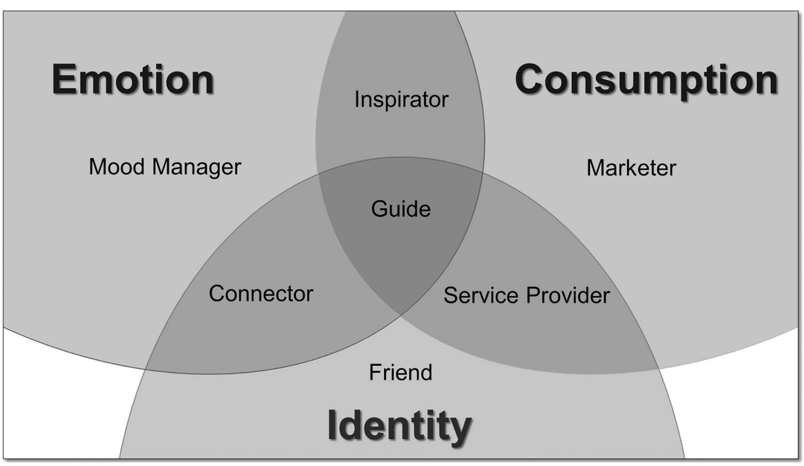

Figure 7.3 Roles of Journalists in Everyday Life

Source: Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018, p. 158.

charging individuals with the responsibility for performing that task, as well as for the consequences (Bauman, 2000). Confronted with an increased plurality of options, and greater freedom to choose between them, individuals seek orientation for the management of self and everyday life and for developing a sense of identification and belonging.
- The area of *emotion* is concerned with the affective, emotional, and mood-related experience of news consumption. Here, journalism contributes to affect regulation by helping individuals regulate mood and arousal and can stimulate rewarding social and cognitive experiences that contribute to emotional well-being in more complex and sustainable ways (for instance, by fostering a sense of insight, meaning, and social connectedness; Bartsch & Schneider, 2014).

CONCLUSIONS: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

As this review demonstrates, research on professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles has become conceptually ambitious and methodologically more sophisticated in recent years. Despite a truly impressive number of studies, there is still room for further conceptual development and empirical work. Future studies should bring greater clarity to traditional and often inconsistently used terminology (e.g., "role perceptions," "role conceptions," "professional roles," and "professional ideology") and spell out the theoretical links between the three key concepts (professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles). Particular attention should be paid to addressing questions of causality and the way in which contextual conditions (organizational, institutional, cultural, and otherwise) mold journalists' understandings of professionalism as well as their roles and professional identities.

On the level of theory, research in the area still lacks a general theoretical framework that links journalists' individual attitudes and practices to the analysis of journalism as a social institution or field. In this context, it seems useful to invest more effort into bringing historically distinct research traditions into conversation with one another. Empirical studies in the area typically build on methodological individualism, arriving at conclusions about "journalism" by aggregating survey responses of journalists. At the same time, studies approaching journalism from a normative, structural, and institutional lens tend to treat news production processes as a "black box"; these perspectives have little grounding in journalists' views, practices, and real-world experience.

While comparative analyses of professional identities and roles have made great advances in identifying similarities and differences across a wide range of cases, a further analysis of why such similarities and differences appear is still lacking, likely because it would require entirely different (historical) methods. Theoretical frameworks currently do not do a good job of explaining the clear and historically grounded differences between nations that many comparative analyses see as closely linked, as noted in, for example, Mark Hampton's (2008) historical research on the resistance to and critique of the "American" notion of objectivity among British journalists.

On the empirical level, scholars often simply presume that journalists' professional views have at least some recognizable impact on their practice (e.g., Weaver, 1998). However, what journalists tell the researcher in a survey is not necessarily what they do in practice. And indeed, as mentioned above, there is some evidence pointing to a gap between ideals and practice. Thus, recent years have seen a shift from the analysis of attitudinal aspects—journalistic role perceptions, for instance—to the study of performative elements (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2016). This has moved journalism research closer to studies of political communication, which tend to be less interested in journalists' attitudes and more interested in the content they produce.

The growing focus on journalists' role performance is a move in the right direction, but it may introduce new problems, especially when that performance is not observed (e.g., through news ethnography) but inferred from journalists' self-reports about their practice or from the content they produced (Mellado & van Dalen, 2014; Tandoc et al., 2013; van Dalen et al., 2012). This strategy is not without problems, which is evidenced by the fact that studies point to both a correlation and a disconnect between journalists' role orientations and performance.

One may explain these inconsistencies by the analytical strategies used in studies looking at journalists' practice. First, extracting journalists' "performance" from content runs the risk of ignoring the realities of news production, which often make it difficult to attribute a given news account to a single journalist. Collective authorship and news editing have become common features in news production. Second, self-reports of journalists' performance can only be an approximation to journalistic practice at best. These recollections may not always be accurate and may well be overshadowed by normative assumptions of desirable practice. Third, and finally, both groups of researchers tend to overstate their points. Studies finding robust correlations between journalists' ideals and practices, on the one hand, often reveal significant but rather weak effects. Protagonists of the "gap" hypothesis, on the other hand, tend to present the lack of a correspondence between professional values and practice as startling evidence of a broken link between journalistic orientations and performance. After all, weak correlations between journalists' ideals and practice should not come as a surprise to journalism researchers. Journalists are not always—perhaps even rarely—able to fully enact their occupational aspirations under conditions of limited autonomy (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Hence, the relationship between journalists' professional orientations and their performance should be construed as one of correlation (strong or weak) rather than one of correspondence (or a lack thereof).

Furthermore, research on professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles to some extent still insufficiently accounts for journalism's realities in a *global* context. Despite a significant increase in comparative research in recent years (e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2019; Mellado et al., 2017; Weaver & Willnat, 2012), basic concepts in the area continue to be articulated primarily in Western normative tenets. Western views tend to pin journalism to the idea of democracy, assuming that news media are relatively autonomous from the state and that journalists are independent agents engaged in an antagonistic relationship to power while representing the people (Nerone, 2013). In this line of thought, journalism scholarship celebrates an understanding of journalistic professionalism that is almost existentially tied to the idea of the news media's independence from other social institutions and stakeholders—the essence of a democratic media. The assumption of institutional independence, however, does obviously not hold in many other contexts, and it may not even be normatively desirable in quite a number of them. Several scholars from Asia, for instance, have linked journalism's responsibility to the preservation of social harmony and respect for leadership, urging journalists to refrain from coverage that could potentially disrupt the social order (Xu, 2005). Hence, unlike the individualistic, democratic, egalitarian, and liberal tradition of Western theory, many societies in the Global South value their consensual and communal traditions with an emphasis on duties and obligations to the collective and social harmony (Mehra, 1989).

To be sure, few would deny journalism's centrality to democratic processes, but democracy is arguably not an unconditional prerequisite for journalism (Josephi, 2013). Journalism has always extended beyond democracies—in fact, measured in worldwide terms, people consuming journalism in advanced democracies make up a relatively small minority. Hence, to what extent journalists meet the highest standards of professionalism, professional identity, and journalistic roles—however defined—is a question that each society has to answer in its own terms.

The heavy emphasis on the news media's relationship with democracy is not only contradicting the obvious fact that journalism also exists in non-democratic contexts. By prioritizing journalism's contribution to political life, in both normative and descriptive terms, journalism scholarship has marginalized forms of journalism that primarily cater to public needs in the realm of everyday life, such as service or lifestyle news. These forms of journalism—and the related professional identities and journalistic roles—are often cast as the crude "other" to proper journalism by a "hegemonic model of journalism" that recognizes the journalist as an independent public-spirited verifier of factual information as the superego of the news industry (Nerone, 2013, p. 446). Ironically, journalists are discursively reproducing this hierarchy of desirable professional identities and roles and struggle to articulate alternative roles as they lack an adequate normative framework. In this sense, the glaring marginality of these roles to journalists' interpretative repertoire speaks volumes to how normativity is construed by the professional mainstream (Charlebois, 2015).

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. D. (1988). *The system of professions: An essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Aldridge, M., & Evetts, J. (2003). Rethinking the concept of professionalism: The case of journalism. *British Journal of Sociology*, *54*, 547–564.

Bartsch, B., & Schneider, F. M. (2014). Entertainment and politics revisited: How non-escapist forms of entertainment can stimulate political interest and information seeking. *Journal of Communication*, *64*, 369–396.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Berkowitz, D. (2000). Doing double duty: Paradigm repair and the Princess Diana what-a-story. *Journalism*, *1*, 125–143.

Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. *Communication Theory*, *26*, 349–368.

Carpenter, S., Boehmer, J., & Fico, F. (2016). The measurement of journalistic role enactments: A study of organizational constraints and support in for-profit and nonprofit journalism. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *93*, 587–608.

Charlebois, J. (2015). Interpretative repertoire. In K. Tracy (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of language and social interaction*. Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463/wbielsi017

Christians, C. G., Glasser, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R. A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Cohen, B. C. (1963). *The press and foreign policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cook, T. E. (1998). *Governing with the news: The news media as a political institution*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Culbertson, H. M. (1983). Three perspectives on American journalism. *Journalism Monographs*, *83*, 1–33.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, *6*, 442–464.

Donsbach, W. (1981). Legitimacy through competence rather than value judgments: The concept of journalistic professionalization reconsidered. *Gazette*, *21*, 47–67.

Donsbach, W. (2012). Journalists' role perception. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication*. Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781405186407.wbiecj010.pub2

Donsbach, W., & Patterson, T. E. (2004). Political news journalists: Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication: Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 251–270). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Edeani, D. O. (1993). Role of development journalism in Nigeria's development. *Gazette*, *52*, 123–143.

Ehrlich, M. C. (2004). *Journalism in the movies*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Eide, M., & Knight, G. (1999). Public/private service: Service journalism and the problems of everyday life. *European Journal of Communication*, *14*, 525–547.
Elliott, P. (1978). Professional ideology and organisational change: The journalist since 1800. In G. Boyce, J. Curran, & P. Wingate (Eds.), *Newspaper history: From the 17th century to the present day* (pp. 172–191). London: Sage Publications.
Esser, F. (2008). Dimensions of political news cultures: Sound bite and image bite news in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*, 401–428.
Godler, Y., & Reich, Z. (2013). How journalists "realize" facts: Epistemology in practice at press conferences. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(6), 674–689.
Gravengaard, G., & Rimestad, L. (2014). Socializing journalist trainees in the newsroom: On how to capture the intangible parts of the process. *Nordicom Review*, *35*, 81–95.
Greenwood, E. (1957). Attributes of a profession. *Social Work*, *2*, 45–55.
Haagerup, U. (2014). *Constructive news: Why negativity destroys the media and democracy, and how to improve the journalism of tomorrow*. Aarhus: InnoVatio Press.
Hampton, M. (2008). The "objectivity" ideal and its limitations in 20th-century British journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *9*(4), 477–493.
Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Towards a universal theory. *Communication Theory*, *17*, 367–385.
Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *International Communication Gazette*, *73*, 477–494.
Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., . . . Yuen, K. W. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: A comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *12*, 273–293.
Hanitzsch, T., & Vos, T. P. (2017). Journalistic roles and the struggle over institutional identity: The discursive constitution of journalism. *Communication Theory*, *27*, 115–135.
Hanitzsch, T., & Vos, T. P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism*, *19*, 146–164.
Hanitzsch, T., Vos, T., Standaert, O., Hanusch, F., Hovden, J. F., Hermans, L., & Ramaprasad, J. (2019). Role orientations: Journalists' views on their place in society. In T. Hanitzsch, F. Hanusch, J. Ramaprasad, & A. S. de Beer (Eds.), *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures across the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Hanusch, F., & Hanitzsch, T. (2013). Mediating orientation and self-expression in the world of consumption: Australian and German lifestyle journalists' professional views. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*, 943–959.
Janowitz, M. (1975). Professional models in journalism: The gatekeeper and the advocate. *Journalism Quarterly*, *52*, 618–626.
Jarlbrink, J. (2015). Mobile/sedentary: News work behind and beyond the desk. *Media History*, *21*(3), 280–293.
Josephi, B. (2013). How much democracy does journalism need? *Journalism*, *14*, 474–489.
Kimball, P. (1965). Journalism: Art, craft, or profession? In K. S. Lynn (Ed.), *The professions in America* (pp. 242–260). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
Köcher, R. (1986). Bloodhounds or missionaries: Role definitions of German and British journalists. *European Journal of Communication*, *1*, 43–64.
Koljonen, K. (2013). The shift from high to liquid ideals: Making sense of journalism and its change through a multidimensional model. *Nordicom Review*, *34*, 141–154.
Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The elements of journalism*. London: Atlantic Books.
Lapinski, M. K., & Rimal, R. N. (2005). An explication of social norms. *Communication Theory*, *15*, 127–147.
Lee, A. J. (1976). *The origins of the popular press in England, 1855–1914*. London: Croom Helm.
McGoldrick, A. (2000). Peace journalism—an introduction. In Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Ed.), *The media in conflicts—accomplices or mediators?* (pp. 19–24). Bonn: FES.

McLeod, J. M., & Hawley, S. E. (1964). Professionalization among newsmen. *Journalism Quarterly*, *41*, 529–577.

Mehra, A. (1989). *Press systems in ASEAN states*. Singapore: AMIC.

Mellado, C. (2015). Professional roles in news content: Six dimensions of journalistic role performance. *Journalism Studies*, *16*, 596–614.

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., & Donsbach, W. (Eds.). (2016). *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, contexts, and methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Mellado, C., & van Dalen, A. (2014). Between rhetoric and practice. *Journalism Studies*, *15*, 859–878.

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., Márquez-Ramírez, M., Humanes, M. L., Sparks, C., . . . Wang, H. (2017). The hybridization of journalistic cultures: A comparative study of journalistic role performance. *Journal of Communication*, *67*, 944–967.

Millerson, G. (1964). *The qualifying associations: A study of professionalization*. London: Routledge and Paul.

Nerone, J. (2013). The historical roots of the normative model of journalism. *Journalism*, *14*, 446–458.

O'Boyle, L. (1968). The image of the journalist in France, Germany and England, 1815–1848. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, *10*(3), 290–317.

Örnebring, H. (2013). Journalism as institution and work in Europe, circa 1860: A comparative history of journalism. *Media History*, *19*(4), 393–407.

Örnebring, H., & Möller, C. (2018). In the margins of journalism: Gender and livelihood among local (ex-)journalists in Sweden. *Journalism Practice*. Advance online publication. doi:10.1080/17512786.2018.1497455

Parsons, T. (1939). The professions and social structure. *Social Forces*, *17*, 457–467.

Patterson, T. E., & Donsbach, W. (1996). News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. *Political Communication*, *13*, 455–468.

Pintak, L. (2014). Islam, identity and professional values: A study of journalists in three Muslim-majority regions. *Journalism*, *15*, 482–503.

Pintak, L., & Nazir, S. J. (2013). Pakistani journalism: At the crossroads of Muslim identity, national priorities and journalistic culture. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*, 640–665.

Ramaprasad, J., & Rahman, S. (2006). Tradition with a twist: A survey of Bangladeshi journalists. *International Communication Gazette*, *68*, 148–165.

Read, D. (1979). *The age of urban democracy, England 1868–1914*. London: Longman.

Romano, A. (2003). *Politics and the press in Indonesia: Understanding an evolving political culture*. London: Routledge.

Romano, A. (2005). Asian journalism: News, development and the tides of liberalization and technology. In A. Romano & M. Bromley (Eds.), *Journalism and democracy in Asia* (pp. 1–14). London: Routledge.

Russo, T. C. (1998). Organizational and professional identification: A case of newspaper journalists. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *12*, 72–111.

Schmidt, V. A. (2008). Discursive institutionalism: The explanatory power of ideas and discourse. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *11*, 303–326.

Schultz, I. (2007). The journalistic gut feeling: Journalistic doxa, news habitus and orthodox news values. *Journalism Practice*, *1*, 190–207.

Shapiro, I., Brin, C., Bédard-Brûlé, I., & Mychajlowycz, K. (2013). Verification as a strategic ritual: How journalists retrospectively describe processes for ensuring accuracy. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(6), 657–673.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (2013). *Mediating the message in the 21st century: A media sociology perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Shoemaker, P. J., & Vos, T. P. (2009). *Gatekeeping theory*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Skovsgaard, M., Albæk, E., Bro, P., & de Vreese, C. (2013). A reality check: How journalists' role perceptions impact their implementation of the objectivity norm. *Journalism*, *14*, 22–42.

Soloski, J. (1989). News reporting and professionalism: Some constraints on the reporting of the news. *Media, Culture & Society*, *11*, 207–228.

Starck, K., & Soloski, J. (1977). Effect of reporter predisposition in covering controversial story. *Journalism Quarterly*, *54*, 120–125.

Tandoc, E., Hellmueller, L., & Vos, T. P. (2013). Mind the gap: Between role conception and role enactment. *Journalism Practice*, *7*, 539–554.
Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as strategic ritual: An examination of newsmen's notion of objectivity. *American Journal of Sociology*, *77*, 660–679.
Tunstall, J. (1971). *Journalists at work*. London: Constable.
Underwood, D. (2001). Reporting and the push for market-oriented journalism: Media organizations as business. In W. L. Bennett & R. M. Entman (Eds.), *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy* (pp. 99–116). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Van Dalen, A., de Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2012). Different roles, different content? A four-country comparison of the role conceptions and reporting style of political journalists. *Journalism*, *13*(7), 903–922.
Weaver, D. H. (Ed.). (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownley, B. J., Voakes, P. S., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century: US news people at the dawn of a new millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1986). *The American journalist*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: US news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (Eds.). (2012). *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Weischenberg, S., Löffelholz, M., & Scholl, A. (1998). Journalism in Germany. In D. H. Weaver (Ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world* (pp. 229–256). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse & Society*, *9*, 387–412.
Wiik, J. (2009). Identities under construction: Professional journalism in a phase of destabilization. *International Review of Sociology*, *19*, 351–365.
Wilensky, H. L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, *70*(2), 137–158.
Xu, X. (2005). *Demystifying Asian values in journalism*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.
Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *10*, 219–237.

8

Boundary Work

Matt Carlson and Seth C. Lewis

INTRODUCTION

As journalism barrels through the 21st century, its identity becomes more complex. Many of the giants of the last century—the *New York Times*, BBC, *Le Monde*, *Asahi Shimbun*—continue to produce news, gain access to elite sources, and reach large audiences. Thousands of other news organizations each day churn out news content while adjusting to a digital media landscape much different from the mass communication dynamics of the previous century. New actors arise to challenge or supplement traditional news organizations, as do new types of practices or values outside traditional understandings of journalism.

Any investigation of the boundaries of journalism begins with confronting two transformative effects of digital media. First, they flatten media space by rendering medium differences irrelevant. In the world of apps and links on social media, news competition is redefined horizontally as a bevy of choices competing to capture the attention of news audiences. A quick search of a popular news story on Google News will yield a dizzying litany of news stories from a global array of sources competing for clicks. Second, digital media expand media space by opening up participation. New voices defy easy categorization. They range from well-funded, digital-native start-ups to the lone individual able to blog or tweet or comment, with many gradations in between.

These developments have wrought uncertainty. Journalism—as a concept, a communicative practice, a professional field, a stable thing in society—is in varying states of flux around the world. As a variety of social, political, economic, and technological influences reshape the media environment for news production and circulation, fundamental questions such as "What is journalism?" and "Who is a journalist?" have become more pressing. These are questions of boundaries—of determining how journalism comes to be demarcated from non-journalism, journalists from non-journalists, and other divisive permutations. Journalism comprises continuous processes of boundary work to erect its cultural boundaries. Such boundaries are symbolic contests for control and legitimacy as well material struggles concerning the allocation of resources.

The fact that questions regarding the contours of journalism lack obvious or agreed-upon answers is precisely why careful attention to boundary work is so important in this particular moment. Attempts by legacy news organizations to either advocate for barriers or experiment in ways that cross those barriers indicate a certain messiness endemic to journalism. Likewise, digital news start-ups challenge journalistic orthodoxy but also borrow from it. That boundaries are not settled does not negate the analytic value of this approach—on the contrary, it underscores its value as a way of appreciating the crisscrossing of trends and forces that mark contemporary journalism.

Boundary work has been subject to much recent theoretical development in efforts to bring increased conceptual cohesiveness to the term "boundaries" or in how we should think about specific boundaries of journalism (e.g., Carlson & Lewis, 2015). This chapter offers a state-of-the-art analysis of boundary work and journalism. We synthesize literature across four areas: the study of boundaries broadly, its application to the study of journalism, a growing body of boundary work research in journalism studies, and the particular element of temporality in studies of boundaries of journalism. Most significantly, we refine a typology—of expansion, expulsion, and protection of autonomy—that organizes existing research on journalistic boundary work and highlights emerging opportunities for conceptual and empirical development in the future.

THE STUDY OF BOUNDARIES

Boundaries signify difference. Physical boundaries dictate how space is understood and creates complex impediments. While not as immediately tactile, social boundaries likewise arrange objects while creating complex relationships among them. Such boundaries create distinctions between "us" and "them" or "this" and "not this," and those distinctions become the building blocks of society. Social boundaries have two components: the point of separation between two entities and the cultural apparatus that legitimates and patrols that boundary. The first is a matter of identification, but the processes undergirding the latter deserve the utmost attention. This is where issues of power come to the fore.

One area where boundaries have been interrogated is in classification systems. As Bowker and Star (2000, p. 5) note, "Each standard and each category valorizes some point of view and silences another." Classifications go beyond their organizational characteristics to indicate a moral sorting of society. Hierarchies necessarily elevate and depress at the same time. Foucault (1970) even more fundamentally connects ordering to the historical development of institutionalized classifications. Much of Foucault's work analyzes the power inherent in being able to legitimately describe another as sick, insane, or guilty and the corresponding effect on ideas of health, sanity, and innocence. Likewise, the basic distinction between dirty and clean is as much about symbolic boundaries as it is about health, as Douglas (1966) argues.

Boundaries are also a salient feature of the study of the professions and professionalization. A profession is by definition an exclusive domain patrolled by various cultural and sometimes legal and regulatory apparatuses. The level of exclusivity varies by profession, but the suggestion of difference and a claim to the social value derived from this difference exist across professions. Abbott (1988) usefully shows how professions are entangled with one another, noting the jockeying for jurisdictional control that happens as boundaries separating professions form and re-form over time (Abbott, 1995).

Perhaps the most explicit attempt to conceptualize boundaries comes from Gieryn's work in the history of science (1983, 1999). Gieryn's starting point is not with the merits of various scientific paradigms, laws, or processes, but with the problem of how groups establish epistemic authority that is recognized by others not in the group. The justification of knowledge production is not purely an intrinsic matter but a social one that occurs through the process of boundary work in the form of "credibility contests" among competing parties. The ability to conduct science legitimately depends on boundary work to demarcate rightful creators of scientific discoveries from those on the outside. In a series of case studies, Gieryn demonstrates the variable personal and institutional factors on which boundary work is continuously contingent.

What is most radical and challenging about Gieryn's conception of boundary work is its fervent anti-essentialism. Boundary work is not a patrol mechanism for some intrinsic scientific value; it is the mechanism through which good science is defined. This view jettisons the search for deeper truth to instead emphasize the surface battles that determine *who* gets to say what is true. In this way, Gieryn's boundary work concept is as timely as ever as science faces political contestation around issues such as climate change, vaccination, and genetically modified organisms. But the boundary work concept is not limited to the struggle to define science; indeed, it is quite useful for thinking about the legitimation of journalistic knowledge.

CONCEPTUALIZING THE BOUNDARIES OF JOURNALISM

Adapting Gieryn's concept, along with the underlying arguments that inform other ways of thinking about boundaries described above, to journalism works against the grain of much conventional thinking about journalism. It challenges a classic conception of journalism as a norm-based, stable entity, something relatively fixed and determined, and instead conceives of journalism as emerging from the interactions of various actors and their alignments, all competing to define what journalism is. These shifting boundaries of journalism can be observed by taking a long view that considers evolving newsgathering practices and textual forms. For example, the news interview, now a taken-for-granted staple of journalistic conduct, was a slow-developing and controversial activity in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Schudson (1994) recounts how British journalists showed disdain at the aggressiveness of their American counterparts. The interview simply wasn't appropriate. Likewise, what a news text ought to look like has changed over time. Barnhurst (2016) tracks changes not only in design, but in the tone of news stories, with a general shift from the factual account to interpretive ones. Each new medium for conveying news upends expectations and leads to questions about appropriate forms of news. The camera added pictures to the news, the radio added sound, and television combined them together. All of these developments ushered in shifting practices that journalism had to grow to accommodate. Boundary work puts a name to the process of negotiation as such forms arise and become legitimated as appropriate forms of journalistic knowledge.

Applying boundary work to journalism requires close examination not only of news forms and practices, but also of the accompanying realm of public discussion that makes sense of these practices. This "metajournalistic discourse" (Carlson, 2016) becomes the primary space where actors reckon with journalism as a cultural practice, whether it be lobbing criticisms at reporters, lauding news coverage, suggesting new genres, lamenting technological change, etc. "Through metajournalistic discourse," Carlson (2016, p. 349) notes, "various actors inside and outside of journalism compete to construct, reiterate, and even challenge the boundaries of acceptable journalistic practices and the limits of what can or cannot be done." Such discourse contributes to defining role conceptions for journalists—those foundational notions of who journalists are and what defines their occupational purpose (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2017). Journalists often react publicly to questions about news practices in discourse meant both for themselves and for the larger public (Berkowitz, 2000). But such talk about journalism is open to other actors as well—from politicians upset with media coverage (including recent and repeated cries of "fake news!" by US President Donald Trump) to anyone with a social media account and an opinion about "the media" to share. The link between metajournalistic discourse and boundary work is evident in empirical research analyzing the former. Studies show the interplay of metajournalistic discourse and the materiality of journalism (De Maeyer & Holton, 2016); struggles between the journalism and technology industries (Creech & Rooney, 2017); and between economic and public service pressures for digital news (Ananny & Bighash, 2016). What metajournalistic discourse illuminates is the space where boundary work, in the rhetorical sense given to it by Gieryn, plays out.

The boundary work framework is particularly well-suited to journalism given its mix of endurance and transitoriness. Journalism at once feels both historically established and perpetually precarious. Journalism's close dependence on technology (Lewis & Westlund, 2016)—virtually all news can be understood as messages sent through media—ensures a constant stream of new means for creating and sharing news stories. Institutionally, the heterogeneity of journalism (Bourdieu, 2005) works against claims of autonomy to instead imbricate journalism within a dependence on other fields—an economic dependence on subsidy both for profit-seeking news organizations and for government-reliant public service news organizations; a dependence on news sources (see Berkowitz, this volume), such as those representing political, cultural, and scientific fields; and, ultimately, a dependence on an audience, or a space of media attention increasingly segmented amid a multiplicity of media choice. While journalism is certainly not the only social domain relationally dependent on adjacent actors and activities, it must be among the most dependent by virtue of its public positioning as an intermediary in society, seeking to explain communities to themselves.

What's more, *journalism* is itself a weak signifier rather than a clearly bounded universe of actors. It has always shifted with the entrance of new technologies (from the telegraph to the telephone, the desktop computer to the smartphone); new actors (such as bloggers and social media contributors initially viewed skeptically as intruders on the journalistic terrain); and new forms (from the introduction of the inverted pyramid to the development of virtual reality storytelling today). In the contemporary environment, the study of boundaries takes on new importance as a way of examining the contests to define the future that arise from the breakdown of past formations. The developing hybrid media system, in which old and new media logics collide, complicates efforts to identify discrete categories (Chadwick, 2013). In the emerging era, skirmishes over the boundaries of journalism range from small clashes occurring around new projects or technological innovations to larger struggles over who gets to claim authority, status, and control, particularly in a seemingly chaotic media moment (Lewis, 2012b).

In this environment of uncertainty, rich as it is with questions concerning journalism, we propose a typology of boundary work to help map its core variants in the scholarly literature (Carlson, 2015, p. 10). First, the unwieldy concept of journalism is made more manageable by dividing it into three categories: *participants*, *practices*, and *propositions*. These categories roughly locate the target of boundary work as the actors involved, the means by which actors work, and the shared beliefs that support this work. Overlaps are common, but this division helps orient studies of journalism's boundaries. For example, questions about the resilience or hindrances of objectivity fall in the third category because they are directed at what journalistic professionalism—an outcome of its propositions, or core beliefs—ought to look like. This is a different, albeit related, question than whether news audiences should or should not take part in newsmaking, or what types of newsgathering practices are acceptable. These different targets of boundary work in turn matter for shaping the kinds of discussions that emerge.

The three categories of participants, practices, and propositions can be plotted against Gieryn's (1999) tripartite model dividing the goals of boundary work into *expansion*, *expulsion*, and *protection of autonomy* (see Table 8.1). The different processes that each entails demonstrate the complexity of boundary work and help make salient what can be contradictory impulses. Expulsion may the most dramatic process, and the journalism studies literature is rife with examples of the journalistic community casting out deviant actors. Much of this is encapsulated in the paradigm repair literature (Bennett, Gressett, & Haltom, 1985; Berkowitz, 2000; Reese, 1990), describing journalists' protectionist actions meant to ostracize potentially damaging actors. But

Table 8.1 Journalistic Boundary Work Typology

	Expansion	*Expulsion*	*Protection of Autonomy*
Participants	Actors accepted as journalists	Actors rejected as journalists	Actors outside of journalism perceived as threats
Practices	Actions accepted as journalistic	Actions rejected as journalistic	Actions outside of journalism perceived as threats
Propositions	Norms/beliefs/ideas accepted as journalistic	Norms/beliefs/ideas rejected as journalistic	Norms/beliefs/ideas perceived as threats to journalism

journalism does not merely contract and expel; it also expands into new terrains, whether by extending into new media, taking on new actors, or adopting ways of thinking and normative commitments. Television journalists, for example, confronted initial difficulty in promoting their authority in the face of print news (Zelizer, 1992). Expansion-oriented boundary work invites a closer examination of how journalism absorbs what once lay on the outside. Finally, the protection of autonomy is clearly evident in the long-standing discourse about journalistic independence. Claims to journalistic professionalism rely on the assertion that news judgments should be free from outside influences, especially with regard to owners. Efforts to construct a divide between the business and editorial operations of news organizations speak to the aspirations of journalism as a knowledge profession (Coddington, 2012).

The value of this typology lies in its insistence that journalism be examined within its social context and not assumed to operate in some free-floating manner. Journalism must be situated within a contested realm populated by other types of actors and institutions with their own intentions and social spaces (Abbott, 1988). Expansion and expulsion, respectively, indicate acts of encompassing or discharging people, practices, and ideas at the borders. Another asset of this typology is that it questions the stability of journalism as a *thing*. This is a difficult concept to accept. The premise of journalism studies as a field (Carlson, Robinson, Lewis, & Berkowitz, 2018) presupposes a necessarily coherent set of actors that persist across time. The boundary work framework considers the appearance of stability to be a product of ongoing efforts to establish such stability, with the potential for rearrangement always a possibility. The accentuation of discursive efforts at the heart of boundary work fits with social constructivist theories of meaning creation. But the ultimate effect of boundary work to organize social space meshes with such perspectives as actor-network theory (Latour, 2005), field theory (Bourdieu, 2005), and assemblage theory (DeLanda, 2006). The argument is that boundary work is always more than talk. To engage in boundary work is to seek power to define social reality; the shape of news as knowledge; and the distribution of access, funding, attention, and other material elements (Lewis, 2015).

BOUNDARY WORK RESEARCH IN JOURNALISM STUDIES

The explicit application of boundary work to journalism stretches back two decades with Winch's (1997) study of the boundary between news and entertainment. Journalists found themselves having to navigate a tension between the seriousness at the heart of journalism's normative self-description and the playfulness of much news content, especially as news organizations were expected to generate profits by wooing larger audiences. Journalists used boundary work rhetoric to bolster a commitment to core norms. Bishop (1999) explores a similar tension around the labeling of news workers as legitimate news professionals or illegitimate ones. For example, while paparazzi photographers provided content to news organizations, journalists positioned them as outside the boundaries of acceptable news practitioners. Other scholars found use for boundary work in analyzing pack journalism (Frank, 2003) and subjective storytelling (Fakazis, 2006). More recent work follows in the tradition set forth by Winch. For example, Otto, Glogger, and Boukes (2017) examine concern over the erosion of boundaries between political journalists and other communication actors, such as public relations specialists. They found the softening of boundaries to be a "system-level" phenomenon affecting political communication. In a study of "boundary disputes," Schwartz and Berkowitz (2018) show how news stories located at the nexus of political and entertainment news created problems for journalists seeking to strike the appropriate tone in their reportage.

The boundary work concept has found particular use for scholars confronting how journalism operates in the digital era. New media break down the technological barrier that nearly completely separated media producers from audiences, leading many journalists to express consternation and concern (Robinson, 2010). New types of entities, from blogging (Lowrey, 2006; Reese, Rutigliano, Hyun, & Jeong, 2007) and WikiLeaks (Coddington, 2012; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2014) to social media (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012) and digital aggregation (Anderson, 2013), have been accompanied by public questions about whether such entities *could* or *should* be called journalism. Within newsrooms, the demand for new types of skills that were formerly not part of journalism—such as the computer programming skills described in Usher's (2016) account of the rise of interactive journalism as a professional subspecialty with a distinct technological and cultural orientation—has raised questions about what a journalist should know (Appelgren, 2016), as well as corresponding questions about what journalism schools should be teaching future journalists (Creech & Mendelson, 2015).

In particular, social media provide complex spaces where old boundaries cannot be so clearly recognized or even theorized. Revers (2014b) shows the complexity embedded in what he labels the "Twitterization of news making." On the surface, the flat space of Twitter seems to weaken journalistic boundaries, but it also provides a space for journalists to exercise new forms of transparency meant to appeal to journalistic authority. What's more, Twitter provides an ideal venue for journalistic branding, which can be seen as more than mere self-promotion to also include forms of boundary maintenance that champion journalism as an institution (Molyneux, Holton, & Lewis, 2018). Nevertheless, in the main, social media continue to upset journalism's previous hold on gatekeeping power. In a study of tweets chronicling the unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, after the shooting of an unarmed black teen by a white police officer, Groshek and Tandoc (2017) found that journalists' efforts to control boundaries through gatekeeping were usurped by activists and citizen journalists who used Twitter to communicate their own experiences. These studies suggest that journalists may continue to maintain a strong presence on social media but do not control that space.

The literature on boundary work contains many studies of the processes by which journalists separate themselves from others. Examples of "boundary defence" (Tong, 2018) include accentuating the expertise of journalists as a particular boundary device (Carpenter & Kanver, 2017). Similarly, news norms continue to provide a grounding for journalists concerned about collapsing boundaries (Singer, 2015). Revers (2014a) uses the framework to describe journalists as engaged in a "boundary performance" aimed at marking the distance from the sources that they depend on for beat reporting (see also Palmer, 2017). All of this is an effort to establish a means of demarcating journalists as a group with common practices (Meltzer & Martik, 2017) and interpretive sensibilities (Zelizer, 1993). Even within the field, various subgroupings form, such as around sports journalism (Schwartz & Vogan, 2017).

It is clear that new technologies are spurring attention to issues of boundary work. Yet this atmosphere of "blurred boundaries" is more complex than just the appearance of potential interlopers and connects to longer-running questions of how journalism operates within society (Loosen, 2015). There is no unidimensional shift occurring, but rather a more complex realignment. As part of this, new types of organizations are forming. Konieczna (2018) shows how the Center for Public Integrity, an American nonprofit organization, has increasingly shifted its communication efforts to something more reminiscent of news—similar to what global NGOs have done in producing media that increasingly mimic journalistic norms (Powers, 2015). The resulting "boundary evolution" pushes journalism studies scholars to consider processes of change in an unexpected way. At the same time, technology-focused boundary work is not always about conflict in the face of new entities. For example, as Lewis and Usher (2016) find, boundary disputes between journalists and computer programmers can be resolved under the right conditions, leading to ideas for news innovation that reflect a blending of journalist and technologist norms and values. Moreover, technology-oriented boundary questions may play out differently across countries and cultures. Consider the globalization of political fact-checking, an occupational movement drawing together civic technology communities in various parts of the world; in his mapping of this development, Graves (2018, p. 614) concludes that it offers "a striking example of journalistic boundaries *not* being drawn: whereas professional fact-checkers aggressively police the borders of their practice in the United States, they have welcomed non-journalists into the fold internationally." This type of expansion signals the constructive potential that can arise with a realignment of journalism's boundaries. Ultimately, the story is a complicated one.

Much of the application of boundary work to journalism positions journalists as the central actors in question. But another perspective is to move away to a broader social view that then moves back to news. For an example of this direction, Luce, Jackson, and Thorsen (2017) examine how entrenched social structures that promote inequality also prevent marginalized populations from participating in journalism. The discourse of citizen journalism and its ethic that anyone can create news is better served by a conception of how the social stratification of society is mirrored in who can participate in news (on a related note, see Robinson, 2018). After all, the study of boundaries is rooted in a sense for how social differences arise, and thus starting at this macro level will help advance research about journalism.

Moving beyond social boundaries, we can recognize material influences on boundaries as well. In recent years, as part of a broader "material turn" in the social sciences, a number of journalism studies scholars have argued for taking more seriously the nonhuman "objects of journalism" that help shape boundaries of discourse and practice. As Anderson and De Maeyer (2015, p. 3) suggest, "[F]ocusing on the objects of journalism, rather than limiting or trivial, can provide scholars with insights into the social, material, and cultural context that suffuses our technologically obsessed world." Such perspectives draw primarily on the actor-network theory (ANT) approach (Latour, 2005), introduced to journalism studies by Turner (2005) and featured in a number of recent works on news and technology (as an example, see Micó, Masip, & Domingo, 2013). More method than theory, ANT orients researchers to tracing relationships among human beings and nonhuman objects in networked environments, without presupposing which agent has more influence relative to another. Building on this non-essentialist perspective, but adapting it to the particular socio-technical contexts of news media organizations, Lewis and Westlund (2015) have argued that one can understand the essence of journalism—in effect, its demarcating boundaries—by taking stock of the power dynamics, exchanges, and interrelationships among actors (humans), actants (technologies), and audiences (of various kinds), all interconnected in and through the activities of media production. Thus, to take seriously objects of journalism is to recognize that "taken-for-granted objects . . . [can] shape the organizations, work, and products of journalism through their material and symbolic properties and affordances" (Kreiss, 2015, p. 153), as in the case of news software that influences how journalists imagine "computational thinking" and thus the boundaries of technical practice (cf. Rodgers, 2015).

As the lens of boundary work continues to be applied to journalism, there is a need for a greater integration with geographic boundaries. Much of comparative journalism research still functions at the national level (Örnebring, 2012). Even as the forces of globalization—notably, the movement of media content, capital, humans, and ideas—push us toward a broader view, the effects of the nation-state on journalism remain vitally important for scholarship. The state continues to shape the political environment, and actively participates in journalistic boundary work through such practices as censorship, the distribution of subsidies, regulatory and legal frameworks, the issuance of licenses, and selective access to government information. All of this suggests the need for more nation-based case studies of boundaries, particularly beyond the Western liberal tradition. For example, studies of how the unique political and journalistic cultures of Argentina (Amado & Waisbord, 2015) and China (Tong, 2015) affect the boundaries of journalism demonstrate the need for specificity and an appreciation of differences.

JOURNALISTIC BOUNDARY WORK ACROSS TIME

It is natural to connect boundaries to space. After all, the dominant generalized usage of the term is to mark off spatial features, whether it be the separation between nation-states or the playing area of an athletic field. Spatial metaphors abound when thinking of journalism (Reese, 2016) because we survey the news "landscape" or "ecosystem" to situate various actors vis-à-vis one another. The solidity of spatial boundaries is useful for freezing a set of complicated, interrelated parts to analyze their arrangements and the means by which they support such arrangements. But the focus on space is misleading in that it neglects the temporal element incumbent in all invocations of boundaries. To return to the argument above: the essence of boundary work is that there are *no* social essences, only shifting alignments of actors who marshal symbolic resources to construct socially accepted boundaries. Such boundaries are not permanent structures, but contingent ones. All of this pushes us toward greater consideration of the temporal element of boundary work as deserving of equal weight with the spatial.

The temporality of boundary work is clearly evident in much of the work of 21st century journalism studies (Carlson & Lewis, 2018; Zelizer, 2018). The word "change" indicates the shifting of boundaries, such as the rearrangement of the news industry and the relationship between journalists and audiences. Indeed, as Lewis (2012a) shows in his study of the Knight Foundation, a longtime leading philanthropic funder of journalism initiatives in the United States, a rhetorical shift from talking about "journalism," in the closed professional sense, to talking about "information," in the participatory sense, was a critical piece of the organization's efforts to define the boundaries of innovation in and for journalism. Much of the nomenclature directed toward making sense of change suggest new states of being: journalism as "post-professional" (Nadler, 2016; Waisbord, 2013) or "post-industrial" (Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2012), or in a state of "de-industrialization" and "de-ritualization" (Broersma & Peters, 2013), in addition to the notion that we are now "beyond journalism" (Deuze & Witschge, 2018). Even as they differ in their conclusions, these authors suggest a rift between past and present. But an even longer view reveals an approach to journalism as a succession of eras—for example, the party press era, the penny paper era, yellow journalism, the broadcast era, and so forth. To paraphrase Heraclitus, change is a constant for journalism.

Emphasizing the temporality of boundary work for journalism shifts from a view of boundaries as map to one of process. It asks how boundaries come into being and how they shift and fade. Doing so requires careful attention to the actors involved and the means by which they suggest change and the mechanics through which change is achieved, however partial.

The shift to temporality leads to a question that needs to be asked: are boundaries good for journalism? Well before digital media tools enabled new forms of media participation, Carey (1978) challenged the professional enclosure of journalism as not merely a device for separating news producers from their audiences, but as morally deficient. Journalists' insistence on professional self-management was itself a product of journalists asserting their autonomy to stave off postwar social concern about the news (Pickard, 2014). But, for Carey, this resulted in the establishment of a distinct professional moral order separate from a broader appeal to a communal moral order. Journalists sundering themselves from the public in pursuit of professional legitimacy simultaneously detached themselves from the shared experience and moral commitments of the public (Craft, 2017).

Fast forward to the present, and Carey's argument is clearly visible in debates within journalism studies about the valence of journalism's increasingly porous boundaries (Carlson & Lewis, 2015). The celebration of "produsers" and citizen content stems in no small part from a deep discontent with traditional journalism. The hope surrounding a greater range of voices is that it disrupts entrenched patterns that reinforce the power of political elites while downplaying the needs and interests of non-elites. Facing declining public trust, as manifest in public opinion surveys around the world (Newman, 2017), journalists labor under constant criticism that they do not adequately serve their publics. With new technological conditions altering participation in the realm of mediated communication, the question of boundaries has become much more normative than just functional. At the same time, concern over so-called filter bubbles, fake news, and an emerging post-truth era have reinvigorated calls for journalistic gatekeeping. The rise of social media as a site for news distribution has been accompanied by calls for leading companies such as Facebook and Twitter to do more to patrol content in the name of social responsibility. Facebook has been resistant, in part because it articulates its role as a technological company that lies outside of journalism (Carlson, 2018).

In sum, the propensity to view contemporary journalism through the lens of change places boundary work at the center of debates over what journalism is becoming and what it should be. Applying boundary work to journalistic change necessitates greater attention to how boundaries shift across time.

CONCLUSION: A FUTURE FOR BOUNDARY WORK

What can the boundary work framework offer for journalism studies? In its more descriptive sense, the perspective on boundary work articulated here provides a way of organizing the constant shifts buffeting about the constellation of forces that comprise journalism. Different actors can be identified, their interests and motives explained, the location of and forms of argumentation worked out—all to map the array of forces affecting journalism. This is an important enterprise, and scholarly precision will further elucidate how boundaries are constructed, contested, defended, removed, and so on. But such studies of boundary work contain a more fundamental critique concerning just what journalism is. It eschews some essential core to place journalism within what may be called permanent contingency. What journalism *is* stems from struggle and change across a wide variety of actors. Audiences are implicated, as our nonhuman actants—the social and the material intertwined (Lewis, 2015).

The future of boundary work needs to shift from a descriptive one to an analytical and even critical stance that foregrounds issues of power that lie in dictating what some social entity *is* or *isn't* and what it *ought* or *ought not* to do. To create a social boundary is to create a binary of insider/outsider that can prop up certain actors while diminishing others—moves that have ramifications for all involved. Thus, the boundary work concept can be strengthened as scholars expand their gaze, going beyond a focus on rhetoric to include a greater emphasis on the material aspects of boundaries—including both *what is said* and *what is done*. For example, efforts to restrict or extend access to technologies, reporting resources, or press credentials are all acts of boundary work that are simultaneously material and discursive in nature. As such, talk about journalism cannot be isolated from practice and context, and developing an encompassing theoretical model that accounts for that combination remains an ongoing challenge.

Additionally, and like much of journalism studies in general, research on journalistic boundaries has focused mainly on the US, UK, and northern Europe. As a result, there has been too little consideration for whether boundary dynamics present in those regions, press systems, and political contexts are similar to or different from boundary work elsewhere in the world. Boundary contests around journalism are to be found anywhere news is produced, but the motivations and outcomes of such struggles may vary widely depending on the particular confluence of social, cultural, economic, political, and technological dimensions. Much as the future of boundary work research needs to better engage the totality of influences—social and material, human and nonhuman, talk and action—it also needs to better address the contingencies of context and comparison, situating boundary struggles in the local situation while continuously referencing and making connections to global patterns and concerns.

Finally, the inclusiveness at the heart of the boundary work perspective positions the scholar as an active participant within boundary work and not as a neutral observer on the sideline of a social practice. Decisions about what to research and what to teach have implications for how journalistic practice is understood. This is decidedly not a negative remark but an opportunity for journalism scholars to be reflexively engaged in evaluating the processes and outcomes of their work.

The popular tendency to consider contemporary journalism as experiencing a moment of extreme upheaval is a marker of how important it is to study of journalism's boundaries. This situation is not likely to change in the near term, and so it must be embraced as a moment of great potential for news and for those who study it.

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. (1988). *The system of professions: An essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Abbott, A. (1995). Things of boundaries. *Social Research*, *62*(4), 857–882.

Amado, A., & Waisbord, S. (2015). Divided we stand: Blurred boundaries in Argentine journalism. In M. Carlson & S. C. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 51–66). London: Routledge.

Ananny, M., & Bighash, L. (2016). Why drop a paywall? Mapping industry accounts of online news decommodification. *International Journal of Communication*, *10*, 3359–3380.

Anderson, C. W. (2013). What aggregators do: Towards a networked concept of journalistic expertise in the digital age. *Journalism*, *14*(8), 1008–1023.

Anderson, C. W., Bell, E., & Shirky, C. (2012). *Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present: A Report*. New York, NY: Columbia Journalism School.

Anderson, C. W., & De Maeyer, J. (2015). Objects of journalism and the news. *Journalism*, *16*(1), 3–9.

Appelgren, E. (2016). Data journalists using Facebook. *Nordicom Review*, *37*(1), 156–169.

Barnhurst, K. G. (2016). *Mister Pulitzer and the spider: Modern news from realism to the digital*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Bennett, W. L., Gressett, L. A., & Haltom, W. (1985). Repairing the news: A case study of the news paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *35*(2), 50–68.
Berkowitz, D. (2000). Doing double duty: Paradigm repair and the Princess Diana what-a-story. *Journalism*, *1*(2), 125–143.
Bishop, R. (1999). From behind the walls: Boundary work by news organizations in their coverage of Princess Diana's death. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *23*(1), 90–112.
Bourdieu, P. (2005). The political field, the social science field and the journalistic field. In R. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the journalistic field* (pp. 29–47). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Bowker, G. C., & Star, S. L. (2000). *Sorting things out: Classification and its consequences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Broersma, M. J., & Peters, C. (2013). Rethinking journalism: The structural transformation of a public good. In M. J. Broersma & C. Peters (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape* (pp. 1–12). London: Routledge.
Carey, J. W. (1978). A plea for the university tradition. *Journalism Quarterly*, *55*(4), 846–855.
Carlson, M. (2015). The many boundaries of journalism. In M. Carlson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices, and participation* (pp. 1–18). New York, NY: Routledge.
Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. *Communication Theory*, *26*(4), 349–368.
Carlson, M. (2018). Facebook in the news: Social media, journalism, and public responsibility following the 2016 Trending Topics controversy. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(1), 4–20.
Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (2018). Temporal reflexivity in journalism studies: Making sense of change in a more timely fashion. *Journalism*, ahead-of-print.
Carlson, M., Robinson, S., Lewis, S. C., & Berkowitz, D. A. (2018). Journalism studies and its core commitments: The making of a communication field. *Journal of Communication*. Published online ahead of print. doi:10.1093/joc/jqx006
Carpenter, S., & Kanver, D. (2017). Journalistic expertise: A communicative approach. *Communication and the Public*, *2*(3), 197–209.
Chadwick, A. (2013). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
Coddington, M. (2012). Defending a paradigm by patrolling a boundary: Two global newspapers' approach to WikiLeaks. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *89*(3), 377–396.
Craft, S. (2017). Distinguishing features: Reconsidering the link between journalism & professional status and ethics. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *19*(4), 260–301.
Creech, B., & Mendelson, A. L. (2015). Imagining the journalist of the future: Technological visions of journalism education and newswork. *The Communication Review*, *18*(2), 142–165.
Creech, B., & Rooney, S. (2017). "Death of the New Republic" Discursive conflict between tech industry management and journalism's cultural value. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(11), 1363–1380.
De Maeyer, J., & Holton, A. E. (2016). Why linking matters: A metajournalistic discourse analysis. *Journalism*, *17*(6), 776–794.
DeLanda, M. (2006). *A new philosophy of society: Assemblage theory and social complexity*. London: Continuum.
Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2018). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 165–181.
Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.
Fakazis, E. (2006). Janet Malcolm: Constructing boundaries of journalism. *Journalism*, *7*(1), 5–24.
Foucault, M. (1970). *The order of things*. New York, NY: Random House.
Frank, R. (2003). These crowded circumstances: When pack journalists bash pack journalism. *Journalism*, *4*(4), 441–458.
Gieryn, T. F. (1983). Boundary-work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(6), 781–795.

Gieryn, T. F. (1999). *Cultural boundaries of science: Credibility on the line*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Graves, L. (2018). Boundaries not drawn: Mapping the institutional roots of the global fact-checking movement. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(5), 613–631.

Groshek, J., & Tandoc, E. (2017). The affordance effect: Gatekeeping and (non) reciprocal journalism on Twitter. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *66*, 201–210.

Hanitzsch, T., & Vos, T. P. (2017). Journalistic roles and the struggle over institutional identity: The discursive constitution of journalism. *Communication Theory*, *27*(2), 115–135.

Konieczna, M. (2018). Evolving, rather than policing, the boundary: A case study of the development of the Center for Public Integrity. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(6), 759–776.

Kreiss, D. (2015). Afterword. *Journalism*, *16*(1), 153–156.

Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging communication space. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(1), 19–36.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, S. C. (2012a). From journalism to information: The transformation of the Knight Foundation and news innovation. *Mass Communication and Society*, *15*(3), 309–334.

Lewis, S. C. (2012b). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(6), 836–866.

Lewis, S. C. (2015). Epilogue: Studying the boundaries of journalism: Where do we go from here? In M. Carlson & S. C. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices, and participation* (pp. 218–228). London: Routledge.

Lewis, S. C., & Usher, N. (2016). Trading zones, boundary objects, and the pursuit of news innovation: A case study of journalists and programmers. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, *22*(5), 543–560.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work: A matrix and a research agenda. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 19–37.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2016). Mapping the human—machine divide in journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 341–353). New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Loosen, W. (2015). The notion of the “Blurring Boundaries” journalism as a (de-) differentiated phenomenon. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 68–84.

Lowrey, W. (2006). Mapping the journalism-blogging relationship. *Journalism*, *7*(4), 477–500.

Luce, A., Jackson, D., & Thorsen, E. (2017). Citizen journalism at the margins. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(2–3), 266–284.

Meltzer, K., & Martik, E. (2017). Journalists as communities of practice: Advancing a theoretical framework for understanding journalism. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, *41*(3), 207–226.

Micó, J. L., Masip, P., & Domingo, D. (2013). To wish impossible things: Convergence as a process of diffusion of innovations in an actor-network. *International Communication Gazette*, *75*(1), 118–137.

Molyneux, L., Holton, A. E., Lewis, S. C. (2018). How journalists engage in branding on social media: Individual, organizational, and institutional levels. *Information, Communication and Society*, *21*(10), 1386–1401.

Nadler, A. M. (2016). *Making the news popular: Mobilizing US news audiences*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Newman, N. (2017). *Digital news report 2017*. Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Örnebring, H. (2012). Comparative journalism research—an overview. *Sociology Compass*, *6*(10), 769–780.

Otto, L., Glogger, I., & Boukes, M. (2017). The softening of journalistic political communication: A comprehensive framework model of sensationalism, soft news, infotainment, and tabloidization. *Communication Theory*, *27*(2), 136–155.

Palmer, R. A. (2017). The journalist and the murderer revisited: What interviews with journalism subjects reveal about a modern classic. *Journalism*, *18*(5), 575–591.

Pickard, V. (2014). *America's battle for media democracy: The triumph of corporate libertarianism and the future of media reform*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Powers, M. (2015). NGOs as journalistic entities: The possibilities, promises and limits of boundary crossing. In M. Carlson & S. C. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 186–200). London: Routledge.
Reese, S. D. (1990). The news paradigm and the ideology of objectivity: A socialist at the Wall Street Journal. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *7*(4), 390–409.
Reese, S. D. (2016). The new geography of journalism research: Levels and spaces. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(7), 816–826.
Reese, S. D., Rutigliano, L., Hyun, K., & Jeong, J. (2007). Mapping the blogosphere: Professional and citizen-based media in the global news arena. *Journalism*, *8*(3), 235–261.
Revers, M. (2014a). Journalistic professionalism as performance and boundary work: Source relations at the state house. *Journalism*, *15*(1), 37–52.
Revers, M. (2014b). The twitterization of news making: Transparency and journalistic professionalism. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(5), 806–826.
Robinson, S. (2010). Traditionalists vs. convergers: Textual privilege, boundary work, and the journalist—audience relationship in the commenting policies of online news sites. *Convergence*, *16*(1), 125–143.
Robinson, S. (2018). *Networked news, racial divides: How power and privilege shape public discourse in progressive communities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Rodgers, S. (2015). Foreign objects? Web content management systems, journalistic cultures and the ontology of software. *Journalism*, *16*(1), 10–26.
Schudson, M. (1994). Question authority: A history of the news interview in American journalism, 1860s–1930s. *Media, Culture & Society*, *16*(4), 565–587.
Schwartz, D., & Berkowitz, D. (2018). "The Best Minute and a Half of Audio" Boundary disputes and the Palin family brawl. *Journalism Practice*, *12*(4), 440–455.
Schwartz, D., & Vogan, T. (2017). The players' tribune: Self-branding and boundary work in digital sports media. *Journal of Sports Media*, *12*(1), 45–63.
Singer, J. B. (2015). Out of bounds: Professional norms as boundary markers. In M. Carlson & S. C. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation* (pp. 21–36). London: Routledge.
Tong, J. (2015). Chinese journalists' views of user-generated content producers and journalism: A case study of the boundary work of journalism. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *25*(6), 600–616.
Tong, J. (2018). Journalistic legitimacy revisited: Collapse or revival in the digital age? *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 256–273.
Turner, F. (2005). Actor-networking the news. *Social Epistemology*, *19*(4), 321–324.
Usher, N. (2016). *Interactive journalism: Hackers, data, and code*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2014). Is WikiLeaks challenging the paradigm of journalism? Boundary work and beyond. *International Journal of Communication*, *8*(12), 2581–2592.
Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Oxford: Polity Press.
Winch, S. P. (1997). *Mapping the cultural space of journalism: How journalists distinguish news from entertainment*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the body: The Kennedy assassination, the media, and the shaping of collective memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *10*(3), 219–237.
Zelizer, B. (2018). Epilogue: Timing the study of news temporality. *Journalism*, *19*(1), 111–121.

9

Objectivity, Professionalism, and Truth Seeking

C. W. Anderson and Michael Schudson

In the past decade and a half, there has been a gradual rapprochement between the field of journalism studies and the subfield of sociology that examines professionalization and professional systems—the sociology of the professions. It seems clear to us that the crisis in journalistic business models and occupational status has had much to do with this shift—for several decades prior to this, it would be fair to say that these two fields have coexisted in a state of mutual indifference. And even today, few of the classic studies in the sociology of professions hazard even a guess as to journalism's professional status, preferring for the most part to focus on the traditional professions of medicine and law (see, for example, Bledstein, 1976; Dingwall & Lewis, 1983; Haskell, 1984). At a time when many of the most important scholarly questions about journalism revolve around issues of the occupation's power, authority, and professional status, there is still much to be gained from revisiting questions of journalism and professionalization from an explicitly sociological angle—articulating a deeper understanding of journalism's troubled professional project, the relationship between the objectivity norm and that project, and the manner in which journalists attempt to forge a journalistic jurisdiction out of the link between their everyday work and their heavily qualified claim to possess a form of professionalized knowledge.

To draw these journalistic and sociological perspectives on professionalization into dialog, we begin this chapter with a brief overview of some of the current issues faced by boundary drawing journalists and the scholars who study them, including the status of fact-checkers, the current state of citizen journalism, the discussions around discursive constructions of journalistic authority, and debates over fake news and post-truth. This overview—which can do little more than touch on some of the most pressing developments in the field—is followed by a discussion of Weberian studies of the professions, carried out in the late 1970s and 1980s, including a discussion of Abbott's (1988) influential analysis of "professional jurisdiction." We then examine the two major strands of scholarship that have emerged within the field of journalism studies. The first strand, coming from scholars working in journalism schools (for example, Weaver et al., 2007), tends not to worry about whether journalism produces authoritative knowledge or possesses professional traits; for researchers in this line of work, the importance of journalism is self-evident and not dependent on its status in a hierarchy of occupations. It emphasizes measuring the degree to which journalism has achieved professional status, often through occupational surveys that ask journalists about their education levels or self-perception of professional norms.

A second strand of work comes from the sociology of news organizations (Fishman, 1980; Gans, 2004; Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1978) and media studies (Zelizer, 1992) and focuses on the character of journalistic knowledge or claims to knowledge and thus probes the standing of journalism's "cultural authority," to borrow Paul Starr's (1984) term. While the first strand suffers from its (probably unconscious) adoption of the "trait perspective" on the professions, the second strand confuses journalistic objectivity with journalistic professionalism per se. As Hallin and Mancini's (2004) work demonstrates, objectivity is not the definitive professional norm in many non-American media systems where professionalism, nonetheless, exists.

In our conclusion, we advance the argument that a productive mode of analysis of journalistic objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking would continue to build on the best work of the two strands noted above while adopting a modified version of Abbott's (1988) framework. For Abbott, the study of the professions begins with the study of professional work, and "the central phenomenon of professional life is thus the link between a profession and its work" that Abbott calls "jurisdiction." Jurisdiction refers to the day-to-day manner in which a profession both concretizes and displays its base of "abstract knowledge" or, in the peculiar case of journalism, knowledge real and expert but by no means abstract. We seek to integrate Abbott's analysis with the two streams of research mentioned above, apply it to current controversies surrounding journalistic professionalism, and outline an agenda for future research.

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

There has probably been no greater field of struggle in the world of journalism than the struggle over the very terms of discourse that define this chapter. We might say that questions of journalistic professionalism are themselves tied into questions of what it means to be an objective journalist, which itself is related to an even more fundamental question about what it means to seek journalistic truth. Over the past decade since the first edition of this book has been published, scholars of fact-checking (Graves, 2016; Graves, Nyhan, & Reifler, 2016) have probed questions of what it means to claim to judge the truth claims of political actors. Other theorists (Carlson & Lewis, 2015; Reich, 2012; Anderson, 2018) have looked at the ways that journalists themselves create professional boundaries between journalists and non-journalists out of rhetoric, or material objects, or a combination of both. A third group of scholars is using public debates about the status of so-called "fake news" and "post-truth" to look at what it means to be an objective reporter of the news and how objectivity can meaningfully correspond to external reality (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017).

In research on fact-checking, scholars have discussed not only the manner by which fact-checkers may or may not actually change citizen's opinions (Graves et al., 2016) but also the more interesting manner by which fact-checkers are themselves enrolled in political debates about the nature of truth (Graves, 2016). Fact-checkers, Graves contends, attempt to depoliticize the nature of facts but often find themselves subject to increasing partisan political pressures. One way to analyze the process Graves points to, but on a more generalizable scale is to turn to the work of scholars of journalistic boundary work, which explores how questions of "who is a journalist" relate to questions of journalistic truth. We think it is fair to say that this varied work (Carlson & Lewis, 2015; Reich, 2012) represents some of the most generative research in journalism studies since the last edition of this book. In effect, these scholars argue that journalists construct discursive boundaries between themselves and non-journalists. Two interesting offshoots of this research strand complicate this narrative: Carlson (2017) makes it clear that journalistic authority depends on a process of mutual co-construction between journalists and audiences, and Anderson (2013) notes that journalistic boundaries are erected not simply out of words but out of material infrastructures as well.

While earlier scholarship in concerned itself with questions of citizen media and "who counts" as a journalist in the digital age, recent work has been more interested in debates over fake news and whether or not we are living in a post-truth era. It is our contention here that much of this work is rather presentist and concerned with issues of immediate importance such as the 2016 US Presidential election. We are not convinced, in short, that a real research agenda has emerged out of post-truth debates, though we expect this will no longer be the case by the time this handbook reaches its third edition. For now, Wardle and Derakhshan (2017) is a good overview of the various issues at play and may point us to some additional important questions to ask in the years ahead.

All of these debates and developments demonstrate that there has been much knowledge gained in the past ten years as various scholars have probed questions of objectivity, journalistic professionalism, and truth seeking. That said, we continue to think a broader framework, grounded in the sociology of the professions, is also essential to frame these somewhat scattered advances, and it is to the articulation of that framework that we now turn.

FROM OCCUPATIONAL TRAITS TO OCCUPATIONAL STRUGGLE

The most productive era within the subfield of sociology dedicated to professionalization research begins with the widespread abandonment of the "trait approach" of occupational analysis, an approach that dominated the field for decades and whose more extreme normative tendencies defined a profession as a model of occupational autonomy and self-regulation worthy of imitation (Carr-Saunders & Wilson, 1993; Tawney, 1920). In the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists abandoned the trait approach, passing "from the false question 'Is this occupation a profession' to the more fundamental one 'What are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession and themselves into professional people'" (Hughes, 1963, p. 655). In the half century since Hughes' challenge, the study of the profession as an idealized structural-functionalist category has been replaced in much of sociology by the more Weberian study of professionalization and the "professional project."

One of the first explicitly Weberian professionalization theorists, Magali Sarfatti Larson, argues in her analysis of the "professional project" that "ideal typical constructions do not tell us what a profession is, only what it pretends to be." We should ask instead, she argued, "what professions actually do in everyday life to negotiate or maintain their special position" (1977, p. xii). This Weberian theory of the professional project has remained at the center of the sociology of the professions for the past several decades. The concept represents a fusion of Eliot Freidson's (1983) early, groundbreaking work on the medical field with Weber's classic analysis of the attempts of occupational groups to link economic class and social status. For Sarfatti Larson (1977, p. xiii), professions are neither naturally existing occupational categories nor the bearers of socially functional "traits"; rather, they are collective social actors who "attempt to translate one order of scarce resources—special knowledge and skills—into another—social and economic rewards."

Framed in this manner, certain aspects of the professional project assumed key roles in the Weberian analysis of professional struggle that prevailed in the late 1970s. These aspects included: a profession's attempt to create organizational monopoly out of a socially useful body of abstract knowledge; the need for a market in which to transact the exchange of the technical utilization of that knowledge; the relationship between a profession's monopolization of knowledge and its members' social status; the mutual interdependency of the profession's drive for social mobility and market control; attempts to convert economic power to social status (and vice versa); the ultimate dependence of this knowledge monopoly on the sanction of the state; and, finally, the need for a profession to "produce its producers" via schooling, credentialism, codes of ethics, etc. (Collins, 1979). Neo-Marxist studies emphasized education's place in training professionals to acquire cultural capital to justify their high standing in the social order (Bourdieu, 1984; Collins, 1979; Ehrenreich & Ehrenreich, 1979). Early criticism of the ideal of objectivity in US journalism drew on this work or shared in the same intellectual mood skeptical of the authority of professions and inclined to see claims to neutrality, detachment, or dispassion as a veil for power (e.g., Schudson, 1978; Lichtenberg, 1989).

From this disciplinary reorientation, it follows that any investigation into issues of professionalism, objectivity, and truth seeking in journalism specifically should move from the question of whether journalism is or is not a profession to the more interesting analysis of the circumstances in which journalists attempt to turn themselves into professional people. This research agenda places the study of journalism within the sociological study of the professions, and can cast new light on many of the classic institutional histories of journalism, including those that ignore or discount a sociological lens.

PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH AND JOURNALISM

How has this disciplinary transition from "traits" to "struggle" played out within the field of journalism studies? It would be an exaggeration to say that developments in sociology proper have had no effect on studies of journalistic professionalism. Arguably, however, the relationship has been indirect. Much of this can perhaps be attributed to the general decoupling, over the past two and a half decades, of sociology and media research tout court; on the side of journalism studies, as Zelizer (2004, p. 80) notes, "despite the auspicious beginnings of sociological inquiry into journalism, much contemporary work on journalism no longer comes from sociology per se." The paradox is at least partially explained by the migration of sociologists to the burgeoning communications and media departments. Sociologists including Rodney Benson, Todd Gitlin, Michael Schudson, and Silvio Waisbord have primary or exclusive appointments in communication departments or journalism schools rather than sociology departments. The work of these scholars has found an audience in communication and media studies more than in sociology. Some sociologists, to be sure—the work of Steven Clayman and his colleagues stands out—still speak primarily to an audience inside sociology, even if it is in the subfield of sociolinguistics and conversational analysis.

In the absence of work that explicitly links the sociology of the professions to journalism, two strands of analysis have emerged within journalism studies. The first, encompassing what might be termed institutional research, usually seeks quantitative data on indicators such as journalists' employment, education levels, and adherence to ethical codes. Such research has most often been initiated by the news industry itself, or by academics with close ties to professional journalism. In the United States, the Annual Survey of Journalism and Mass Communication Graduates has provided regularly updated statistics on the employment prospects of recent journalism school graduates. In other countries (McLeod & Hawley, 1964), as well as in the United States, additional surveys and employment analyses have been conducted to "measure" the degree to which professionalization has occurred within journalism, at least along the axis of higher education credentialing. The data presents something of a mixed picture. In the US, for the 20 years from 1982 to 2002, the number of journalism and mass communication bachelor's-degree graduates who went into degree-related jobs declined from half to a quarter (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007). At the same time, American newspaper editors offer verbal support to the importance of a journalism or communications degree, and so while the value of a "journalism degree" may be open to question, the importance of higher education is not (see also Wilnat & Weaver, 2013 for the most up to date statistics). The situation is similar in other countries with established media systems: a greater hiring emphasis is placed on higher education in general than on the possession of specific "communication" degrees. In a 2015 survey update, journalism academic enrollments as a whole continued their steep decline (Gotleib et al.) while at the same time, the skill portfolio for entry-level journalism continued to diversify into realms like computer science and quantitative methods.

For journalism it is tempting to turn to talk of a "quasi," "pseudo," or "failed" profession and to echo Weaver and Wilhoit's (1996) contention that journalism "is *of* a profession but not *in* one" (p. 145). More nuance is shed on this question, however, when we turn to comparative studies, particularly the Worlds of Journalism Study, which to date has been comprised of two research waves (from 2007 to 2011 and from 2012 to 2016, respectively). Drawing on interview data from more than 27,000 journalists in 66 countries, the study makes clear that the jurisdictional struggles of journalists should not be generalized from the American case alone, but must be approached cross-nationally and contextually (see the 2017 special issue of *Journalism Studies* on the Worlds of Journalism project for more detail).

To conclude and to perhaps over-generalize, the first strand of journalism studies largely avoids the deeper questions surrounding journalism's unsettled occupational status. Rather than placing journalism somewhere on the professional spectrum between plumbers and neurosurgeons, it would be far more productive to inquire why and how the occupations of reporting and news editing achieved the professional status they did and how journalism may be attempting (or not, as the case may be) to raise that status. This removes us by one step from the rather arid analysis of employment data and forces us to consider the history, theory, and practice of journalism. Such questions have been dealt with most explicitly by authors working within the relatively new communication subfield of journalism studies, a strand that we might label cultural histories of professional objectivity.

CULTURAL THEORIES OF PROFESSIONALISM AND OBJECTIVITY

Schudson (1978, p. 151), in *Discovering the News*, identifies Walter Lippmann as "the most wise and forceful spokesman for the ideal of objectivity." Journalists, according to Lippmann, should "develop a sense of evidence and forthrightly acknowledge the limits of available information; . . . dissect slogans and abstractions, and refuse to withhold the news or put moral uplift or any cause ahead of veracity." In short, Lippmann urged reporters to fuse their professionalism with claims to objectivity. The link between professionalism, objectivity, and truth seeking would come to be accepted, not only by journalists themselves in the form of an occupational ideology but by media researchers and journalism scholars as a related series of problems susceptible to historical and sociological investigation. Understanding the emergence of objectivity would, in short, provide the key to understanding the emergence of professionalism.

Synthesizing some of the most important social histories of the American press,[1] we can speak here of at least five orientations to this history of objectivity. *First*, progressive historiography, which closely tracked the development of journalism's own occupational ideology, has depicted journalism as moving inevitably toward social differentiation, occupational autonomy, and professional freedom. By this account, objectivity serves as a normative endpoint, one enabled by modernization and the growing social differentiation among politics, business, and journalism; it is seen not as a tool, or a claim, but as a goal, a "best practice" made possible by historical progress. A *second*, related understanding of the relationship between objectivity and professionalism is the "technological" explanation for the emergence of objective journalism. This explanation sees objectivity as a literary form fostered by technological developments and the combination of this technology with the consolidation of newspaper markets (see Sambrook, 2012, for an example).

A *third* strand of scholarship points to economic developments that fuel commercialism (and by implication, a misleading, ideological claim to impartiality called "objectivity"). Kaplan singles out Baldasty's *The Commercialization of News in the 19th Century* as an especially forceful, carefully documented, and ultimately wrongheaded argument about the relationship between commercialism and professionalization. "In Baldasty's theory, news content and indeed 'journalistic visions' followed from the [capitalistic] funding mechanism" (Kaplan, 2002, p. 8) and produced a journalism that saw the public as consumers rather than citizens.

A *fourth* strand of research on the rise of journalistic objectivity in the United States begins with Schudson's *Discovering the News* (1978), which, along with his later work (2001), moved away from seeing the emergence of objectivity as an "inevitable outcome" of wide-scale social processes and changes—whether social, economic, or technological—and linked the emergence of journalistic professionalism to questions of group cohesion, professional power, social conflict, and the cultural resonance of claims to occupational authority. Schudson's original move in *Discovering the News* was to seek the origins of professional objectivity in the nexus of developments that built a "democratic market society" rather than in technological developments or in a "natural" evolutionary progress. Schudson distinguishes journalistic beliefs of the 1890s—naïve empiricism, or a faith in "the facts"—from the more modern, early 20th century view of objectivity, which takes norms of objective reporting to be a set of defensive strategies rooted in the "disappointment of the modern gaze"—the understanding that true objectivity is impossible. Many authors—primarily historians of journalism—have followed Schudson in discussing the emergence of a professional class of reporters in the context of the development of professional objectivity (most notably Banning, 1999; Summers, 1994; Tucher, 2004). For these authors, and many others, objectivity continues to be the *sine qua non* of journalistic professionalization: explain the reasons behind the emergence of objectivity as an occupational practice, fix a date at which it first emerged, and you have gone a long way towards uncovering the "secret" of professional journalism.

A second wave of scholarly work on journalistic professionalism, much of it comparative in nature, has called into question the strong linkage this work implies between objectivity and professionalism. At the very least, objectivity cannot be seen as the *only* occupational norm to both emerge from and buttress the professional project, and in some cases, it may not even be the *most important* norm. Chalaby (1998) has called journalism a "fact-based discursive practice" rather than a literary, philosophical, or political commentary on current affairs, an "Anglo-American invention." Ramaprasad's extensive surveys of non-Western journalism do not even include adherence to "objectivity" as a major characteristic of news work in Egypt (Ramaprasad & Hamdy, 2006); Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2001); or Nepal (Ramaprasad & Kelly, 2003), and the new notion of "contextual objectivity" has emerged to explain the editorial policies of non-Western cable news channels like al-Jazeera (Berenger, 2005). In their classic (though by now quarter-century old) study, Donsbach and Patterson (2004) argued that a commitment to objectivity still distinguishes American from European newsrooms. Their extensive survey of German, Italian, Swedish, British, and American journalists, both print and broadcast, finds that

US journalists almost uniformly report that their political views have no relationship to the views of their employers. Italian and German journalists at national newspapers say that their political views are close to their papers' editorial position. Schudson also argues that the journalism he took to be "modern" is more appropriately judged "American," and some of its distinctive features have more to do with American cultural presuppositions than a universal modernism. This is notably the case with the American invention of interviewing as a standard journalistic tool, one judged by many European observers at the time (the late 19th century) as a particularly rude and presumptuous way of doing journalistic work (Schudson, 1995, 2005).

It is Hallin and Mancini, however, who make the strongest case for severing the link between objectivity and professional standing in the world of journalism. For them, professionalism is defined less in terms of educational barriers to entry, a lack of state regulation, or the ideal of "objectivity"; rather, it is viewed primarily in terms of "greater control over [one's] own work process" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 34); the presence of distinct professional norms (p. 35); and a public service orientation (p. 36). Different media systems vary in their levels of professionalization, they argue. The Mediterranean model of journalism maintains a fairly weak level of professionalization; the North Atlantic model (America and Britain) and North/Central European model (Germany, Scandinavia) are both highly professionalized. However, being a "professional" in the democratic corporatist countries does not necessarily mean being committed to objectivity or being free from political party ties. Rather, journalists in democratic corporatist states (generally speaking, northern European countries) judge journalistic autonomy to be compatible with active and intentional intervention in the political world. In these terms, journalists in Germany are as "professional" as those in the United States. The social bases of their professionalism, however, and the specific content of their values are different.

In a later argument that amounts to an elaboration and generalization of his thesis in *Discovering the News*, Schudson (2001) has contended that the "objectivity norm" in American journalism ultimately provides some sort of benefit to the group that articulates it, either by stimulating social cohesion (in a Durkheimian sense) or social control (in a Weberian one). Ethics and norms exist for ritualistic reasons, helping to provide internal solidarity and cohesion to a particular group; they also can also represent a way of defining a group in relation to other groups. Weberian explanations for the emergence of occupational norms, on the other hand, imply that they provide a measure of hierarchical control over social groups. The needs of superiors (editors) to control their subordinates (reporters) within large organizations mandates the adoption of a kind of "overt ethical reinforcement" that helps steer individuals in a rational, predictable manner.

Schudson's essay focuses on the social functions of the objectivity norm in American journalism, but it acknowledges that "a variety of moral norms could achieve the ends of providing public support and insulation from criticism" (p. 165). If, as Hallin and Mancini argue, professionalism implies the existence of an occupational autonomy undergirded by distinct professional norms, professional journalism might have different bases cross-culturally, historically, and even in the future. The end of objectivity, even if it arrives, may not signal the end of professional journalism. Indeed: objectivity may not end, even in the United States. Further work by Fink and Schudson (2013), Barnhurst (2014), Graves (2016), and Anderson (2018) point to what we might call the "rise of objectivity 2.0." We might also call it "contextual," "analytical," or "interpretive" journalism, journalism that is less insulated from values that it had once been but which is nonetheless regularly defended by journalists as providing the necessary background for understanding events of the day. In these cases, journalism responds to a variety of challenges to journalistic commitments by *raising* the professional bar for what it means to be an objective journalist. Rather than simply quoting both sides of a controversial issue, for example, journalism weighs in with its own professionally grounded but nuanced opinion about *what* is exactly true and why. We can see these developments most clearly in Graves' (2016) work on the American fact-checking movement, for example.

Fifth and finally, we should not overlook contingency in the development of objectivity in the United States; it can be seen, in part, as a product of the distinctive shape of the US "public sphere." Previous theories of the rise of objectivity in American journalism are insufficient because they ignore the role played by political contention in American history. These theories often assume, incorrectly, that a social consensus around notions of political liberalism and economic capitalism has been the driving force in press history. In Kaplan, we find the argument that Progressive Era politics, including the weakening of the authority of political parties through primary elections and other reforms helped propel a vision of public service among publishers, editors, and reporters via impartial and independent reporting.

We have seen, in these various cultural histories of journalistic objectivity in the United States, a productive focus on the manner in which journalists "turn themselves into a profession and themselves into professional people" (Hughes, 1963, p. 655). Informed by comparative studies of journalism, the best of these studies recognize that a variety of professional norms might provide public support and critical insulation for professional projects in journalism in other countries, while the most recent historical surveys have usefully re-interrogated the relationship between professional norms, journalistic style, and the authority conferred to journalism in the public sphere. Scholars of journalistic professionalism are at least indirectly rediscovering a key insight articulated by Hughes and advanced initially by the Weberian professionalization theorists—that journalism's authority, status, occupational norms, and claims to expertise can be analyzed as facets of a professional project, an inter- and intra-group struggle.

A large question remains: what exactly is the nature of this struggle? What, exactly, is the object over which this struggle is waged? And further, what are the dynamics of conflict and cooperation through which this struggle unfolds? In sketching out the answers to these questions we argue, first, that professional expertise (or rather, an odd form of specifically journalistic expertise) and the linking of this expertise to work serves as a lever by which occupational jurisdictions are created and seized by contending occupational groups. Second, we contend that the dynamics of this struggle are marked out by an odd fusion of overlapping networks and sharply defined boundary lines, and that a primary tactic in the struggle to define "who is a journalist" is to simultaneously sharpen and blur the lines between professional "insiders" and paraprofessional "outsiders."

BOUNDARY WORK, JURISDICTION, NETWORKS, EXPERTISE, AND AUTHORITY

Over what social markers would we expect to see occupations struggle as they advance their "professional project"? For Sarfatti Larson, groups seeking professional status must organize themselves to attain market power—they must fight to first constitute and then control the market for their services. They must, as marketers of human services, "produce their producers" through training and education; they must attain state sanction for their occupational monopoly; they must ratify this monopoly through "the license, the qualifying examination, the diploma" (1977, p. 15).

Sociologist Andrew Abbott's (1988) work in *The System of the Professions* shares much with Sarfatti Larson's but is a substantial refinement. In addition to criticizing Larson for her over-emphasis on economic power as the ultimate basis of journalistic authority (rather than seeing professional power as emerging from a mixture of economic control, political power, social status, and cultural authority), Abbott's most important advance over the 1970s work is to argue that study of the professions must begin with a focus on professional *work* rather than the *occupational group* and the structural markers of professionalism as a distinct object of analysis. The key aspect of professional struggle, argues Abbott, is the struggle over jurisdiction, or the struggle over the link between knowledge and work. Abbott views the professional field as a terrain of competition, though in this instance as a competition over jurisdiction rather than the structural emblems of professionalism. As it claims jurisdiction, a profession asks society to recognize its cognitive structure (and thus the authority conferred by that recognition) through exclusive rights. "Jurisdiction has not only a culture, but also a social structure," Abbott argues (p. 59), a structure emerging out of this societal recognition. Doctors and lawyers, for instance, not only claim jurisdiction over specific areas of work but gain enforceable legal and political rights through state intervention. Even journalists, who lack many of the structural advantages granted to other professional groups, have achieved some level of juridical recognition via shield laws, for example, and privileged access to political leaders.

For Abbott, establishing professional jurisdiction requires more than simply labor; instead, the jurisdictional process refers to the day-to-day manner in which a profession both concretizes and displays its base of "abstract knowledge." According to Abbott, what differentiates professional knowledge from mere occupational knowledge in general is "a knowledge system governed by abstractions, a knowledge system that can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems" (p. 93). At the same time, this knowledge must be displayed via work. Or as Fournier (1999, p. 74) describes the link between knowledge and work in Abbott's theoretical scheme:

> Abbott uses [the] notion of cultural work to refer to the strategies that the professions deploy to manipulate their systems of [abstract] knowledge in such a way that they can appropriate various problems falling under their jurisdiction. . . . Abbott's suggestion that professions engage in cultural *work* to establish their exclusive claim of competence over a particular "chunk of the world" emphasizes the active work that professionals have to put in to maintain the boundaries defining their jurisdiction.

By shifting his focus from "the structure(s) of professionalization" to an analysis of jurisdictional disputes concerning the relationship between abstract knowledge and work, Abbott expands our discussion of knowledge-based occupations outside the "traditional" professions and also helps us to conceive of a new way in which occupational groups struggle over social and cultural status.

Conveniently for us, Abbott devotes substantial space to a discussion of journalists. In Abbott's account, journalism, at least in the United States, has claimed jurisdiction over the collection and distribution of qualitative, current information about general events. Journalism in general, and US journalism in particular, also displays an internal differentiation in which journalists who cover politics or other topics that bear on political democracy have the highest professional standing and an especially marked cultural authority. This close link to democratic politics gives journalism its closest relationship to recognition by the state, but a paradoxical recognition in that the First Amendment prohibits state regulation rather than requiring it (as in the case of state-regulated licensing of lawyers and doctors and a number of other professional occupations). US journalism's claim to objectivity—i.e., the particular method by which this information is collected, processed, and presented—gives it its unique jurisdictional focus by claiming to possess a certain form of expertise or intellectual discipline. Establishing jurisdiction over the ability to objectively parse reality is a claim to a special kind of authority.

In sum, journalistic objectivity operates as *both* an occupational norm and as object of struggle within the larger struggle over professional jurisdiction. "Expert" professionals—in this case, journalists—seek, via occupational struggle, to monopolize a form of journalistic expertise, which itself is discursively constructed out of various journalistic practices and narratives, including the claim to professional objectivity. This is an idea which increasingly finds elaboration in the journalism studies literature itself, particularly in the work of Carlson and Lewis (2015), Reich (2012), and Anderson (2013). These studies of "boundary work," now a fairly common framework for discussion on the journalism studies literature, can be said to adopt a framework largely drawn from Abbott.

This notion of journalistic expertise makes journalism an unusually fascinating case within the sociological analysis of the professions. The very notion of journalistic expertise is doubly problematic. Professions, argues Abbott, are "somewhat exclusive groups of individuals applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" (Abbott, 1988, p. 8). Yet most segments of the journalism profession are not exclusive (and with the arrival of citizen journalism, becoming progressively less so); nor is journalistic knowledge abstract. Journalism seems to simultaneously make a grandiose knowledge claim (that it possesses the ability to isolate, transmit, and interpret the most publicly relevant aspects of social reality) and an incredibly modest one (that really, most journalists are not experts at all but are simply question-asking generalists). Abbott's framework, with its focus on knowledge and jurisdiction, helps us see immediately what makes journalism a sociologically anomalous profession.

If professional struggles are, in part, struggles over a definition of and jurisdiction over particular forms of expertise, what, exactly, is the nature of this struggle? Several answers common to both the sociological and journalism studies literature suggest themselves, each of which place an emphasis on the drawing of boundary lines and the creation of insiders and outsiders. In an influential 1983 essay, Thomas Gieryn advanced the concept of "boundary work," the process by which divisions between fields of knowledge are delimited, attacked, and reinforced. Specifically addressing the separation of religion from science in 19th century England, Gieryn (1983) argued that the emerging distinctions between "science" and "non-science" were partially constructed and stemmed from the self-interested rhetorical maneuvers of scientists. In effect, the very act of answering the question "what is science" helped to shape the modern notions of science, defining it by both what it is and what it is not. For Gieryn, the struggle over the definition of scientist was a rhetorical struggle over boundaries.

A decade later, Zelizer (1992) echoed Gieryn's notion of boundary work in her discussion of journalism. Specifically rejecting the paradigm of professionalization, Zelizer instead identifies journalists as an "interpretive community" whose authority stems from discursive sources operating both inside and outside the professional sphere. In her case study of media coverage of the John F. Kennedy assassination, Zelizer details how one emerging group, TV journalists, imposed themselves on the profession via both their coverage of Kennedy's murder and, just as importantly, the stories they later told one another about the killing. Zelizer (1992) argues that journalists use narrative to strengthen their position as an "authoritative interpretive community," consolidating their "truth-telling" position *vis-à-vis* other interpretive groups and maintaining internal group coherence (p. 197). As Zelizer emphasizes, the process of journalistic legitimization is primarily rhetorical, carried out through strategies such as synecdoche, omission, and personalization:

> The ability of journalists to establish themselves as authoritative spokespersons for the assassination story was predicated on their use of narrative in deliberate and strategic ways. Journalists' claims to legitimacy were no less rhetorically based than their narrative reconstructions of the

> activities behind the news. . . . *While all professional groups are constituted by formalized bodies of knowledge, much of journalists' interpretive authority lies not in what they know, but in how they represent their knowledge*.
>
> (1992, p. 34, original emphasis)

The claim that journalistic professionalism is established as much by the *representation* of knowledge as by the actual *possession* of knowledge would not, in and of itself, be a controversial theoretical claim; indeed, arguments about the constructed nature of professional expertise predate the post-structuralist critique and can be found in sociological scholarship as far back as Eliot Freidson. What is important and original is the emphasis on the rhetorical dimension of constituting the cultural authority of journalists. Where Zelizer's *Covering the Body* falls short is in its almost exclusive focus on the rhetorical dimension. Eyal's (2005, p. 16) critique of Gieryn is applicable to Zelizer as well:

> The first, and obvious [problem with Gieryn's notion of boundary work], is the fact that boundary work is limited to rhetoric. The social mechanisms that limit the number of authoritative speakers, that assign their statements with differential values, that close off certain topics and devices from non-expert inspection, that characterize something as "calculable" or "not calculable," etc., these mechanisms are far more robust than mere rhetoric. Rhetoric alone would never have been able to produce the relational reality of science or the economy, or politics, etc.

It is possible that journalists define themselves rhetorically more than do other professions—their rhetoric is not only about their work; it *is* their work. And this focus on the *boundaries of* journalism, in the years since the publication of the first edition of this chapter, marks perhaps the greatest rapprochement between journalism studies and the sociology of the professions. Carlson and Lewis' work on boundaries (2015) is foundational here, as is the examination of related concepts like "journalistic metadiscourse" and "meta coverage." A comparison between the differences between doctors and lawyers, on the one hand, and journalists, on the other, helps sharpen this point. Whereas doctors and lawyers have, with government assistance, considerable control over the gates of entry to their fields, and hence have market power, journalists have no such autonomy in their work. They are almost always hired hands, not independent operators.

Struggle over the journalistic jurisdiction, then, includes, but cannot be limited to, "rhetorical" conflict. Once again, this key line from Abbott: "Jurisdiction has not only a culture, but also a social structure" (Abbott, 1988, p. 59). Zelizer's conception of journalistic authority, almost entirely cultural, is important but incomplete. How else might the struggle over journalistic expertise be framed, in a way that more productively incorporates the profession's social structure, as well as the "external" structures that affect the profession itself?

One possibility, gaining a following in recent years, would be to rethink journalism as a journalistic "field" in the terms of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu envisions modern society as highly differentiated, composed of different spheres or "fields," each relatively autonomous and operating to some degree by a logic of its own. These fields include domains of art, politics, academia, and, most importantly for our purposes, journalism (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984). Among communications scholars, Rodney Benson and Eric Neveu (2005) have led the way in applying Bourdieu's field concepts to journalism. In the same volume, Klinenberg has spoken of alternative youth media attempts to "channel into the journalistic field," and field theory has become an established paradigm through which to explore the relationship between professional and nonprofessional media systems (Vos, Craft, & Ashley, 2012; Benson, 2013).

Nevertheless, as Chris Atton (2002) notes, it is difficult to fit alternative media into Bourdieu's conceptual frame since, almost by definition, alternative media claim journalistic status by challenging mainstream journalism's norms and practices. The field concept may theorize well about highly structured and fairly unchanging social-cultural constellations (fields) but is less supple at explaining the spaces between fields, the competition between fields, and the edges of fields. When Bourdieu himself wrote about journalism as a field, he expressed alarm that it might subordinate itself to the political or economic fields (Bourdieu, 1996). But full autonomy from these other fields is scarcely conceivable and perhaps not even desirable (Schudson, 2005); the political and the economic are incorporated inside journalism. If this were not so, the inclination of journalists to solipsism rather than to engagement with a large democratic public might prove irresistible. The concept of "field" does not seem to offer leverage for analyzing fringes, spaces, or competition.

Consider the difficulty in conceptualizing blogging in relation to journalism. Boundary lines between "insider and outsider," "professional and non-professional," "journalist and blogger" are blurred today and growing ever more fuzzy. Instead of a sharply defined boundary line we might better imagine a thick, poorly defined "border zone" made up of proliferating hybrids, shifting social and occupational roles, and networks of expertise (Eyal, 2005). Bloggers, once interlopers whose claim to journalistic jurisdiction mainstream journalist rejected, now receive press credentials. Longtime *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter Dan Rubin goes from being a journalist to full-time (paid) blogger to journalist again. Vast numbers of amateurs with camera phones are spread across the world, far outnumbering professional news photographers, and so have access to many events of the moment the professionals do not—a subway commuter, for instance, provided key photos of the 2005 London subway bombings that news organizations around the world printed.

The boundary-maintaining problem this creates for journalism is apparent when an organization like World Press Photo, an international organization of professional photojournalists based in the Netherlands, selected its best photos of the year in 2005—choosing to eliminate from competition the photos at Abu Ghraib or photos of the devastation caused by the 2004 Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami because, even though they appeared in mainstream news publications, they were produced by amateurs (Livingstone, 2007). In an era of cell phone, camera phone, and blog, jurisdictional questions are legion. Meanwhile, other developments in portable and efficient information transmission alter the character of how journalistic claims to authority are articulated. In television, the growing use of live "two way" interactions between a studio-based news presenter and a field-based reporter lend a growing air of informality to on-air discourse, a style that affords the reporters in the field leeway to distance themselves from a commitment to the factuality of their pronouncements, as Montgomery observes. Montgomery (2006), in a study of the BBC, sees an increase in reporters' use of terms like "probably" and "perhaps," "certainly," and "actually" and "I think" or "my instinct is," introducing a personal rather than institutional voice into the discourse of news. In a sense, this style of work maintains journalistic authority by removing it from its pedestal (see also the work of Cushion, 2011).

This does not deny that social actors still find a *rhetorical* value in fixing their own borders. Journalists, bloggers, citizen journalists, activist reporters all find it useful to define themselves and others as insider or outsider, as part of "our" or "the other" group. This is where the Bourdieuean notion of the field is valuable, perhaps not as a description of actually existing social reality, but at least as a term that points to the cultural construction of boundaries in which conventional journalists and their various competitors are emotionally invested. With the categories flexible and challenged, the rhetoric defining insider and outsider in flux, the deployment of the rhetoric of professionalism is both strategic and essential to the identity of the various social actors involved.

CONCLUSION

We have argued, building on earlier work (Schudson, 2001) that objectivity acts as both a solidarity-enhancing and distinction-creating norm and as a group claim to possess a unique kind of professional knowledge, articulated via work (Abbott, 1988). This knowledge claim, in the case of journalism, is an odd one: unlike most scientific or legal claims to possess the occupational ability to discern the “objective truth” about reality, journalists do not argue that they possess esoteric or uniquely complex expertise. Rather, journalism makes a claim that has been simultaneously grandiose (jurisdiction over the collection and distribution of information about current events of general interest and importance) and modest (in the US case, gathering information less on the basis of expertise than of attitude, a capacity to and willingness to subordinate the views of the journalist to the voices of their sources).

The question of the manner by which objectivity (or other journalistic norms and knowledge claims) function within a larger occupational, political, and economic social structure is more complicated and difficult to discern. On the one hand, professional claims obviously serve to draw boundary lines between those on the “inside” and “outside” of the profession. On the other hand, several decades of science studies have warned us to be wary of assuming that the *rhetorical* claims made about boundaries, claims often put forth by occupational groups themselves, mirror the actual reality by which professional power, knowledge, and authority operate. In short, claims to knowledge and professional power are often contradictory and incoherent.

We have not tried to formulate any grand theoretical statement regarding the operation of professional power, authority, and expertise. For now, the following simple propositions are worth keeping in mind: any empirical investigation into the status of journalism should be sensitive to the importance of journalistic expertise (in the form of objectivity claims and in other forms) along with the contradictory nature of that claim; simultaneously, any analysis of journalism should keep in mind the complex and, once again, contradictory nature of claims to be “inside” and “outside” an occupational system of power.

NOTE

1. Here, we draw in part on work of Kaplan (2002) as well as the authors’ own work in Schudson (1978, 2001) and Anderson (2018).

REFERENCES

Abbott, A. D. (1988). *The system of professions: An essay on the division of expert labor*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Anderson, C. W. (2013). What aggregators do: Toward a networked concept of journalistic expertise in the digital age. *Journalism: Theory, Practice, Criticism*, *14*(8), 1008–1023.

Anderson, C. W. (2018). *Apostles of certainty: Data journalism and the politics of doubt*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Atton, C. (2002). *Alternative media*. London: Sage Publications.

Banning, S. A. (1999). The professionalization of journalism: A nineteenth-century beginning. *Journalism History*, *24*(4), 157–160.

Barnhurst, K. (2014). The problem of realist events in American journalism. *Media and Communication*, *2*(2), 84–95.

Benson, R. (2013). *Shaping immigration news: A French-American comparison*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, R., & Neveu, E. (2005). *Bourdieu and the journalistic field*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Berenger, R. (2005). Al Jazeera: In pursuit of 'Contextual Objectivity.' *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal*, *14*. Retrieved from www.tbsjournal.com/Archives/Spring05/ReviewsBerenger.html

Bledstein, B. J. (1976). *The culture of professionalism: The middle class and the development of higher education in America*. New York, NY: W. W Norton & Company.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1996). *On television*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Carlson, M. (2017). *Journalistic authority: Legitimating news in a digital era*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices, participation*. London: Routledge.

Carr-Saunders, A. M., & Wilson, P. A. (1993). *The professions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Chalaby, J. (1998). *The invention of journalism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Collins, R. (1979). *The credential society*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Cushion, S. (2011). *Television journalism: Abignon-on Thames*. UK: Routledge.

Dingwall, R., & Lewis, P. (Eds.). (1983). *The sociology of the professions: Doctors, lawyers, and others*. New York, NY: St. Martin's.

Donsbach, W., & Patterson, T. E. (2004). Political news journalists. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication: Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 251–270). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ehrenreich, B., & Ehrenreich, J. (1979). The professional-managerial class. In P. Walker (Ed.), *Between labor and capital* (pp. 5–45). Boston, MA: South End Press.

Eyal, G. (2005, April 28). *Spaces between fields*. Paper presented at the conference on "Bourdieuian Theory and Historical Analysis," at The Center for Comparative Research, Yale University.

Fink, K., & Schudson, M. (2013). The rise of contextual journalism, 1950s-2000s. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, *15*(1), 3–20.

Fishman, M. (1980). *Manufacturing the news*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Fournier, V. (1999). The appeal to 'Professionalism' as a disciplinary mechanism. *Social Review*, *47*(2), 280–307.

Freidson, E. (1983). *Professional powers: A study of the institutionalization of formal knowledge*. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press.

Gans, H. J. (2004). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Gieryn, T. (1983). Boundary work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists. *American Sociological Review*, *48*, 781–795.

Graves, L. (2016). *Deciding what's true: The rise of political fact-checking in American journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Graves, L., Nyhan, B., & Reifler, J. (2016). Understanding innovations in journalistic practice: A field experiment examining motivations for fact-checking. *Journal of Communication*, *6*(1), 102–138.

Hallin, D., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haskell, T. L. (1984). Professionalism versus capitalism: R. H. Tawney, Emile Durkheim, and C. S. Peirce on the disinterestedness of professional communities. In T. L. Haskell (Ed.), *The authority of experts: Studies in history and theory* (pp. 180–225). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Hughes, E. C. (1963). Professions. *Daedalus*, *92*, 655–658.

Kaplan, R. (2002). *Politics and the American press: The rise of objectivity, 1865–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lichtenberg, J. (1989). In defense of objectivity. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (pp. 216–231). London: Arnold.

Livingstone, S. (2007). The “Nokia Effect”: The reemergence of amateur journalism and what it means for international affairs. In D. D. Perlmutter & J. M. Hamilton (Eds.), *From pigeons to news portals: Foreign reporting and the challenge of new technology* (pp. 47–69). Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.

McLeod, J. M., & Hawley, S. E. (1964). Professionalization among newsmen. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *41*(4), 529–577.

Montgomery, M. (2006). Broadcast news, the live ‘Two-Way’ and the case of Andrew Gilligan. *Media, Culture & Society*, *28*, 233–259.

Ramaprasad, J. (2001). A profile of journalists in post-independence Tanzania. *Gazette*, *63*(6), 539–555.

Ramaprasad, J., & Hamdy, N. (2006). Functions of Egyptian journalists: Perceived importance and actual performance. *Gazette*, *68*(2), 167–185.

Ramaprasad, J., & Kelly, J. (2003). Reporting the news from the world’s Rooftop: A survey of Nepalese journalists. Gazette, *65*(3), 291–315.

Reich, Z. (2012). Journalism as bipolar interactional expertise. *Communication Theory*, *22*(4), 339–358.

Sambrook, R. (2012). *Delivering trust: Impartiality and objectivity in the digital age*. Working Paper. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford. Retrieved from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/documents/Publications/Working_Papers/Delivering_Trust_Impartiality_and_Objectivity_in_a_Digital_Age.pdf

Sarfatti Larson, M. (1977). *The rise of professionalism: A sociological analysis*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Schudson, M. (1995). *The power of news*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *2*(2), 149–170.

Schudson, M. (2005). Four approaches to the sociology of news. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (pp. 172–197). London: Arnold.

Schudson, M. (2006). Autonomy from what? In R. D. Benson & E. Neveu (Eds.), *Bourdieu and the journalistic field* (pp. 214–223). Cambridge and Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Starr, P. (1984). *The social transformation of American medicine*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Summers, M. W. (1994). *The press gang: Newspapers and politics (1865–1878)*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

Tawney, R. H. (1920). *The acquisitive society*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

Tucher, A. (2004, March). *Reporting for duty: The Bohemian Brigade, the Civil War, and the social construction of the reporter*. Revised version of a paper presented to the Organization of American Historians.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of social reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Vos, T. P., Craft, S., & Ashley, S. (2012). New media, old criticism: Bloggers’ press criticism and the journalistic field. *Journalism*, *13*(7), 850–868.

Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2017). *Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policy making*. Online at https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-toward-an-interdisciplinary-framework-for-researc/168076277c

Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: US news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wilnat, L., & Weaver, D. H. (2013). *The American Journalist: Key findings*. Online at http://archive.news.indiana.edu/releases/iu/2014/05/2013-american-journalist-key-findings.pdf

Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the body: The Kennedy assassination, the media, and the shaping of collective memory*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

10

Journalism and Witnessing

Mervi Pantti

INTRODUCTION

Changes in media technologies have spurred new practices and forms of witnessing and, accordingly, stimulated research on witnessing in the field of journalism. Witness testimonies offering firsthand evidence about critical situations have multiplied; today, acts of witnessing gain visibility worldwide as they circulate in multiple online forums and media. Witnessing has become one of the primary political acts through which civil society actors attempt to intervene in present global injustices, as well as having become a defining mode of popular understanding of past brutalities (Bradford, 2014; Givoni, 2014; Kurasawa, 2009; Zelizer, 1998). Through the institutionalized practice of witnessing, journalism has played an important role in maintaining its political and cultural significance. Witnessing remains a central practice of journalists, giving meaning to what they do or are expected to do when encountering conditions of oppression and suffering, typically in the contexts of wars, conflicts, and disasters.

Witnessing is a complex concept in literature, including journalism scholarship. In recent decades, the meaning of witnessing has expanded well beyond its traditional definition of testifying from personal observation. In this process of expansion, the concept has evolved to perform various ideological and analytical functions and, consequently, requires constant clarification and new categorizations. The attempts to redefine and clarify witnessing in the digital media environment are seen in the emergence of new composite concepts that typically point to the affordances of new communication technologies, including "mobile witnessing" (Reading, 2009); "connective witnessing" (Mortensen, 2015); "networked witnessing" (Ananny, 2015); "immersive witnessing" (Nash, 2017); or "self-represented witnessing" (Rae, Holman, & Nethery, 2018).

In this dynamic context, I attempt to trace how the concept of witnessing has been defined in journalism and interdisciplinary scholarship and how witnessing has contributed to our understanding of journalism and its role in interpellating audiences as witnesses of significant events. This chapter focuses on the key issues that have preoccupied the scholarship examining witnessing and mass media: the construction of authority, authenticity, and moral responsibility in different forms of witnessing acts. What are journalists doing when they purport to bear witness? How does the idea of witnessing relate to journalism's practices and norms? What is the role of eyewitness accounts in journalism's claims to truth? How are new digital technologies shaping witnessing as a cultural practice and political act? These are the questions that I attempt to answer in this chapter. In the next section, I introduce witnessing as a communicative act and discuss the role of witnessing in public culture, drawing on the foundational contributions to witnessing literature, before discussing “bearing witness” and “eyewitnessing” in journalism. Then, I discuss audiences as secondhand witnesses to mediated witness accounts and consider the role of new communication technologies in shaping contemporary rituals and politics of witnessing.

WITNESSING AS A COMMUNICATIVE ACT

Research on the public act of witnessing began to thrive in the 1980s (e.g., Felman & Laub, 1992; Wieviorka, 1998). Although witness testimonies did not form a new genre, they burgeoned after World War II, in response to the Holocaust and subsequent atrocities and humanitarian disasters worldwide. The cultural prevalence of and wide interest in life narratives, individual experiences, and emotions are discussed in Wieviorka’s book *The Era of Witness* (1998). She pays particular attention to Holocaust testimonies and their impact on the public knowledge of these events in subsequent decades. Wieviorka (2006, p. 389) identifies the 1961 Eichmann trial in Jerusalem as the advent of the “era of [the] witness.” As explained by Attorney General Gideon Hausner (as cited in Wieviorka, 2006, p. 390), the purpose of the witness is not only to uncover the truth about the event but also to tell a story based on personal observations and experiences that could “reach the hearts of men” and convey a moral judgment of what happened.

In the first-generation scholarship on witnessing emerging largely from humanities and psychology, the concept of a witness stresses a firsthand experience of a traumatic event. To qualify as a witness, someone should have personally lived through a traumatic event and endured bodily suffering. To witness is not a choice but an imperative. As Douglass and Vogler (2003, p. 10) write, a horrendous event interpellates its witnesses by inflicting physical and emotional injury on them. However, as shown in Hausner’s depiction, rather than merely a matter of telling facts about the occurrence, witnessing is summoned in order to appeal to someone. Witnessing is understood as a dialogical *communicative act* aiming “to address another, to impress upon a listener, to appeal to a community” (Felman & Laub, 1992, p. 204). The practice of witnessing, therefore, necessarily requires the witness who publicly narrates personal suffering and the audience who is addressed by and—hopefully—moved by the witness’ account, so that the audience members become future witnesses in turn (Bradford, 2014, p. 208).

Witnessing is inevitably tied to transforming events, either materially by altering their course or subsequently impacting our understanding of and response to a horrific event (e.g., Thomas, 2009; Zelizer, 1998, p. 10). According to Zion, Briskman, and Loff (2012, p. 73), witnessing “acts as testimony from which [political] action can begin.” Scholars have also emphasized the personal consequences of witnessing: witness accounts function to reassure the victims that they have not been abandoned and forgotten (ibid.). The most common trope of public culture and academic research concerning witnessing is an assertion that horrendous events—the Holocaust, Hiroshima, Vietnam, Bosnia, Rwanda, and many other past situations of unthinkable violence—should never be forgotten but be kept alive by acts of mediated witnessing in order to redeem the victims’ suffering and prevent recurrences of such violence (Bradford, 2014, p. 205).

In media and journalism studies, the complex communicative relationship between firsthand witnesses and the audience receiving the witness accounts has been at the core of scholarly debates (Boltanski, 1999; Peters, 2001). In a seminal article, Peters (2001, p. 23) defines witnessing as “an intricately tangled practice” that involves ordinary people who can be “witnesses in media (the vox pop interview, ‘tell us how it happened’), of media (members of studio audience), and via media (watching history unfold at home in their armchairs)” and the media, which makes audiences secondhand witnesses by mediating witness narratives. This tripartite interrelationship—among witnesses who appear in the media, the media (journalists) themselves acting as witnesses through their narratives, and the audiences as witnesses to mediated events—becomes established in media studies.

Further, Peters' (2001) distinction between witnessing as "seeing" and witnessing as "saying" has become the central issue in media and journalism studies on witnessing. "Seeing" refers to passively observing significant events, whereas "saying" involves actively producing and disseminating knowledge and, thus, taking responsibility for such events, authenticated by the bodily presence of the witness. There is agreement in the literature that being a spectator to mediated forms of witnessing without taking responsibility as a political agent is not sufficient to qualify as witnessing (Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2009; Zelizer, 2004, pp. 115–135). The practice of witnessing is first a vehicle for creating new witnesses, that is, obliging audiences as secondhand witnesses to speak and intervene in the present injustices (Givoni, 2014). In the next section, I discuss literature that has addressed journalistic witnessing as a morally and politically meaningful act.

JOURNALISTS BEARING WITNESS

As professional witnesses, journalists turn testimonies of firsthand witnesses into narratives (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 143). In journalism scholarship, a key question is how journalists' witnessing differs from other reporting practices. Tait (2011) argues that in the contemporary ubiquitous media landscape, it is crucial to distinguish between active and passive witnessing. She proposes using the concept of "bearing witness" when referring to active moral engagement in violent and tragic events. Journalistic reporting, however, is normatively based on eyewitnessing, which necessitates detachment and objectivity, while bearing witness necessarily involves an attempt to change the witnessed reality by eliciting an affective experience that incites the audience's action (Tait, 2011, p. 1227). Bearing witness, then, is essentially driven by a moral purpose and is not merely geared toward transmitting information about the event (Peters, 2001; Tait, 2011). The morality of bearing witness is fundamentally bound to the recognition of other people's suffering and traumatic experiences (Felman & Laub, 1992; Peters, 2001; Rentschler, 2004; Sontag, 2003). Bearing witness involves reconstituting and communicating other people's experiences of pain and loss to the wider world in ways that encourage the receivers of the message to take action in response to situational or structural violence. As Tait (2011, p. 1227) sums up, bearing witness is a site for the *transmission of moral responsibility*.

Sociologist Fuyuki Kurasawa (2009, p. 95) conceptualizes bearing witness as a "globalizing mode of ethico-political labour" to combat global injustices. In discussing what constitutes bearing witness, he identifies (using the message-in-a-bottle allegory) crucial tasks and perils that must be performed and overcome for witnessing to succeed. These tasks are illustrative for assessing journalists' narratives of critical events (Kurasawa, 2009, p. 95):

> Giving voice to mass suffering against silence (what if the message is never sent or does not reach land?); interpretation against incomprehension (what if it is written in a language that is undecipherable?); the cultivation of empathy against indifference (what if, after being read, it is discarded?); remembrance against forgetting (what if it is distorted or erased over time?); and prevention against repetition (what if it does not help to avert other forms of suffering?).

This outline of necessary responsibilities includes fundamental tenets of modern journalism and journalistic roles in reporting on large-scale tragedies. Making specific instances of injustices and suffering visible, intelligible, and relevant for distant audiences forms the foundation of reporting on atrocities, wars, and disasters (Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen, & Cottle, 2012). As Sambrook (2010) argues, foreign reporting in the 1930s and 1940s (most notably about the concentration camps) focused on the victims, and the humanitarian consequences set examples for narratives about traumatic events in the future. Such narratives also constitute an important source of shared understandings about the past (Felman & Laub, 1992; Kitch, 2008; Thomas, 2009; Zelizer, 1998, 2002).

Making suffering visible and giving voice to the victims sits easily with the idea of "good journalism," particularly with the professional ideals of informing, exposing injustices and promoting equality to improve the conditions of the socially disadvantaged. Firsthand eyewitness accounts have long constituted a central element of media reporting of war, atrocities, and disasters (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009; Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011; Wiesslitz & Ashuri, 2011). Global news providers and new technologies, such as videophones, social media, and images from satellites and drones, have increased "seeing" in media and made the invisibility of humanitarian disasters less likely (Cottle, 2014). Such technologies employed by journalists have arguably also contributed to the acknowledgment of wrongdoings and suffering and help give voice to the previously unimportant and voiceless.

However, the suffering that gains entry into public knowledge and collective remembering is that judged worthy of knowing, caring, and remembering by the media. How witnessing is framed is vitally important as it can either open up or exclude "certain kinds of questions, certain kinds of historical inquiries" (Butler, 2004, p. 4). Media representations and frames that shape our responses to global injustices and horrors of war create a distinction between those lives that are recognized as fully human and "grievable" and those that are not (Butler, 2009). As Cottle (2013, p. 233) argues, journalists' work is continuously impacted by an institutionalized "calculus of death," referring to routine judgments about the importance and appeal of news stories that are informed by cultural norms, the political context, and organizational resources.

The cultivation of empathy in news storytelling, essential in mobilizing the audience to action, is a controversial issue in the journalism profession. The news media have no political or commercial obligation to provide content that elicits emotional responses from the audience to mobilize them to take public action against injustice and violence (Rentschler, 2004). From an ethical perspective, it is also clear that the practice of bearing witness to mass suffering in the sense of active involvement calls into question journalism's core ideals of striving for objectivity and detachment. The norms and conventions of impartial and uninvolved reporting demand that explicit moral commentary, emotional appeals, or expressions of emotion are prohibited in professional journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013).

Examining nonprofessional journalist—activists witnessing the plight of Palestinians at Israeli checkpoints, Wiesslitz and Ashuri (2011) argue that the internet has facilitated the emergence of "the moral journalist" model. This model is different from the presumably objective reporting of professional journalists in that these "moral journalists" incorporate their feelings about the suffering they observe in their testimonies, "revealing the inner 'truth' of the witness" (p. 1044). However, the digital media environment has also opened up more space for personalized and emotional forms of storytelling by professional journalists. Despite the professional obligation to minimize journalists' own presence in the narratives, there are frequent cases where journalists' personal opinions and experiences are highlighted. As Peters (2001, p. 717) states, witnessing draws upon a relation of intimacy between the journalist and the audience. Journalists' emotional expression is pivotal to witnessing because the emotional expression works to bring viewers who do not have firsthand experiential access to the event closer to it. Certainly, the boundaries between eyewitnessing and bearing witness, as well as engaging in others' experiences yet remaining detached, are porous. How these boundaries materialize is connected not only to normative ideas of journalism and journalists' roles but also to affordances and conventions of media forms and technologies, as well as to the specificities of the event. In other words, witnessing is shaped by various situational, technological, and practical factors (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 136; Wang, Lee, & Wang, 2013). For instance, journalists tend to employ more opinionated and emotional reporting styles in tweets that offer a new medium to bear witness to violent events (Pantti, 2017).

Alongside mainstream journalism that idealizes objectivity and is not explicitly driven by the moral duty to increase awareness of global injustices, models of a morally driven journalism have long existed (e.g., Plaisance, 2002; Wiesslitz & Ashuri, 2011). Providing an example of such a moral position, Tait (2011) analyzes Nicholas Kristof's columns in the *New York Times* about the humanitarian crisis in Darfur in terms of the ways that they enact responsibility through narrative engagement. Kristof's status as an op-ed columnist enables him to exceed the normative journalistic position of impartiality. Kristof reveals how it feels to observe atrocities, exposing the typically hidden affective dimensions of journalistic practice, and attempts to generate powerful emotions—horror, anger, shame, and pity—to move his audience to political action (p. 1228). His bearing witness that exceeds objectivity is authorized by having personally seen the horrors, as well as by the moral and emotional shock caused by the witnessed event.

JOURNALISTS AS EYEWITNESSES

"Being there" is the ontological foundation of witnessing (Peters, 2001, p. 710). Being there at the scene providing firsthand reports lends credibility and authenticity to the journalist and to his or her news organization. As Frosh (2006) notes, presence "putatively unites, in the same communicative interaction, the two faces of witnessing (Peters, 2001): direct experience of an event and discourse about the event to others who were not there." Journalists' seeing with their own eyes and their personal experiences at the scene authorize the narrative they communicate to distant audiences.

Eyewitnessing is an idea on which journalism's collective self-image is built and by which journalists render their work meaningful for themselves (Allan, 2013, p. 58; Hanitzsch, 2007, p. 369; Zelizer, 2007). As Zelizer (2007, p. 408) notes, eyewitnessing is a cultural practice for underscoring and maintaining journalism's authority of making truth claims. Eyewitnessing offers a unique position to make claims about reality: the journalists' presence serves as an assurance of both the authenticity and the significance of the event. In a similar way as suffering serves as a guarantee of the authenticity of the witness (Peters, 2001, p. 713), the exposure to the risk and potential bodily harm involved in reporting from dangerous zones helps establish the journalist's virtue (Allan & Zelizer, 2004; Creech, 2017; Peters, 2001).

In professional journalism, witnessing is most commonly understood and performed in the sense of eyewitnessing, which is in agreement with the professional discourse on objectivity. As Tait (2011, p. 1232) argues, the traditional concept of eyewitnessing casts the journalist as a detached observer who narrates events to the news audience. In contrast to bearing witness, eyewitnessing is thus not tied to a moral obligation and emotional engagement but can be understood in terms of facts and truth-telling (Carlson, 2009; Mortensen, 2015; Zelizer, 2004). These two understandings of witnessing are firmly separated in BBC News correspondent Kate Adie's recollections of reporting from a war zone. For Adie, rather than advocating for particular forms of action, witnessing is "the only way you can stand by your words afterwards, the only guarantee that you can give your listeners, or viewers, or readers. You saw it, you heard it, you are telling the truth as far as you know" (Adie, 1998, p. 47, as cited in Allan & Zelizer, 2004, p. 5).

Journalistic eyewitnessing has the juridical connotation of seeing with one's own eyes, whereas bearing witness has the religious (or political or ethical) connotation of testifying to experiences of suffering that cannot be seen or reduced to historical facts (Oliver, 2004; Peters, 2001). However, even if eyewitnessing and bearing witness have different meanings, they are not mutually exclusive but could be seen as representing different dimensions of witnessing. This is in line with Chouliaraki's (2013, p. 140) observation that journalistic witnessing requires objective and reflexive dimensions: journalists are expected to witness events as proof of the facts on suffering and as an emotive testimony to the "unspeakable" horror of suffering. Eyewitnessing can also be understood as a precondition for moral engagement. As Cottle (2013) notes, a journalist's presence at the event can lead to a deeper understanding and felt commitment to communicate to others the plight of those whose suffering has been personally observed. Journalists involved in war or disaster reporting need to constantly negotiate this paradox between the traditional normative constructions of journalism and the committed narration that underwrites the idea of witnessing (Pantti et al., 2012, pp. 103–109).

War correspondents and photojournalists are traditionally the most esteemed among their peers because they handle "real journalism"—eyewitness-based reporting from the field in an era when journalists are increasingly tied to their offices. However, as extensive literature shows, war and conflict reporting is characterized by a number of moral-emotional challenges and tensions. When faced with atrocities and suffering, observing objectively and impartially becomes difficult. In Jukes' (2017, p. 4) words, covering traumatic news stories is a struggle between "on the one hand a virtually hard-wired notion of what it is to be a professional journalist and, on the other hand, a visceral, empathic often instinctive affective dimension of practice." The key questions are how to deal with subjective emotional experiences and what stance to take toward making moral appeals (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009).

One strand of journalism literature addresses journalists' witnessing of conflict as a potentially traumatizing endeavor (e.g., Feinstein, Owen, & Blair, 2002; Jukes, 2017; Rentschler, 2009). Journalists' exposure to trauma has increasingly received attention as therapeutic perspectives have gained a foothold in different domains of public life. The literature emphasizes the personal emotional difficulties involved in being exposed to the violent events the journalists are covering and receiving traumatic accounts of those events. Rentschler (2009, pp. 158–159) observes the discursive change from defining witnessing in terms of detached eyewitnesses to describing journalists as traumatized witnesses, thus recoding journalists' labor in terms of its emotional cost. This discursive move underlines journalists' affective involvement in the reported events and issues, implicitly challenging "the illusion of detached and heroic models of reporting on the front lines" (p. 160).

Literature regarding journalists and trauma has focused on the personal emotional cost of witnessing violent and tragic events. There has been less research on the potential impact of covering such events on journalists' editorial decisions. Jukes (2017) argues that the position of detachment is not only about maintaining the normative values of journalism but functions also to shield the journalist from the horrors he or she may witness while covering conflicts and disasters. However, he shows that, as an affective practice, detachment is fragile: when it breaks down, journalists either become more emotionally engaged in the story and approach eyewitnesses with increased empathy, or alternatively, journalists feel repelled by what they are witnessing.

AUDIENCES AS WITNESSES

In the foundational work *Seeing Things: Television in the Age of Uncertainty* (2000), Ellis opened up the discussion of how media technologies are transforming the scope and nature of witnessing. Ellis conceptualized television audiences as a collective who are engaged in the domestic act of witnessing. This "media witnessing" entails moral responsibility because of the audiences' increased awareness of atrocities around the world. Audiences, however, are powerless spectators who feel complicit with the cruelties they witness. Televised events that are inescapably incomplete incite "curiosity, revulsion and the usually frustrated or passing desire for action" (p. 80). Ellis' theory of media witnessing contributed to the understanding of who is a witness by releasing it from the notion of a traumatized firsthand witness speaking on behalf of the collective (Mortensen, 2015). However, collective trauma may occur when audience members have been subjected to horrendous events. Consequently, scholars have argued that news media, and the visual coverage in particular, can assume a "therapeutic" role and help their audiences to work through traumatic events (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2008; Zelizer & Allan, 2002, p. 2).

The performance of media in the positioning of media audiences as witnesses to depicted events, that is, rendering atrocities and suffering as occurrences that audiences should care and do something about, has been a topic of more recent scholarship in the field of media and morality (e.g., Chouliaraki, 2006; Kyriakidou, 2015; Ong, 2014; Rentschler, 2004; Silverstone, 2006). Whereas Ellis' notion of media witnessing ultimately refers to passive "seeing" or spectatorship or voyeurism, these studies are based on the idea that global media allow new emotional connections and may invoke an active moral response by providing images of injustices and suffering (e.g., Boltanski, 1999; Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone, 2004). These studies establish a crucial link between the media narrative and the audience's emotional engagement or action and between the narrative and indifference or inaction.

One strand of literature has examined the relationship between media representations and the development of a cosmopolitan sensibility, referring to the capacity to imagine and empathize with the suffering of distant others (e.g., Chouliaraki, 2006; Silverstone, 2003). Media scholars have asked what kind of media representations could lead to cosmopolitan sensibilities and new emotional bonds with distant others. Chouliaraki (2006, 2013) understands news texts, with their choices of images, words, and framings, as moral proposals for audiences to feel and act toward instances of suffering. Some types of news, she argues, block empathy for the suffering of people who are different from "us," while some cultivate cosmopolitan solidarity by addressing their audiences as a community of common humanity and inviting them to act upon the plight of non-Western others. Silverstone (2003, 2006) introduced the notion of the "proper distance" as a tool for evaluating the morality of the mediation of suffering. The idea of the proper distance includes how media texts create a sense of emotional closeness between audiences and distant sufferers. However, Silverstone insisted that audiences need to maintain enough critical distance to recognize the agency and difference of those represented (2006, pp. 80–105).

The majority of witnessing research has examined the success of media texts—in particular, television and printed news—to constitute moral audiences, rather than the actual moral responses of audiences to the events the audiences encounter through various forms of mediation. Studies on media witnessing typically ask whether news reports or other witnessing texts successfully bear witness to traumatic events (Frosh, 2006; Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009). Successful journalistic reports can be assessed in how they use different textual and technological strategies to attribute authenticity and trust to representations of brutality, and how the reports succeed in creating a sense of presence ("being there") and, consequently, an affective response from audiences.

Recent research has investigated how audiences in different contexts and socio-historical conditions respond to mediated witnessing (Kyriakidou, 2015; Ong, 2015; Scott, 2014). Ong (2014, p. 189) argues that literature on media witnessing assumes that the witness is a middle-class Westerner who is geographically, socially, and culturally distant from the experience of suffering. Ong underlines that the literature of witnessing has not paid attention to how differences in the class, gender, age, and ethnicity of audiences play out in different audiences' responses to the representations. He shows in his study of Filipino audiences' everyday encounters with media representations of suffering that audiences' emotional responses and moral judgments are strongly shaped by their class position: while middle-income Filipinos' lay moralities are premised on social denial of suffering and, thus, blocking moral responsibility, low-income Filipinos establish an intense emotional connection to other people's stories of suffering.

CITIZEN WITNESSING

The witnessing by journalists and audiences is centrally connected to the availability of and developments in media technologies. In recent years, research on how media witnessing and the journalist's professional role as an eyewitness have changed, due to new digital recording technologies, has flourished. The proliferation of mobile devices and social networking sites has turned everyone into a potential witness and testimony producer (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2014, p. 608). Whereas traditionally, witnesses appearing in news reports were carefully selected by journalists to represent a collective experience and to fit the conventions of news narratives, in the present-day media landscape, individuals, and organizations outside the institutionalized media have increasingly assumed the role of witnesses (Frosh & Pinchevski, 2009). Today's eyewitnesses are themselves capable of creating and distributing media content, without mediators functioning as gatekeepers that determine who qualifies as a witness and counterbalance the eyewitness's subjective position with their truth-telling rituals and ethical rules (Allan, 2013; Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 139; Mortensen, 2015; Thomas, 2009, p. 101; Zelizer, 2007, p. 421).

Keeping the focus on professional journalism, it is important to ask how witness accounts that thrive on social media platforms have transformed journalists' own practice of witnessing. Zelizer (2007, p. 422) argues that the news media have subcontracted the role of the eyewitness to private citizens with abundant capacities to use various kinds of digital tools. There seems to be agreement that delegating the role of the eyewitness to citizens has reduced journalism's centrality as an eyewitness to major events (e.g., Allan, 2013; Chouliaraki, 2010; Zelizer, 2007). However, other reasons contribute to the breakup of journalism's eyewitnessing monopoly. Not only activist groups and citizens in disaster and conflict-stricken zones but also various non-government organizations have taken on the roles of testimony producers and "strategic witnesses" to human suffering (Ristovska, 2016). Another factor that undoubtedly contributes to the "crisis" of witnessing in professional journalism is that for the young generations who have grown up with social media, traditional media organizations do not necessarily appear as the center of society—the point of access to the center of real meaning and authoritative knowledge (Couldry, 2003).

It has been stated that the potential of so-called citizen witnessing lies in the insertion of ordinary, marginalized voices in Western journalism. From this democratizing perspective, professional journalists have embraced citizen eyewitness accounts as significant contributions to the visibility of disasters and political conflicts that otherwise might pass unreported and unnoticed by the world, especially when the events are sudden or journalists' access is restricted (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013). As scholars have noted, because of the felt effect of immediacy and "thereness" (Ellis, 2009), audience eyewitness photographs and videos, in particular, have become important for marking an on-site presence. They strengthen journalism's authority by providing a sense of being there ("even when that presence has been questionable") for news organizations (Zelizer, 2007, p. 412). At the same time, the often unidentified and unverifiable images unavoidably call into question journalistic authority and the truthfulness of the narratives.

The question of authenticity has been a recurring theme in the discussion on citizen eyewitnessing, not unlike in journalistic witnessing. Witnessing can be theorized as a competition for authenticity and for earning the trust of the addressed audiences (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 137). Where does the authority of citizen witnessing come from? Citizen images' rhetoric of authenticity arises, first, from the fact that the content is generated by individuals involved in the events rather than by journalists as allegedly detached observers. Second, professional journalists believe that the raw aesthetics of citizen photo-reportage lend intimacy and an aura of reality to journalistic storytelling (Williams, Wardle, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011). Ontological and ethical aspects raise concerns. On one hand, citizen eyewitnesses can be parties in a particular conflict and may attempt to promote their narratives of events through mainstream media publicity (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013). Thus, citizen footage raises concerns about the identities and the moral status of the witnesses to suffering. On the other hand, the arrival of digital technologies has challenged the status of photos as evidence because altering or manipulating images has been made easy (e.g., Ellis, 2012, p. 184).

Citizen images are considered particularly effective in appealing to viewers' emotions (Reading, 2009). Chouliaraki (2010) argues that it is no longer only the verification of facts and sources that makes news trustworthy but also the authority of genuine emotion and first-person experience. In this sense, remediating eyewitness video footage and photographs by actors on the scene can be interpreted as a disruption of the professional discourses on objectivity. Citizen reportage of significant news events is appealing to news organizations and audiences because it provides unedited emotional accounts that evoke a sense of proximity to the events covered.

However, the potential of amateur images to elicit moral responses to the suffering and create new witnesses, based solely on the sense of authenticity and proximity that the images offer, has been questioned (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 140). Journalists themselves share the idea that although citizen images have an inherent emotional proximity, they also contain a moral risk of the loss of perspective. Journalists believe that only professionally crafted narratives create emotional identification and maintain a "proper distance" to witnessed events (Andén-Papadopoulos & Pantti, 2013; Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 140). Journalists' discourse on proximity resonates with Silverstone's (2004, p. 444) notion that, to enable moral responsibility, media reporting of suffering "needs to be close but not too close, distant, but not too distant."

Clearly, the ubiquity of mobile devices and social media has emerged as an important tool for various groups and individuals to gain visibility and bear witness to human rights abuses. Rae et al. (2018) examine the "self-represented witnessing" of detained asylum seekers in Australia who use social media to bear witness to their own suffering and address an online audience directly because they have no access to journalists. However, only when their witness accounts are remediated by mainstream media are the detainees able to reach a wider audience. The study of the detainees' attempts to get their voices heard through personal testimonies illustrates the new research on witnessing that highlights the intersecting cultural, social, technological, and racial forces that inspire marginalized people to independently bear witness to human rights violations. Studying the outpouring of "black witnessing" following recent instances of police brutality in the United States, Richardson (2017) argues that black witnesses—firsthand witnesses who film police violence and secondhand witnesses who take action after seeing such witness videos—help create a long narrative of human rights violations. Using black Twitter as a news wire and addressing diverse black audiences, mobile black witnessing advocates for African-American civil rights and commemorates the long history of atrocities.

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Journalism witnessing can denounce violence and bring the plight of others home to the point of mobilizing public opinion and action. It would be a mistake to undermine the role of journalism witnessing in a world characterized by mass suffering, disasters, and atrocities. However, journalism's potential to cultivate empathy and a moral response to others' suffering is continuously called into question. In this chapter, I discussed how witnessing has been conceptualized in journalism and media scholarship and how technological developments have shaped these conceptualizations. In recent years, the literature has focused on the relationship between citizen reportage and professional journalism, but evolving media technologies have generated new questions. Currently, the capacity of virtual reality (VR), which affords an imaginative first-person experience of another time and place, to produce "immersive witnessing" in journalistic and humanitarian contexts has received scholarly attention (Frosh, 2016; Nash, 2017). In the context of digital media, the production of the experience of presence remains essential to theorizing the exact nature of witnessing. What implications do new forms of presence, either in the media or through the media, have for our moral response to others' suffering? Future research should pay attention to the moral affordances of different digital platforms and interfaces.

Technological change has ushered in new journalistic forms that allow for more subjective and emotional forms of narrative (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Twitter is an example of a media form that encourages subjective voices and personal expression to generate emotional engagement. Research has shown that there is an expectation of more personal reporting on Twitter that allows for more subjectivity and expression of emotion than is typically acceptable in news reporting. However, such journalistic forms have long existed. In a 2011 study, Tait found that a columnist at the *New York Times* was allowed to exceed the normative journalistic position of impartiality and "to induce in them [his readers] an approximation of his own embodied experiences" (p. 1228). Tait makes a distinction between eyewitnessing and bearing witness: the former is based on the paradigm of detachment that precludes the reporter's own voice and the other's voice, the latter on personal affectedness and explicit moral stance. She rightly argues that the journalistic practice of taking responsibility requires acknowledging the affectivity and subjectivity of bearing witness. However, as Oliver (2004, p. 85) states, "we need both poles of witnessing," one of which is eyewitnessing, the producer of historical facts, and the other is subjective testimony, with its moral vision, emotional force—and potential inaccuracies. More attention should be paid to the analysis of the relationship between these two positions in journalism and their scholarly study. Are these two approaches, based on different ontological outlooks, contradictory? In the contexts of large-scale disasters and conflicts, the boundaries between objective and subjective storytelling are very likely to break or leak, even within one story. However, there is surprisingly little recent research (since the previous classical studies on investigative reporting and civic journalism) on what journalists taking moral responsibility means in specific contexts, journalistic genres and news platforms and how journalists in practice negotiate the two seemingly competing approaches when reporting on specific traumatic events (Cottle, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013).

As the now thriving research on citizen witnessing has shown, digital platforms enable new forms of witnessing that are no longer tied to professional journalism's symbolic power (Mortensen, 2015; Richardson, 2017). The rhetoric of citizen or amateur witnessing may conceal the parallel development of the professionalization of bearing witness in the global media environment. Professionalization highlights the process through which witness testimonies of violence are turned into comprehensible and meaningful packages and targeted at the desired institutional audiences, including media outlets and humanitarian organizations. Such "strategic witnessing" (Ristovska, 2016), then, continues to be dependent on the cultural authority that professional journalism still enjoys. The amateurization and strategic targeting of witnessing texts signal a new era of witnessing, one that is characterized by suspicious reading and occupied with "false witnessing" (Smith & Watson, 2012).

Existing research has emphasized that the perceived authenticity of witnesses' accounts is crucial in generating empathy and resisting acts of denial. Acts of witnessing always involve an audience that requires evidence of the truth of testimony (Peters, 2001). As we have seen, the literature points to the physical presence and personal experience in granting authenticity to witnesses and their testimonies. However, although anonymous social media footage, especially that coming from closed countries such as Syria, may provide critical visual evidence, the footage has also raised the importance of verification. The era of the "false witness" is summed up in Wardle's (2014, p. 29) comment: "Any journalist or humanitarian professional has to start off by assuming a piece of UGC [user-generated content] is false." In current discussions about the fabrication and verification of digital texts that purport to bear witness, the focus has been on specific cases or texts, and little attention has been given in journalism studies to this hostile culture of suspicion and how it shapes or constricts journalists' practices of witnessing. Testimonial narratives have become indispensable to a wide variety of political projects in the contemporary media environment (Ashuri & Pinchevski, 2009, p. 133; Givoni, 2014). However, internet forums and social media have provided new contexts not only for representing human rights violations and suffering but also for suspicious and hateful readings of witnessing texts. How news reporting contributes to or resists this culture of suspicion is an essential area of research because news coverage continues to be crucial to giving a voice to suffering.

REFERENCES

Adie, K. (1998). Dispatches from the front: reporting war. In *Contemporary Issues in British Journalism, the 1998 Vauxhall Lectures*. Cardiff: Centre for Journalism Studies.

Allan, S. (2013). *Citizen witnessing: Revisioning journalism in times of crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Allan, S., & Zelizer, B. (2004). Rules of engagement. In S. Allan & B. Zelizer (Eds.), *Reporting war: Journalism in wartime* (pp. 3–21). London: Routledge.

Ananny, M. (2015). Creating proper distance through networked infrastructure: Examining google glass for evidence of moral, journalistic witnessing. In M. Carlson & S. C. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices, participation* (pp. 83–99). New York, NY: Routledge.

Andén-Papadopoulos, K., & Pantti, M. (2013). Re-imagining crisis reporting: Professional ideology of journalists and citizen eyewitness images. *Journalism*, *14*(7), 960–977.

Ashuri, T., & Pinchevski, A. (2009). Witnessing as a field. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 133–157). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boltanski, L. (1999). *Distant suffering. Morality, media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bradford, V. (2014). Witnessing time: Rhetorical form, public culture, and popular historical education. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, *44*(3), 204–219.

Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious life: The powers of mourning and violence*. London: Verso.

Butler, J. (2009). *Frames of war: When is life grievable?* London: Verso.

Carlson, M. (2009). The reality of a fake image: News norms, photojournalistic craft, and Brian Walski's fabricated photo. *Journalism Practice*, *3*(2), 125–139.
Chouliaraki, L. (2006). *The spectatorship of suffering*. London: Sage Publications.
Chouliaraki, L. (2009). Witnessing war: Economies of regulation in reporting war and conflict. *The Communication Review*, *12*, 215–226.
Chouliaraki, L. (2010). Ordinary witnessing in post-television news: Towards a new moral imagination. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *7*(4), 305–319.
Chouliaraki, L. (2013). Re-mediation, inter-mediation, transmediation. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(2), 267–283.
Cottle, S. (2013). Journalists witnessing disaster: From the calculus of death to the injunction to care. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(2), 232–248.
Cottle, S. (2014). Rethinking media and disasters in a global age: What's changed and why it matters. *Media, War & Conflict*, *7*(1), 3–22.
Couldry, N. (2003). *Media rituals: A critical approach*. London: Routledge.
Creech, B. (2017). Bearing the cost to witness: The political economy of risk in contemporary conflict and war reporting. *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(4), 567–583.
Douglass, A., & Vogler, T. (2003). *Witness and memory: The discourse of trauma*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
Ellis, J. (2000). *Seeing things: Television in the age of uncertainty*. London: I.B. Tauris.
Ellis, J. (2009). Mundane witness. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 73–88). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Ellis, J. (2012). The digitally enhanced audience: New attitudes to factual footage. In J. Gripsrud (Ed.), *Relocating television: Television in the digital context* (pp. 183–192). London: Routledge.
Feinstein, A., Owen, J., & Blair, N. (2002). A hazardous profession: War, journalists, and psychopathology. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, *159*, 1570–1575.
Felman, S., & Laub, D. (1992). *Testimony: Crises of witnessing in literature, psychoanalysis, and history*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Frosh, P. (2006). Telling presences: Witnessing, mass media, and the imagined lives of strangers. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *23*(4), 265–284.
Frosh, P. (2016). The mouse, the screen and the holocaust witness: Interface aesthetics and moral response. *New Media and Society*, *20*(1), 351–368.
Frosh, P., & Pinchevski, A. (2009). Introduction: Why media witnessing? Why now? In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 1–19). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Frosh, P., & Pinchevski, A. (2014). Media witnessing and the ripeness of time. *Cultural Studies*, *28*(4), 594–610.
Givoni, M. (2014). The ethics of witnessing and the politics of the governed. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *31*(1), 123–142.
Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory*, *17*(4), 367–385.
Jukes, S. (2017). *Affective journalism—uncovering the affective dimension of practice in the coverage of traumatic news* (PhD Thesis), Goldsmiths University, London. Retrieved from http://research.gold.ac.uk/20635/
Kitch, C. (2008). Placing journalism inside memory—and memory studies. *Memory Studies*, *1*(3), 311–320.
Kurasawa, F. (2009). A message in a bottle: Bearing witness as a mode of transnational practice. *Theory Culture & Society*, *26*(1), 92–111.
Kyriakidou, M. (2015). Media witnessing: Exploring the audience of distant suffering. *Media, Culture & Society*, *37*(2), 215–231.
Mortensen, M. (2015). *Journalism and eyewitness images: Digital media, participation, and conflict*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Nash, K. (2017). Virtual reality witness: Exploring the ethics of mediated presence. *Studies in Documentary Film*, *12*(2), 119–131.
Oliver, K. (2004). Witnessing and testimony. *Parallax*, *10*(1), 78–87.

Ong, J. (2014). “Witnessing” or “mediating” distant suffering? Ethical questions across moments of text, production and reception. *Television and New Media*, *15*(3), 179–196.

Ong, J. (2015). Witnessing distant and proximal suffering within a zone of danger: Lay moralities of media audiences in the Philippines. *International Communication Gazette*, *77*(7), 607–621.

Pantti, M. (2017). The personalisation of conflict reporting: Visual coverage of the Ukraine crisis on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 1–22.

Pantti, M., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2011). “Not an act of god”: Anger and citizenship in press coverage of British man-made disasters. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(1), 105–122.

Pantti, M., Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Cottle, S. (2012). *Disasters and the media*. London: Peter Lang.

Peters, J. D. (2001). Witnessing. *Media, Culture & Society*, *23*(6), 707–723.

Plaisance, P. (2002). The journalist as moral witness. Michael Ignatieff’s pluralistic philosophy for a global media culture. *Journalism*, *3*(2), 205–222.

Rae, M., Holman, R., & Nethery, A. (2018). Self-represented witnessing: The use of social media by asylum seekers in Australia’s offshore immigration detention centres. *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(4), 479–495.

Reading, A. (2009). Mobile witnessing: Ethics and the camera phone in the “war on terror.” *Globalizations*, *6*(1), 61–76.

Rentschler, C. (2004). Witnessing: US citizenship and the vicarious experience of suffering. *Media, Culture & Society*, *26*(2), 296–304.

Rentschler, C. (2009). From danger to trauma: Affective labor and the journalistic discourse of witnessing. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 158–181). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richardson, A. V. (2017). Bearing witness while black. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(6), 673–698.

Ristovska, S. (2016). Strategic witnessing in an age of video activism. *Media, Culture & Society*, *38*(7), 1034–1047.

Sambrook, R. (2010). *Are foreign correspondents redundant? The changing face of international news*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-12/Are%20Foreign%20Correspondents%20Redundant%20The%20changing%20face%20of%20international%20news.pdf

Scott, M. (2014). The mediation of distant suffering: An empirical contribution beyond television news texts. *Media, Culture & Society*, *36*(1), 3–19.

Silverstone, R. (2003). Proper distance: Towards an ethics for cyberspace. In G. Liestol, A. Morrison, & T. Rasmussen (Eds.), *Digital media revisited: Theoretical and conceptual innovations in digital domains* (pp. 469–490). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Silverstone, R. (2004). Regulation, media literacy and media civics. *Media, Culture & Society*, *26*(3), 440–449.

Silverstone, R. (2006). Media and morality: On the rise of the Mediapolis. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Smith, S., & Watson, J. (2012). Witness or false witness: Metrics of authenticity, collective I-formations, and the ethic of verification in first-person testimony. *Biography—An Interdisciplinary Quarterly*, *35*(4), 590–626.

Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the pain of others*. New York, NY: Farrar Straus and Giroux.

Tait, S. (2011). Bearing witness, journalism, and moral responsibility. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(8), 1220–1235.

Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K: (2008). We will get through this together: Journalism, trauma and the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip. *Media, Culture & Society*, *30*(4), 495–513.

Thomas, G. (2009). Witness as a cultural form of communication. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 89–111). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2013). The strategic ritual of emotionality: A case study of Pulitzer prize-winning articles. *Journalism*, *14*(1), 129–145.

Wang, B., Lee, F., & Wang, H. (2013). Technological practices, news production processes and journalistic witnessing. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(4), 491–506.

Wardle, C. (2014). Verifying user-generated content. In C. C. Silverman (Ed.), *Verification handbook: A definitive guide to verifying digital content for emergency coverage* (pp. 24–33). Maastricht: European Journalism Centre. Retrieved from http://verificationhandbook.com/downloads/verification.handbook.pdf

Wiesslitz, C., & Ashuri, T. (2011). "Moral journalists": The emergence of new intermediaries of news in an age of digital media. *Journalism*, *12*(8), 1035–1051.

Wieviorka, A. (1998). *The era of the witness*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Wieviorka, A. (2006). The witness in history. *Poetics Today*, *27*(2), 385–397.

Williams, A., Wardle, C., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2011). "More real and less packaged": Audience discourses on amateur news content and their effects on journalism practice. In K. Anden-Papadopoulos & M. Pantti (Eds.), *Amateur images and global news* (pp. 195–209). Bristol: Intellect Books.

Zelizer, B. (1998). *Remembering to forget: Holocaust memory through the camera's eye*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Zelizer, B. (2002). Finding aids to the past: Bearing personal witness to traumatic public events. *Media, Culture & Society*, *24*(5), 697–714.

Zelizer, B. (2004). When facts, truth, and reality are god-terms: On journalism's uneasy place in cultural studies. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, *1*(1), 100–119.

Zelizer, B. (2007). On "having been there": "Eyewitnessing" as a journalistic key word. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *24*(5), 408–428.

Zelizer, B., & Allan, S. (2002). Introduction: When trauma shapes the news. In B. Zelizer & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism after September 11* (pp. 1–24). London: Routledge.

Zion, D., Briskman, L., & Loff, B. (2012). Psychiatric ethics and a politics of compassion: The case of detained asylum seekers in Australia. *Bioethical Inquiry*, *9*(1), 67–75.

11

Reporters and Their Sources

Dan Berkowitz

The study of reporters and their news sources draws its roots from questions about bias, power, and influence. Couched in an atmosphere of adversarial conditions, a key question in the early literature concerned whether reporters or sources exert greater influence in shaping the news. One extension of this question asks how journalists' use of news sources leads toward a particular news agenda that either favors or excludes some issues over others. A second extension asks if source power provides the ability to subsidize the time and effort required for reporting.

In essence, the relationship between reporters and their sources has long been depicted as a battle for power over public opinion and public consent (Anderson, Petersen, & David, 2005; Blumler & Gurevitch, 1981; McQuail, 2000; Sallot & Johnson, 2006). Journalists end up in a role of protecting society from corruption, while officials in government and business take on the task of protecting their own interests at all costs (Hess, 2016). But these kinds of power only represent something ephemeral, that is, the ability to shape the outcome of specific issues and policies. Once the outcome is resolved, the power battle begins anew.

This chapter argues that more is at stake between journalists and their sources than the short-term power to sway public opinion. Instead, the interaction between these two parties represents a long-term, yet dynamic influence on society: the ability to shape ongoing meanings in a culture. Also called into question is the Western grounding for much of this research. In particular, press systems and political systems both vary across regions and countries, as does the social status of journalists, so what might appear to a Western perspective as co-optation, just as likely reflects the pragmatics of journalistic and, more broadly, cultural realities.

It is important to mention here that the term "source" is used only to refer to the people who reporters turn to for their information, often officials and experts connected to society's central institutions. Another use of the term is applied to news agencies (see, for example, Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen, 2004; Barthel, Shearer, Gottfried, & Mitchell, 2015), organizations such as the Associated Press that provide news content to newspapers, broadcast outlets, and websites: that second use of the term is not part of the scope of this discussion. However, a hybrid form of the term has emerged in recent years, as news sources take their communication to the burgeoning channels of social media (Broersma, den Herder, & Schohaus, 2013; Carlson, 2009).

The chapter begins with a sociological perspective for the relationship between reporters and their sources, providing a framework for understanding the positions of their interaction. It then embarks from an initial depiction that goes from an adversarial relationship that attempts to influence public opinion, to a more neutral exchange between two parties who each have something to gain, and finally, to a negotiation over long-term cultural meanings and ideological power. With these elements in place, the chapter then takes what is essentially a Western research discourse and begins to place it into broader global settings. The question of voice, gender, and empowerment—of both reporters and sources—is then introduced as a key mediating factor. Finally, the chapter gains closure on the overall argument, touching on the role that evolving media technologies are starting to make in reshaping the nature of journalist-source interaction.

A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE REPORTER-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP

The shape of the reporter-source relationship grows from core tenets of journalism's professional ideology (Carlson, 2009; Deuze, 2005; Hackett, 1984; Roshco, 1975; Schudson, 2011). To understand the relationship, then, requires stripping away—at least temporarily—this ideology to see what lies within. Two dimensions need to be addressed: first, the basic demands of the ideology and, second, the procedures that journalists apply to accomplish their work and produce their product.

The ideology of the profession represents a paradigm, a method for accomplishing a task in a prescribed way. If the paradigm is followed, the desired result is expected to follow (Ericson, 1999). Essentially, journalism's paradigm follows a science-like model, where reporters gather authoritative data and then present it without explicitly taking a side in the discourse. Experts and officials—as sources—become the providers of this data, so that reporters become beholden to them for the raw materials of news (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). On their own, reporters are not allowed to provide an opinion—even when reporting on an event—so that interpretation is limited to such things as crowd-size estimates, descriptions of settings, depictions of how people appeared, and what those people said. By following this source-driven process, reporters become society's scientists, and the news they produce becomes their "scientific report"—their truth (Ericson, 1999).

On the face of it, this paradigm would seem to work effectively, but that ignores the fact that news sources usually have a vested interest in journalists' reports, linking news content to public opinion, and ultimately their own success (Griffin & Dunwoody, 1995; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Reich, 2006, 2009). For authority figures, keeping public opinion in their favor enhances the ability to remain in that position of authority. For elected authority figures, the imperative to favorably influence public beliefs becomes even stronger: at stake is their ability to remain in office and implement their desired policies. For leaders of organizations and businesses, what news says about them helps maintain social permission to continue their current course of doing business: losing public favor can require a change of course.

In all, both reporters and sources have a lot at stake. Reporters put their credibility and believability on the line with each news item they write. Likewise, sources regularly risk their career success. Putting both parts of this equation together suggests that the interaction between reporters and their sources is a delicately negotiated relationship, with each party hoping to achieve their goals and maintain their organizational and societal status. As Sigal (1986, p. 29) asserted:

> News is, after all, not what journalists think, but what their sources say, and is mediated by news organizations, journalistic routines and conventions, which screen out many of the personal predilections of individual journalists.

This depiction of news and the reporter-source relationship highlights the second dimension that journalists face, that news is a product with organizational expectations, and that reporters must develop strategies and procedures to help ensure they will produce their product on time and in a form that their peers will judge as "good" (Tuchman, 1973). News becomes a construction, and the interaction of reporters and sources is how that construction comes to be (Ericson, 1999). Nearly every vocation and profession faces that same challenge, at least in the abstract: a business must hire a workforce, workers need to apply their skills strategically to meet production quotas given their available resources, and ultimately consumers must be satisfied with the product they receive, both in terms of timeliness and quality (McManus, 1994).

In practical terms, reporters manage their organizational limitations by routinizing their tasks (Ericson, 1999). Although they need to contact multiple sources for writing stories, their reconnaissance process needs boundaries. Sources are not always instantly available, so that scheduling of interviews becomes a task that demands time to accomplish and cuts into their total working time until deadline. A basic collection of known sources helps make this task easier, but sometimes new sources must be found (Berkowitz, 1987; Berkowitz & Adams, 1990; Brown, Bybee, Wearden, & Straughan, 1987; Gant & Dimmick, 2000; Roshco, 1975; Waters, Tindall, & Morton, 2010). Adding to complications, some sources might not be cooperative for some stories or might not be available when needed. Some sources, too, might want to jump into the fray unexpectedly and reporters must deal with their input. Making things more complicated yet, unspoken, socially learned organizational "policy" can sometimes dictate the routes that reporters must take and the sources and topics that are off limits.

Once reporters meet up with their sources, whether face-to-face or electronically, a second negotiation process takes place (Ericson, Baranek, & Chan, 1989; Reich, 2006, 2009). There, reporters attempt to glean the maximum amount of information from their sources, taking their conversation into directions that a source might not always want to go (Awad, 2006). Sources, in turn, attempt to maintain the information-gathering effort in line with the information they are willing to provide, generally details that are neutral, that can further their own cause, or in some cases, that can damage the cause of an opponent (Gans, 1980). But reporters do not always lead the way because sources often proactively try to influence what becomes news through news releases, news conferences, planned events, and leaks that can jump-start the reporting process. Sources can even attempt to promote their cause by bringing attention to occurrences that may have happened naturally, such as crises and disasters involving others (Gandy, 1982; Molotch & Lester, 1974). A very large proportion of news originates from sources' efforts, and sources who can provide reporters with easily assembled news have a greater chance of making their voices heard (Curtin, 1999; Gandy, 1982; Revers, 2014; Turk, 1985). Over time, much of the news originates from savvy sources who understand reporters' needs and can deliver it regularly; paradoxically, much of what sources deliver overall tends to miss the mark and lose a place in the news (Berkowitz, 1992).

In sum, the work of a journalist becomes an everyday task of scheduling: sources are what must be scheduled. For some stories, scheduling becomes more complicated, either because of limited deadline time or source availability. Reporters learn how to find sources that can readily be scheduled and who will provide the kinds of information they seek in a concise and manageable way. Once the scheduling of sources and their interviews has taken place, reporters can then shift to a new work mode, interpreting the information they have received, privileging some sources' information over others, and crafting a news story that corresponds to the rules of the paradigm.

FROM A POWER PERSPECTIVE TO A FOCUS ON CULTURAL MEANING-MAKING

If a central element of journalistic ideology is the media's watchdog role over government and big business, then reporters' struggles to gather important information from sources become crucial. This could be characterized as a power struggle, with reporters constantly digging for information and sources working to prevent what could be perceived as overzealous journalistic inquiry (Kaniss, 1991). If a source has a high level of power, reporters' efforts to gather information can be thwarted. Conversely, high-power reporters have the ability to gather more information from more sources (Reese, 1991). Part of the question, then, is "What determines the power of journalists and sources?" A related question asks, "What does this power affect?"

Turning to the first question, "What determines power?" offers different answers for reporters and their sources (Broersma et al., 2013). For reporters, the question comes down to attributes of the reporter and attributes of the reporter's organization (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Regarding the reporter, three aspects stand out. The first is experience, so that a reporter with longevity in the profession gains status over the years. Longevity alone does not equate with power, however. For example, a longtime society reporter would have little power in relation to national, state, or even local news sources. A second factor shaping a reporter's power, then, is his or her track record for writing stories of impact, an impact known by the news sources that reporter encounters on the job. A third factor is intra-organizational power: if a reporter has more autonomy within an organization, then deadline pressure can be lessened, and there will be more opportunity to develop a story.

The reporter's organization also influences power, although this is not an absolute designation. For example, news organizations with a broader scope of operation—nationally or internationally—generally have greater power when they face news sources. Previous reputations for publishing or airing influential news stories enhance and solidify that power. For example, a quality broadsheet newspaper and a popular tabloid would have different levels of power within the same range of sources and audience: here, the influence they wield closely links to their power differential (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999). However, when a news organization from a larger sphere covers news in a smaller sphere, that large-scale power might be irrelevant. For example, a national media organization covering news that mainly impacts a small geographic community would not necessarily have much power if the local residents in that area were not part of the media organization's audience. There, the local media organization might turn out to have more influence in the outcome of an issue or event.

Source power is somewhat simpler to assess. Sources located within a power structure, who have both authority of knowledge and autonomy to speak about that knowledge, tend to be most powerful (Ericson, 1999). Sources who have the ability to promote an occurrence to the media under certain circumstances could have temporary power, such as promoting an environmentalist position to the media after an oil spill (Molotch & Lester, 1974). Reese (1991) suggests that the perceived power levels that reporters and their sources bring to a specific interaction have an important impact on the news outcome. This balance can also shape the nature of the relationship, making interactions more symbiotic and cooperative when power levels between journalists and sources are approximately equal but more adversarial when one of the two parties is perceived to have the upper hand.

Altogether, this discussion suggests that the relationship between reporters and their sources is a dynamic phenomenon, depending on the context of a specific occurrence as well as the perceived power that each party brings to the relationship. This power balance also shapes how interactions between reporters and sources unfold and which party can lead the negotiation for information that turns into news reports. That brings up the second question: "What does this power affect?"

Conventionally, the answer to this question has been cast in terms of power over public opinion and influence over the news agenda (Kaniss, 1991; Curtin, 1999). For public officials and business leaders, daily life is a matter of maintaining positive public opinion. Thus, at the simplest level, power for a source translates to the ability to have a voice in an ongoing debate in the news agenda (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999). A somewhat more powerful position for sources is not only to be able to speak to an issue on the news agenda, but to be able to influence the shape of an issue that gains a place on the agenda and then form the initial discussion about that issue. More powerful yet is the ability to influence whether an issue will reach the news agenda and gain public discussion: keeping something away from the public eye amounts to the ability to make decisions impacting society without having to gain public consent.

For journalists, power translates to a mirror image of these levels. Being able to gain source information that broadens public debate represents a basic level of power. Being able to draw attention to issues and begin public dialogue among news sources becomes a more powerful position. There is no clear analog to the third level of power, however, because reporters would rarely want to hide a story from public view.

But the power of journalists and sources to control an ongoing news agenda is ephemeral, depending on the fluctuating tides of those who are in charge and the social world in which they interact (Fico & Balog, 2003). When a new administration gains power, the lasting ability of the news agenda becomes up for grabs. Some issues would linger, while others would disappear. Public opinion for an out-of-office official becomes largely irrelevant unless it has some impact on those who have moved in. In sum, focusing only on public opinion when considering the relationship between reporters and their sources is to overlook some of the more long-term, lasting impact. It thus becomes important to shift the discussion to culture and the meanings it contains.

The concept of framing is one way to consider the impact of reporters and their sources on meanings (Pan & Kosicki, 2001; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). Thinking of news meanings like this suggests that issues can be discussed in specific ways, with specific boundaries applied to which meanings are included in the discussion and which meanings are beyond its scope. When reporters or their sources rein in an issue this way, certain depictions become the dominant way of thinking as the issue runs its course. A weakness of the approach, however, is that the larger implications of framing are often not considered. That is, to say that an issue, an event, or a social group was "framed" in such-and-such way mainly plays off of specific norms. From a journalism studies perspective, it is always easy to find how news framing misses a norm and therefore can be considered an "unfair" depiction. But the implications can be taken much deeper, from an argument about whether reporters or their sources have more power in the relationship, to the more macro-level perspective of what long-term societal impact this framing has for the political power of certain groups, administrations, or interests over others. Thus when the interface between reporters and their sources produces and reproduces a specific frame, a specific vantage point on the social order is propagated and maintained: the meaning of occurrences and issues is one of the implications of the reporter-source relationship that impacts ideology itself (Coman, 2005).

Another perspective on meanings connected to the reporter-source relationship comes from sources' responsiveness to their *interpretive community* (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999; Zelizer, 1993). An interpretive community represents a cultural location where meanings are constructed, shared, and reconstructed during the course of everyday life. Interpretive groups can be formed by a physical place, an organization, a virtual online gathering, and other social collectives. Members of an interpretive community interact by internalizing taken-for-granted shared meanings and draw on those meanings as a guide to their values and interpretations of issues and occurrences.

Reporters find themselves in a duality of meanings, from both their professional interpretive community and the interpretive community of their sources (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999). There are four main dimensions of reporters' professional interpretive community. First, reporters are guided by their professional ideology, taking professional ideals into consideration, such as objectivity, independence, fairness, and a watchdog role. Second, reporters keep in mind the interpretive community of their media organization, the "policy" that they have socially learned through everyday life on the job. This second interpretive community might conflict with the first, providing subtle guidance about favoring certain sources and organizations over others, going easy on some sources while reporting aggressively on others. The third and fourth interpretive communities appear through Zelizer's concept of *double time*, where reporters consider both present-day localized meanings for occurrences and issues and a broader historical reference point that provides constant comparison between what has happened in the past and what is happening in the present (Zelizer, 1993).

Sources' interpretive communities face up against these four reporter dimensions. When something takes place, when an issue is raised, sources have a goal of bringing forward one dominant meaning from among the possible interpretations. For corporate, government, and special interest sectors, the ultimate objective is to protect and strengthen their social position and power through interpretations that facilitate acceptance of the meanings they prefer (Berkowitz & TerKeurst, 1999). For both reporters and their sources, adoption of these meanings does not necessarily become a conscious or purposively strategic act. Instead, they turn into tacit understandings, with meanings growing from group (and cross-group) interactions over time. In addition, although these meanings generally have short-term consistency, they are gently dynamic as well.

In sum, these two sites of meaning making—journalistic practice and source communities—show how news content is not shaped by the classic vision of socially autonomous journalists acting as watchdogs or by short-term battles between reporters and their sources. Instead, journalists are beholden to four dimensions of their interpretive community. Likewise, news sources live within their own competing interpretive communities, responding to the preferred meanings that they have learned.

PLACING THE REPORTER-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP INTO A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Much of the research about reporters and their sources has been based on Western press systems and even more specifically, on how the relationship surfaces in the United States (Josephi, 2005). A question needs to be addressed, however: how far can we take this knowledge in order to understand other press systems? Two extensions of the basic question go to opposite poles (Reese, 2001). One extended question asks how differences *between* press systems should be weighed into our understandings; a second question asks how much attention should be paid to differences *within* a single press system (Hanitzsch, 2006).

These are not easy questions to answer, and yet, it would be equally difficult to assert that there is a *global* journalism that blurs many of the long-standing distinctions between nations and their press systems. Many anecdotal examples are available to show how one system's norms become another system's aberrations (Schudson, 2011). An appropriate level of analysis for understanding these examples is not obvious. Although the extra-media or societal levels stand out as most likely, care must be taken to avoid over-reducing a single system's homogeneity (Hanitzsch, 2006; Reese, 2001). In the end, we are left with that same big question: how does the reporter-source relationship influence the news. We are, however, left floundering for precise answers once leaving the comfort of a single home base for study.

Examples of a Portable Relationship

The basic relationship between reporters and their sources can thus be seen as "portable"; that is, the relationship exists in all press systems, from the most authoritarian to the most libertarian, if in different forms (Josephi, 2005; Tiffen et al., 2014). Even when examining the same situation, what might be seen as an element of freedom from one lens of journalistic professionalism might be viewed as rather constrained from another. In every case, a fundamental belief of journalists is that they cannot simply make up news but instead must rely on what they have been told by somebody holding a perceived level of authority (Hanitzsch, 2006).

For example, the relationship between reporters and officials is highly controlled at Japanese Kisha clubs, while foreign affairs reporters in the Netherlands enjoy a high degree of freedom from official sources because they face little imperative to produce news (Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004, p. 152). In the Japanese case, news becomes largely what officials say, while in the Netherlands, reporters are essentially in charge, with subjective output as an accepted norm. In other systems, sources pay reporters for coverage, an extremely unethical situation for American reporters, but taken as part of the "envelope journalism" system by Mexican reporters (and those in several other countries) to subsidize their low wages in a way similar to restaurant waiters (Schudson, 2011; Zelizer, 2004, p. 152).

Other comparisons highlight differences that emerge from a combination of professional and societal cultures. For example, when comparing American and Israeli reporters through their responses to a set of hypothetical scenarios, those from the US were much less likely to negotiate with a source, although both groups expressed similar views about protecting source confidentiality (Berkowitz, Limor, & Singer, 2004). In Korea, several studies have found that the relationship becomes more personal than is typical in the West, yet sources are not attempting to co-opt reporters through friendly interactions: this kind of close friendship is instead a key element of Korean culture overall (Berkowitz & Lee, 2004; Kim & Bae, 2006; Shin & Cameron, 2003). In a study of Swedish/Danish media, a high degree of symbiosis was found between political-economic elites and journalists working for regional media (Falkheimer, 2005). This contrasts with the situation found in Russia, where autonomous sources have emerged only recently, so that conflict underlies an ongoing battle, with sources vying to promote their vested interests and journalists working to maximize their new-found power (Koltsova, 2001). In New Zealand, the situation appears more congenial, yet sources still tend to dominate, serving in a role closer to what Schudson (2011) called the para-journalist who provides "favourable facts" rather than a more neutral representation of information (Rupar, 2006). A study of journalists in Britain and Spain found that the element of crisis created a special case for the journalist-source relationship, with sources attempting to gain journalists' favor in order further their agendas and damage their opponents, what has been called "ventriloquist journalism" (Sanders & Canel, 2006).

Learning From the Global Base of Research

These examples suggest some commonalties for the reporter-source relationship across countries, with both subtle and significant variations appearing in the extra-media and societal levels. The clearest commonalties link within similar locations in the authoritarian-libertarian continuum, where similar degrees of reporters' autonomy shape the boundaries of the relationship. Altschull's (1995) vision of press systems recasts the situation yet again, so that reporters facing constraints from a pro-development stance become self-limiting in their demands on official sources in the name of national growth.

One position to take in applying research from one system to another would be to argue that findings from one cannot be generalized to another, no matter how similar they appear (Tiffen et al., 2014). A second, more productive position would be to adopt the concept of transferability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), which identifies contextual and structural similarities, contrasts the two cases, and then adjusts the findings from one to better inform the other. This second stance avoids a reductionist approach that overlooks key differences, while also avoiding an absolutist view suggesting that very little can be moved from one situation to the next.

An advantage of transferability and comparison is that the contrasting cases can more clearly highlight the salient characteristics of each. For example, contrasts between cultures' interpersonal relationships in general can be used as a basis for understanding differences in synergistic or conflictual levels between reporters and officials across systems. Similarly, considering cultures' gender equity positions, especially in relation to the gender makeup of the journalistic workforce, can highlight subtle and not-so-subtle nuances of the power that officials wield over reporters (Lachover, 2005; Robins, 2001).

Overall, the key point for global understanding is to stay alert to the context of research about reporters and their sources when developing a conceptual framework for new research, and to maintain an awareness of the boundaries of interpretation when that existing lens is then applied.

WHO GETS A VOICE? GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND THE JOURNALIST-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP

A central point of concern for the relationship between reporters and sources is that, if the journalistic paradigm calls for turning to authoritative news sources, then those believed to possess authority will have a better chance of having a voice in the news. When high prestige official sources appear in the news, the reporter-source relationship tends to legitimate or even reify the power structure of society (Manning, 2001; Sigal, 1973; Soloski, 1989). This occurs because the job of journalists is producing news content that bears the aura of factuality: credible sources can be taken as fact, certifying the news without the need to research the veracity of that "fact" (Ericson, 1999). In most societies, fact bearers live in the ideologically dominant mainstream, representing that mainstream's dominant ideological institutions and presenting their dominant frame (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Most often, sources tend to be male authority figures and do not belong to one of their society's minority groups (Allan, 1998; Kitzinger, 1998; Ross, 2007).

In relation to the reporter-source relationship, then, an important question asks, "Who gets a voice?" That is, to what degree do dominant mainstream voices control the information that journalists get and how much opportunity do women and minorities have to appear in the news and shape its meanings? Of course, the answers do not literally have fixed quantitative parameters, but they nonetheless can be addressed from that perspective. A second—and less obvious—question must also be raised: how does the gender and ethnicity of *reporters* shape the kinds and quantities of "facts" that can be obtained?

If reporters' choice of news sources tends to be male officials from the mainstream, it is useful to consider the circumstances where women gain voice and take an active role in the relationship. One of the central questions that has been studied involves the interaction between female reporters and female news sources (Armstrong, 2004; Freedman & Fico, 2005; Van Zoonen, 1998; Zeldes & Fico, 2005). The main direction of inquiry in this vein asks whether female reporters are more likely to draw on female news sources when the opportunity arises. The logic here is that female reporters will be less ingrained in the male power structure and they will feel more comfortable interviewing female sources, a sort of gender-based camaraderie that would not exist with male sources, who might also have the upper hand in terms of socio-political power.

Zeldes and Fico (2005) explored this notion through a study of gender and race of reporters and sources appearing on network newscasts during the 2000 presidential election. They found that stories by women and minority reporters were indeed linked to more diverse source use. This finding also appeared in several other studies, but to a lesser degree. Freedman and Fico (2005) examined sources—particularly source expertise—in news coverage of a state governor race and found that stories with the byline of a female reporter had a greater tendency to cite female nonpartisan sources. However, the overwhelming majority of non-partisan sources were still male, and female non-expert sources appeared far less often than their proportion in the overall population. A study by Armstrong (2004) had a similar result, finding that male sources received more mention and were placed more prominently. Again, female reporter bylines were a predictor of more frequent use of female news sources. Ross (2007) addressed the gender question within the context of local British newspapers and found the same patterns held true, with male sources still dominating the news, even when the reporters were also women.

In part, the degree of difference in these findings is tempered by broader organizational and professional expectations, with newsroom norms and practices operating as a conformity mechanism, especially at larger newspapers (Rogers & Thorson, 2003). These expectations from newsroom colleagues would rein in female reporters' boundaries for broadening the news, particularly where newsrooms are dominated by male leadership (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007). It is possible, however, that for certain genres of news female sources are somewhat more likely to appear (Armstrong, 2004). And as a counter-force, some news organizations have established formal policy encouraging a greater use of diverse news sources (Mohamed & Fleming-Rife, 2002).

Research related to source gender also informs the use of news sources from ethnicities and races outside the mainstream. In the United States, for example, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans rarely serve as news sources. African-Americans appear somewhat more frequently, especially when another source appears in a news item (Poindexter, Smith, & Heider, 2003). Even in cases with explicit organizational policy for drawing on minority news sources, the mix of news sources appears much the same (Mohamed & Fleming-Rife, 2002).

Extending the concept of source diversity further, some news organizations see themselves as alternative or oppositional: an expectation for their news would be to include a greater proportion of ordinary citizens as sources. Surprisingly, oppositional news also emphasizes elites rather than citizens, although these elites come from outside the dominant mainstream. This was found in a study of an activist newspaper in the UK (Atton & Wickenden, 2005) as well as in an oppositional radio station in the US (Eliasoph, 1988). In either case, the answer is simple: reporters need to gather their information from authoritative sources who audiences will believe are legitimate bearers of "facts." The real difference in these cases is that alternative media draw on authoritative sources more closely aligned with their own ideological positions. In contrast, a mainstream news organization faced with choosing between a mainstream official source or an expert located in an oppositional camp will choose the mainstream official source as a means of producing ideological consistency (Coleman, 1995).

Switching the Power Relationship: Female Reporters and Male Sources

The preceding discussion has shown how mainstream sources tend to dominate the news and how the majority of those sources tend to be male officials. This situation gives sources a socially powerful position. The US newsroom gender balance includes approximately one-third women overall, and slightly more than half of new journalists are women. This gender balance tapers off significantly when power, expertise and authority are taken into account (Weaver et al., 2007). Among those with at least 15 years of experience in the journalistic workforce, only about a quarter are women. In sum, female reporters enter the journalist-source relationship in a lower status position and often do not increase their status as much as their male counterparts.

A study of female journalists and male sources in Israel bears out this imbalance, identifying the gendered tone of reporter-source interaction (Lachover, 2005). There, male sources were sometimes found to draw on the power imbalance to sway a female reporter, yet sometimes, male sources became more cooperative than usual in order to impress a female reporter. Women reporters, aware of the sexualized relationship with their male sources, admitted, though, that they sometimes took advantage of the situation by flirting or feigning weakness to gain more from their sources. A similar situation was found in a study of female reporters in Tanzania (Robins, 2001), even though male sources were often guilty of sexual harassment.

In all, this discussion suggests some clear imbalances in the reporter-source relationship, constructing a gendered and ideological representation of society and its voices. Although much of the literature discussed here is drawn from US-based studies, there are clear implications for understanding the power balance and meaning-making implications that are involved. Most simply, not all sources are equal in their relationships with reporters, with women and minorities tending to have the weaker position, whether as a journalist or as a source.

IMPACT OF DIGITAL CHANNELS ON THE JOURNALIST-SOURCE RELATIONSHIP

One other factor—technology—comes into play as well. Carlson (2016) describes an "era of media abundance" (p. 237) where a secondary flow of source information circumvents traditional channels through digital media:

> To be a news source was to speak within the mediated space; being left out relegated a source to silence. However, these assumptions are now dated as digital media have greatly expanded the terrain of mediated communication.

The impact of this enhanced mediated space, explains Carlson, is that elite sources turn into elite communicators who can bypass the news media and communicate directly with the public.

Television news, for example, has become "more opinionated and less densely sourced," so that it can be considered a "soft discourse" that allows journalists to distance themselves from source-based facts (Schudson & Dokoupil, 2007). Convergence, likewise, has changed the situation, with less face-to-face or voice-to-voice communication between reporters and their sources, and email filling the gap. Even further, blogs have begun to blur the line between who is a journalist and who is a source, and the role of sourcing has become equally ambiguous as a result (Pavlik, 2004). Finally, sources obtained secondhand from the internet have convoluted answers about which sources count and what degree of sourcing becomes sufficient (Ruggiero, 2004). Although journalists use online news sourcing in their daily work, information gleaned directly from social media might not stand up to the rigor they expect of themselves (Lecheler &

Kruikemeier, 2016). This online sourcing, however, does help journalists turn to sources for story idea content as they adapt to an evolving media relations environment (Waters et al., 2010).

Twitter has begun to stand out as a digital news source, one that is both doubted and drawn on all at once. As a form of "mass self-communication" (Hermida, 2013), Twitter has posed a challenge for scholars intent on capturing its essence: newsroom roles, purposes, and uses. As with other emerging media technologies, Twitter has begun to normalize as a journalistic tool, leading toward a change in operating conventions for journalists and their sources, such as the meaning of gatekeeping and its study. As Hermida argues:

> Most studies consider the orthodoxy of the field of cultural production of journalism and attempt to identify how far beliefs and practices are challenged and altered by deviant practices. Twitter, though, blurs long-standing distinctions between newsmaker, news reporter and news consumer.
> (2013, p. 304)

Looking at elections in the UK and the Netherlands, for example, Twitter presented itself as a means for candidates to share thoughts and ideas (Broersma & Graham, 2013). Thus, tweets become a way for journalists to connect with source information more readily; at the same time, a greater range of sources has gained the ability to both reach the public directly and increase access to journalists' fields of information.

In all, the appearance of Twitter demonstrates how digital media can moderate the relationship between journalists and their sources. On one hand, this and other forms of digital communication lead journalists to adapt their work routines to accommodate a new channel of information. On the other hand, some sources will lose power through a larger realm of competition to access journalists, while other sources will gain power through a new route to influence the information that journalists draw upon. Twitter, on its own, should not be considered as a phenomenon unique to itself, but instead as an exemplar of how digital forums can influence and reshape long-standing views of the relationships between journalists and their sources.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began with the premise that the study of reporters and their sources has been cast in terms of two polar dimensions: the adversarial position, with journalist as watchdog, and the symbiotic position, where both reporters and their sources give up something and gain something in return. Both positions have been drawn from a Western perspective, often an American one.

Three problems underlie these positions. First, the situation is not an either/or outcome. Instead, the elements of adversarial and symbiotic interaction appear on a continuum, with the perceived power of each party constantly shifting. The reporter-source relationship, then, is a constantly negotiated one. Second, the relationship is context dependent. Its nature depends on the context of the times, of course, but also on the issues under consideration, the press system where journalists and sources meet, and even the gender and ethnicity of each party involved. Third, much of the research has overlooked the "So what?" question. That is, why do we care which party is in charge? The short-term answer is easier: controlling the face of the news provides shape over public opinion and the ability to exert power over social issues and social debate.

But the short-term answer is not enough: the ability to influence the news also equates to long-term control over cultural meanings. Although meanings are dynamic, they do not move nearly as quickly as public opinion. When a reporter or a source can influence a long-term news discourse over meanings, they have influence over dominant ideological positions, those "common sense" understandings about individuals, institutions, and occurrences. Key terms at the center of discussion also load up with ideological meaning, turning into ideographs with essentially uncontested attributes. Ideographs then become the tools of everyday conversation, with meanings taken for granted when they are drawn into use. For example, "terrorism" after events in the United States, England, Spain, and Russia began to automatically include specific social groups, specific political positions, specific issues, and even specific regions of the world. As further social dialog continued, the meanings became more-and-more natural and the separation between "us" and "the other" became taken for granted. The term "democracy" lands in a similar position.

Related to this influence over meanings, two mediating factors were introduced: the influence of culture and the role of identity. The country where reporters interact with their sources does make a difference, partly because of press system differences, but also partly because of the role that media play in a specific culture. Similarly, gender and ethnicity bring attributes of social meaning to both journalists and sources that both limit and enable the extent of their roles. Female sources often have less ability to access journalists and less ascribed power to influence the direction of their interactions once they do gain access. The case is much the same for sources outside a culture's dominant ethnicities. Female reporters end up in a similar role problem, too, with less power and influence than male reporters.

Regardless of these mediating factors, sourcing in some form or another will remain a crucial tenet of the strategic ritual of "doing journalism." The technological impact on the journalist-source relationship somewhat alters the specifics of how interaction takes place. However, as long as reporters need to write beyond their opinions alone, as long as they see themselves as conveyers of information rather than interpreters of issues and occurrences, they will need to rely on sources. Sources, although usually deemed authoritative, speak from vested positions in their organizations and from ideological positions in their cultural worlds. In the short-term balance hangs ephemeral social power, while in the long-term, the interaction between reporters and their sources—and the media accounts that result—have the potential to shape people's taken-for-granted assumptions about how their world revolves.

REFERENCES

Allan, S. (1998). (En)gendering the truth politics of news discourse. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan (Eds.), *News, gender and power* (pp. 121–140). London: Routledge.

Altschull, J. (1995). *Agents of power: The media and public policy* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Anderson, A., Petersen, A., & David, M. (2005). Communication or spin? Source-media relations in science journalism. In S. Allan (Ed.), *Journalism: Critical issues* (pp. 188–198). Berkshire and New York, NY: Open University Press.

Armstrong, C. (2004). The influence of reporter gender on source selection in newspaper stories. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *81*(1), 139–154.

Atton, C., & Wickenden, E. (2005). Sourcing routines and representation in alternative journalism: A case study approach. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(3), 347–359.

Awad, I. (2006). Journalists and their sources: Lessons from anthropology. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(6), 922–939.

Barthel, M., Shearer, E., Gottfried, J., & Mitchell, A. (2015, July 14). The evolving role of news on Twitter and Facebook. *Pew Research Center Report*. Retrieved from www.journalism.org/2015/07/14/the-evolving-role-of-news-on-twitter-and-facebook/

Berkowitz, D. (1987). TV news sources and news channels: A study in agenda-building. *Journalism Quarterly*, *64*(2), 508–513.

Berkowitz, D. (1992). Who sets the media agenda? The ability of policymakers to determine news decisions. In J. D. Kennamer (Ed.), *Public opinion, the press, and public policy* (pp. 81–102). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Berkowitz, D., & Adams, D. (1990). Information subsidy and agenda-building in local television news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *67*(4), 723–731.

Berkowitz, D., & Lee, J. (2004). Media relations in Korea: *Cheong* between journalist and public relations practitioner. *Public Relations Review*, *30*(4), 431–437.

Berkowitz, D., Limor, Y., & Singer, J. (2004). A cross-cultural look at serving the public interest: American and Israeli journalists consider ethical scenarios. *Journalism: Theory, Practice, & Criticism*, *5*(2), 159–181.

Berkowitz, D., & TerKeurst, J. (1999). Community as interpretive community: Rethinking the journalist-source relationship. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(3), 125–136.

Blumler, J., & Gurevitch, M. (1981). Politicians and the press: An essay on role relationships. In D. Nimmo & K. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of political communication* (pp. 467–493). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Boyd-Barrett, O., & Rantanen, T. (2004). News agencies as news sources: A re-evaluation. In C. Paterson & A. Sreberny (Eds.), *International news in the twenty-first century* (pp. 31–45). London: John Libbey.

Broersma, M., den Herder, B., & Schohaus, B. (2013). A question of power: The changing dynamics between journalists and sources. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(4), 388–395.

Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2013). Twitter as a news source. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(4), 446–464.

Brown, J., Bybee, C., Wearden, S., & Straughan, D. (1987). Invisible power: Newspaper news sources the limits of diversity. *Journalism Quarterly*, *64*(1), 45–54.

Carlson, M. (2009). Dueling, dancing, or dominating? Journalists and their sources. *Sociology Compass, 3/4*, 526–542.

Carlson, M. (2016). Sources as news producers. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 236–249). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Coleman, C. (1995). Science, technology and risk coverage of a community conflict. In D. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Social meanings of news: A text-reader* (pp. 483–496). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Coman, M. (2005). Cultural anthropology and mass media: A processual approach. In E. Rothenbuhler & M. Coman (Eds.), *Media anthropology* (pp. 46–55). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Curtin, P. (1999). Reevaluating public relations information subsidies: Market-driven journalism and agenda-building theory and practice. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *11*(1), 53–90.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 1–32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *6*(4), 442–464.

Eliasoph, N. (1988). Routines and the making of oppositional news. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *5*(4), 313–334.

Ericson, R. (1999). How journalists visualize fact. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *560*(1), 83–95.

Ericson, R., Baranek, P., & Chan, J. (1989). *Negotiating control: A study of news sources*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Falkheimer, J. (2005). Formation of a region: Source strategies and media images of the Sweden-Danish Oresund Region. *Public Relations Review*, *31*(2), 293–297.

Fico, F., & Balog, O. (2003). Partisan sources receive more space in conflict issues. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *24*(4), 22–35.

Freedman, E., & Fico, F. (2005). Male and female sources in newspaper coverage of male and female candidates in open races for governor in 2002. *Mass Communication & Society*, *8*(3), 257–272.

Gandy, O. (1982). *Beyond agenda setting: Information subsidies and public policy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gans, H. (1980). *Deciding what's news*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Gant, C., & Dimmick, J. (2000). Making local news: A holistic analysis of sources, selection criteria, and topics. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *77*(3), 628–638.

Griffin, R., & Dunwoody, S. (1995). Impacts of information subsidies and community structure on local press coverage of environmental contamination. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *72*(2), 271–284.

Hackett, R. (1984). Decline of a paradigm? Bias and objectivity in news media studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *1*(3), 229–259.

Hanitzsch, T. (2006). Mapping journalism culture: A theoretical taxonomy and case studies from Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *16*(2), 169–186.

Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Hermida, A. (2013). Journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(3), 295–313.

Hertog, J., & McLeod, D. (2001). A multiperspectival approach to framing analysis: A field guide. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 139–161). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hess, A. (2016, February 18). How Trump wins Twitter. *Slate*. Retrieved from www.slate.com/articles/technology/future_tense/2016/02/donald_trump_is_the_best_at_twitter_here_s_why.html

Josephi, B. (2005). Journalism in the global age: Between normative and empirical. *Gazette: The International Journal for Communication Studies*, *67*(6), 575–590.

Kaniss, P. (1991). *Making local news*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Kim, Y., & Bae, J. (2006). Korean practitioners and journalists: Relational influences in news selection. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(3), 241–245.

Kitzinger, J. (1998). The gender-politics of news production: Silenced voices and false memories. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan (Eds.), *News, gender and power* (pp. 186–203). London: Routledge.

Koltsova, O. (2001). News production in contemporary Russia: Practices of power. *European Journal of Communication*, *16*(3), 315–335.

Lachover, E. (2005). The gendered and sexualized relationship between Israeli women journalists and their male news sources. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *6*(3), 291–311.

Lecheler, S., & Kruikemeier, S. (2016). Re-evaluating journalistic routines in a digital age: A review of research on the use of online sources. *New Media & Society*, *18*(1), 156–171.

Manning, P. (2001). *News and news sources: A critical introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

McManus, J. (1994). *Market-driven journalism: Let the citizen beware*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McQuail, D. (2000). *McQuail's mass communication theory* (4th ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Mohamed, A., & Fleming-Rife, A. (2002, August). *Use of Minority Sources in News*. Paper presented to the annual convention of the association for education in journalism & mass communication, Miami, FL.

Molotch, H., & Lester, M. (1974). News as purposive behavior: On the strategic use of routine events, accidents and scandals. *American Sociological Review*, *39*(1), 101–112.

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. (2001). Framing as a strategic action in public deliberation. In S. Reese, O. Gandy, & A. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 35–65). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pavlik, J. (2004). A sea-change in journalism: Convergence, journalists, their audiences and sources. *Convergence*, *10*(4), 21–29.

Poindexter, P., Smith, L., & Heider, D. (2003). Race and ethnicity in local television news: Framing, story assignments, and source selections. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *47*(4), 524–536.

Reese, S. (1991). Setting the media's agenda: A power balance perspective. In J. Anderson (Ed.), *Communication Yearbook 14* (pp. 309–340). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Reese, S. (2001). Understanding the global journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), 173–187.

Reich, Z. (2006). The process model of news initiative: Sources lead first, reporters thereafter. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(4), 497–514.

Reich, Z. (2009). *Sourcing the news: Key issues in journalism —an innovative study of the Israeli press*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Revers, M. (2014). Journalistic professionalism as performance and boundary work: Source relations at the state house. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *15*(1), 37–52.
Robins, M. (2001). *Intersecting places, emancipatory spaces: Women journalists in Tanzania*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Rogers, S., & Thorson, E. (2003). A socialization perspective on male and female reporting. *Journal of Communication*, *53*(4), 658–675.
Roshco, B. (1975). *Newsmaking*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Ross, K. (2007). The journalist, the housewife, the citizen and the press: Women and men as sources in local news narratives. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *8*(4), 449–473.
Ruggiero, T. (2004). Paradigm repair and changing journalistic perceptions of the internet as an objective news source. *Convergence*, *10*(4), 92–106.
Rupar, V. (2006). How did you find that out? Transparency of the newsgathering process and the meaning of news: A case study of New Zealand journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *7*(1), 127–143.
Sallot, L., & Johnson, E. (2006). Investigating relationships between journalists and public relations practitioners: Working together to set, frame and build the public agenda, 1991–2004. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(2), 151–159.
Sanders, K., & Canel, M. (2006). A scribbling tribe: Reporting political scandal in Britain and Spain. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *7*(4), 453–476.
Schudson, M. (2011). *The sociology of news*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.
Schudson, M., & Dokoupil, T. (2007, January/February). Research report: The limits of live. *Columbia Journalism Review*, *45*(5), 63.
Shin, J., & Cameron, G. (2003). The interplay of professional and cultural factors in the online source-reporter relationship. *Journalism Studies*, *4*(2), 253–272.
Shoemaker, P., & Reese, S. (2014). *Mediating the message in the 21st century* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
Sigal, L. (1973). *Reporters and officials: The organization and politics of newsmaking*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
Sigal, L. (1986). Who? Sources make the news. In R. Manoff & M. Schudson (Eds.), *Reading the news* (pp. 9–37). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Soloski, J. (1989). Sources and channels of local news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *66*(4), 864–870.
Tiffen, R., Jones, P., Rowe, D., Aalberg, T., Coen, S., Curran, J., . . . Soroka, S. (2014). Sources in the news. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(4), 374–391.
Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected. *American Journal of Sociology*, *79*(1), 110–131.
Turk, J. (1985). Information subsidies and influence. *Public Relations Review*, *11*(3), 10–25.
Van Zoonen, L. (1998). One of the girls?: The changing gender of journalism. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan (Eds.), *News, gender and power* (pp. 33–46). London: Routledge.
Waters, R., Tindall, N., & Morton, T. (2010). Media catching and the journalist-public relations practitioner relationship: How social media are changing the practice of media relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *22*(3), 241–264.
Weaver, D., Beam, R., Brownlee, B., Voakes, P., & Wilhoit, G. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century: US news people at the dawn of a new millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Zeldes, G., & Fico, F. (2005). Race and gender: An analysis of sources and reporters in the networks' coverage of the 2000 presidential campaign. *Mass Communication & Society*, *8*(4), 373–385.
Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *10*(3), 219–237.
Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

12

Computational Journalism

Neil Thurman

This chapter considers *computational journalism* to be the advanced application of computing, algorithms, and automation to the gathering, evaluation, composition, presentation, and distribution of news.

Computational news gathering and evaluation can utilize tools that find and filter newsworthy information from social media platforms and document caches and that provide guidance on the credibility of content and contributors. Such tools include Dataminr, which promises to deliver "the earliest tips for breaking news" and claims to be used in more than 400 newsrooms around the world (Dataminr, n.d.).

Computational news composition and presentation can make use of natural language generation and artificial intelligence to generate written and audio-visual news texts, often from datafeeds. Fanta (2017) found that 9 of the 14—mainly European—news agencies he surveyed were making use of automated newswriting, and two others had projects underway.

Examples of the role computing can take in news distribution include automated news personalization—where stories are chosen and prioritized according to individual users' explicitly registered and/or implicitly determined preferences—and news aggregation sites and apps, like Google News, whose algorithms "determine which stories, images, and videos [to] show, and in what order" (Google, n.d.). According to Thurman (2011), by 2009, the online editions of a sample of large, legacy news providers in the UK and US all carried a considerable variety of tools to tailor stories to their users' interests.

Although some of these practices are not new—automated news personalization dates back to at least the 1980s (Thurman, 2019)—it was only from about 2006 that they started to be discussed under the single, collective term of computational journalism. This chapter provides a summary of, and commentary on, academic studies focused on computational journalism that were published or presented before August 2018. The search term "computational journalism" was used to query Google Scholar, and the records returned were reviewed. The process of choosing which of the more than 1,000 items to include was necessarily subjective. Given the focus of this handbook, technical works from the computer science domain were mostly excluded, or mentioned in passing, in favor of literature from the sociological and behavioral sciences and the humanities.

As will be shown, the focus of computational journalism's literature has broadened over time. An initial emphasis on searching for and analyzing data as part of investigative journalism endeavors has faded as automated newswriting, novel forms of interactive news presentation, and personalized news distribution have been addressed. There has also been a growing critical engagement, tempering the early, broadly optimistic analyses with more realistic assessments of computation's effects on the practice of journalism, its content, and reception.

The chapter ends with a discussion of how the literature is evolving, addressing new practices—such as "sensor journalism" and interactive chatbots—and also questioning whether computational journalism's technical essence has been adequately addressed by the sociological contributions to its current corpus.

EMERGENCE

Computational journalism is a relatively new term. It was coined in 2006 by Irfan Essa when he organized the first course on the subject alongside Nick Diakopoulos at Georgia Tech (Georgia Tech, 2013). A blog post by Diakopoulos in January 2007 was entitled "What Is Computational Journalism?" and comprised an early attempt at definition (Diakopoulos, 2007). The term caught on. It started to enter academic parlance. An early mention in academic literature came in the PhD thesis of Adam Perer (2008), where he discussed a computational tool called SocialAction that journalists were starting to value for its facilitation of social network analysis.

SocialAction was a tool developed by and for those outside journalism—in this case by computer scientists for "researchers" (SocialAction, n.d.)—which attracted interest from those within journalism, who used it, for example, to analyze and visualize the social networking links between those implicated in the use and supply of performance-enhancing drugs in baseball (Perer & Wilson, 2007). Collaborations between journalists and technologists followed, and it was one such collaboration that occasioned the use of the term in the pioneering Computational Journalism course taught at Georgia Tech (Perer, 2008).

At least one other US university soon followed the Georgia Tech example. In 2009, Duke University appointed Sarah Cohen as Knight Professor of the Practice of Journalism and Public Policy to lead a "computational journalism initiative" ("Washington Post journalists," 2009). At Duke, computational journalism was seen as a way to "help renew watchdog coverage" by "combining traditional public records and database work with new methods and tools from other disciplines" (ibid.). Cohen's background in "computer assisted investigative journalism" was seen as being an "ideal match" for Duke's initiative, which included wanting to develop open-source reporting tools that would "help lower the costs to journalists of discovering and researching stories" (ibid.).

Here was a point, then, at which computer-assisted reporting (CAR) was perceived as having evolved into something else, when developments in journalism's deployment of computers meant that the long-established term CAR no longer seemed adequate and a new term seemed necessary.

THE NEED FOR A NEW TERM

What was it that called for a new term? Most writers in this area acknowledge that computers have had a long history in journalism. Anderson and Caswell (2019) describe how CBS News used a computer to predict the outcome of a presidential election in 1952, and what is known as computer-assisted reporting has been around since at least the 1960s, when Philip Meyer was using computers to investigate stories, including the 1967 Detroit riots (Bowen, 1986). In the

1970s, Elliot Jaspin was using relational databases for news discovery, a method that allowed him, for example, to discover convicted drug dealers driving school buses. He later founded an organization that became the National Institute for Computer-Assisted Reporting (Cohen, Hamilton, & Turner, 2011).

Various writers have sought to define the distinction between computer-assisted reporting and computational journalism. Hamilton and Turner (2009) said that CAR "tended to be the province of a specialized subset of investigative reporters," while computational journalism tools "will also be adopted by citizen journalists, non-profit news outlets, and NGOs working on government accountability" (p. 16). Flew, Spurgeon, Daniel, and Swift (2012) made the same point. CAR, they wrote, involved "journalism as a practice that could only be undertaken by those officially sanctioned as journalists" (p. 160). Nick Diakopoulos (2011) wrote that computational journalism was inclusive of computer-assisted reporting but was "distinctive in its focus on the processing capabilities" of the computer. Flew et al. (2012) cited Miller and Page (2007) in conceiving of computation as a phenomenon that involves "searching, correlating, filtering, identifying patterns, and so on" (p. 158). These activities weren't new, the authors allowed, but could be performed by computational devices "with greater speed and accuracy" (p. 158). Coddington (2015) suggested that "computational journalism goes beyond CAR in its focus on the processing capabilities of computing, particularly aggregating, automating, and abstracting information" (p. 336). He emphasized "the application of computing and computational thinking" to how information is gathered, interpreted, and presented, contrasting this approach with "the journalistic use of data or social science methods more generally" (p. 335). For Skowran (quoted in Claussen, 2009, p. 136), "automation" is a distinguishing characteristic of computational journalism. For Pulimood, Shaw, and Lounsberry (2011), computational journalism is distinguished from CAR by its "more sophisticated approach to applying algorithms and principles from computer science and the social sciences to gather, evaluate, organize and present news and information" (p. 530).

WATCHDOG JOURNALISM

As we have seen, some early conceptions of computational journalism involved journalism's watchdog function, and the first substantive attempt to define the field of computational journalism was a report by James T. Hamilton and Fred Turner (2009) that emerged from a summer workshop organized by the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University and that saw the potential of computation in granting the watchdog keener eyes. In this report, the authors foregrounded the potential they saw in computation to offer reporters "new techniques with which to pursue journalism's long-standing public interest mission" (p. 2). Computational journalism, they wrote, was a new field that could emerge from the convergence of work in computer science, social science, and journalism. They defined it as "the combination of algorithms, data, and knowledge from the social sciences to supplement the accountability function of journalism" (p. 2).

Watchdog journalism, by their definition, sought to "hold leaders accountable, unmask malfeasance, and make visible critical social trends." It was a means of providing citizens with "the information they need to make many important choices" (p. 2). The authors were idealistic about the role that computational journalism might play in this area. Computational journalism, they said, might create "new blendings of audience, reporter, and commentator . . . [that might] grow the audience for watchdog journalism and enhance the involvement of citizens in the democratic watchdog process" (p. 9).

Two years later, in conjunction with Sarah Cohen (Cohen et al., 2011), they restated their optimism about the field's accountability potential: about a possible increase in "the public's ability to monitor power" (p. 66). They envisioned it as helping to "level the playing field between powerful interests and the public" (p. 71). Here, then, in these early works on the subject, was an excitement about how computational journalism's news discovery and data questioning potential might make it harder for those in society who were doing harm to hide.

NEWS DISCOVERY

From today's perspective, Hamilton and Turner (2009) set the boundaries of the field relatively narrowly. They envisaged the field as enabling "reporters to explore increasingly large amounts of structured and unstructured information as they search for stories" (p. 2). For these writers, computational journalism built on the tradition of computer-assisted reporting. It was about searching for and analyzing data. They admitted that their take on the field was provisional, and that the field might evolve in unforeseen ways, and they did speculate about the part that computation might play in the later parts of the news cycle, seeing possibilities for a more interactive and personalized news, but their focus was on computational tools being used in the news cycle's early phase, for news discovery rather than for news composition or distribution.

Much of what Cohen et al. (2011) had to say also related to news discovery and the power of computation in searching through data and unearthing newsworthy elements. Flew et al. (2012) saw computation as taking some of the menial toil out of the journalistic role. The utility value of computational journalism, they said, lay in its ability to free "journalists from the low-level work of discovering and obtaining facts," leaving them to focus on "the verification, explanation and communication of news" (p. 167). Here, then, was a journalism that could involve less drudgery and more depth.

Hamilton and Turner (2009) quoted the work of Sarah Cohen in detailing some of the forms that computational news discovery might take. They talked, for example, of computational tools that extract and visualize data from the PDFs that public bodies release as a result of freedom of information requests, from audio or video files, and from local blogs and press releases. They envisioned some degree of automation, with the software able to "scan" and make decisions based on relevance and timing and also provide context with reference to a reporter's previous work.

While the first writers on this subject talked of the potential for computational discovery tools, or of tools developed outside journalism that journalists might be able to find a use for, later writers were able to discuss computational discovery tools developed specifically for journalists. Nick Diakopoulos, Munmun De Choudhury, and Mor Naaman (2012), for example, described the development of SRSR ("Seriously Rapid Source Review"), a system for filtering and assessing the verity of sources found through social media by journalists. Molina (2012) described a system called VSAIH that looked "for news in hydrological data from a national sensor network in Spain" and created "news stories that general users can understand." Hassan et al. (2014) described their FactWatcher system: it "helps journalists identify data-backed, attention-seizing facts which serve as leads to news stories" (p. 1557). Schifferes et al. (2014) described a tool—SocialSensor—built for journalists and designed to help "quickly surface trusted and relevant material from social media—with context" (SocialSensor, n.d.). More recently, as Hamilton and Turner envisaged (2009), we have seen computational tools built to help journalists extract data from press releases. For example, "Madi" is a prototype service that automatically scans press releases to provide journalists with background information about the organizations and people mentioned (Zoon, van Dongen, & Lino, 2018).

WIDENING THE SCOPE

As has been established, many early studies concentrated on the value of computational tools to the process of news discovery, though they did sometimes mention—if only to then dismiss—their application in other areas. Hamilton and Turner (2009) declared that, although "the phrase computational journalism carries for some the suggestion of robotic reporters," computational tools were tools "to supplement rather than substitute for efforts by reporters," and their function would be confined to unearthing data and ideas that reporters would then submit to further exploration (p. 12). Later writers and practitioners have extended definitions of computational journalism to include parts of the news cycle beyond news discovery. Diakopoulos (2011), for example, described the potential for computation in news "dissemination and public response," including "personalization and . . . recommender systems," as well as in the "communication and presentation" of news. The examples he gives in this latter category are to do with interactive data graphics and news games, but we should also include machine-generated news content, otherwise known as "automated journalism," which, by 2012, was already being seen as pushing computational journalism into a "new phase" (van Dalen, 2012).

PRESENTATION AND VISUALIZATION

In describing how computation has been and could be used to change the presentation of news, Diakopoulos (2011) was echoing and anticipating the contributions of other practitioners and theorists. One of the earliest uses of the term *computational journalism* was in Michael Danziger's (2008) Master's thesis where he used it in the context of the production of interactive graphics and data visualizations (p. 71). Some have seen visualization as one of the fundamental characteristics of computational journalism. Karlsen and Stavelin (2014), in seeking to define computational journalism via four factors, talked of a formal factor, which "is most often information visualizations or info graphics" (p. 36). This expanded role for the visual dimension of news has largely been seen as a welcome development. Flew et al. (2012) stated that "data visualizations and graphics can help both readers and journalists cut through dense information in an efficient way" (p. 166). Such visualizations, they said, could be used to help journalists "better understand or refine a story" or for presenting information to readers more powerfully (p. 167). Hamilton and Turner (2009) discussed a visualization tool called "Jigsaw: Visualization for Investigative Analysis," which had been developed for analysts and researchers but which they thought might be of use to journalists. It offered "a visual representation of the connections among individuals and entities that may be mentioned across many different sets of documents" (p. 10). Flew et al. (2012) suggested that a potent way of presenting the news may involve granting readers themselves access to datasets and visualization tools: "Such practice would allow readers to humanise or localise what may otherwise be large, incomprehensible sets of data" (p. 167). Something like this eventually came to pass. Wu, Marcus, and Madden (2013) wrote about a tool called MuckRaker, which "provides news consumers with datasets and visualizations that contextualize facts and figures in the articles they read."

New variants of visualization began to emerge. Pavlik and Bridges (2013) considered augmented reality to be "part of a broader emerging field known as computational journalism (CJ)"

(p. 10) and discussed how "digital technology might transform the content of journalism through augmented reality" (p. 4). They saw potential for augmented reality in creating media interfaces for those with disabilities, and also hoped that it might make digital journalism more attractive to those news consumers, especially young ones, who had become "disengaged from traditional news media in favor of social media and other newer devices" (p. 51).

AUTOMATED JOURNALISM

Although not usually visually distinct from traditional—manually produced—forms of news, so-called automated journalism has become a widely discussed sub-genre of computational journalism. Defined by Carlson (2015, p. 416) as "algorithmic processes that convert data into narrative news texts with limited to no human intervention beyond the initial programming," automated journalism was anticipated as early as 1965 in Michael Frayn's satirical novel, *The Tin Men* (Frayn, 1965). Although it took several decades for Frayn's fantasy to become a reality, automation has, now, been used in the production of written news texts for some time (see, e.g., Dickey, 2014; Dörr, 2015; Gregory, 2017; Lichterman, 2017; Schonfeld, 2010; Young & Hermida, 2015).

The use of automation in the creation of written news texts has been the subject of a number of academic articles. These have examined how the technology has been discussed in the popular press (Carlson, 2015; van Dalen, 2012); how some of the third-party service providers present themselves in public (Carlson, 2015); reactions of journalists who have used the technology firsthand (Thurman, Dörr, & Kunert, 2017; Young & Hermida, 2015); the legal and ethical issues raised (Dörr & Hollnbuchner, 2017; Ombelet, Kuczerawy, & Valcke, 2016); and strategic, business, and labor considerations (Kim & Kim, 2017; Cohen, 2015). There have also been a number of more theoretical contributions—for example, on the effect of automation on journalism's ideology (Linden, 2017) and legitimacy (Carlson, 2018)—as well as case studies focusing on the use of automation in news agencies (Fanta, 2017; Marconi & Siegman, 2017) and individual news outlets (Young & Hermida, 2015).

One strand of research has focused on audiences' opinions about written news texts produced with the help of automation, or labeled as such (Clerwall, 2014; Graefe, Haim, Haarmann, & Brosius, 2018; Graefe, Haim, & Diakopoulos, 2017; Haim & Graefe, 2017; Jung, Song, Kim, Im, & Oh, 2017; van der Kaa & Krahmer, 2014; Waddell, 2018; Zheng, Zhong, & Yang, 2018). Most of these studies' findings have shown few, or minor, differences in the way readers perceive human-written and "automated" texts (see, e.g., Clerwall, 2014; van der Kaa & Krahmer, 2014; Haim & Graefe, 2017). However, the research methods used in some of these studies raise questions about the validity of their results, and future studies should ensure that the human and "automated" texts being compared are from the same journalistic genre, cover the same events, and are on topics familiar to respondents and in their native tongue.

Who—or what—is, and should be, credited as the author of automated journalism has been considered by Montal and Reich (2017). They examined how transparent the authorship of the automated journalism published by 12 news organizations was. They found that "most of the studied organizations have some level of transparency: full, partial or low" (p. 839) but that "the identity of the attributed author," where it was not fully human, was inconsistently attributed, ranging from "the software vendor, to the news organization, or the algorithm (bot) itself" (p. 841). They also found "discrepancies between the perceptions of key figures and experts in media organizations pioneering the use of automated journalism and their actual practices concerning bylines and full disclosure" (p. 841).

This, they concluded, "emphasizes the fundamental need for a detailed, comprehensive and transparent bylining and disclosure policy" in the context of automated journalism. In order for this to happen, they suggest that where content is produced without the involvement of a human journalist, the software vendor or the programmer should be attributed. Where content is produced through collaboration between journalists and algorithms, they suggest that the human journalist should be credited but that the objects created by the algorithm should be identified.

NEWS DISTRIBUTION AND PERSONALIZATION

We have seen, then, how computational tools have been applied to news discovery and to its creation and presentation. Computation has been applied also to news distribution and has allowed the advent of personalized news: news tailored to the preferences of individual users by "explicitly registered" and/or "implicitly determined" means (Thurman, 2011). Nicholas Negroponte's (1995) "The Daily Me" is often mentioned as an early conception of this phenomenon, though in fact Jules and Michel Verne (1889) had imagined a personalized news service over a hundred years earlier. Some writers have been positive about such an idea. Some less so. As the idea became reality, with personalized news being provided by both traditional media organizations and social media platforms such as Facebook, concerns began to arise about the creation of filter bubbles (Pariser, 2011), with news consumers potentially foregoing exposure to important information and alternative viewpoints, with consequences for the functioning of democracies. While many writers, therefore, had been optimistic about computational journalism's potential for opening the public's eyes to the information crucial to democratic health, here was a form of computational journalism accused of doing the opposite. There is disagreement, however, about just how blinkered the populations produced by personalization actually are. Work by Zuiderveen Borgesius et al. (2016), for example, played down such concerns, stating that "personalised content does not constitute a substantial information source for most citizens." They did allow, though, that "if personalisation technology improves, and personalised news content becomes people's main information source, problems for our democracy could indeed arise."

A SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

By some accounts, much of the early literature on computational journalism focused on the tools that were being, or could be, built, and the benefits they might bring. Such a focus on what Diakopoulos (2017) has called "tooling" has been subject to criticism for not examining "larger social, political, organizational, and cultural currents in journalism" (Anderson, 2011, p. 5). Anderson (2011) has advocated for "a more interdisciplinary and externalist perspective on computational journalism research" (p. 5). This, he suggested, could happen, in part, through the application of Schudson's (2005) political, economic, organizational, and cultural approaches.

In starting to flesh out how such applications might develop, he stated, for example, that an economic approach could attempt to "correlate forms of computationally enhanced news production with levels of institutional economic capital" (p. 10), which might show that "certain technologically focused innovations appeared out of reach for less wealthy news organizations" (p. 10).

Anderson also proposed that the "actual role played by materiality and technology in the processes of journalism" should be accounted for (p. 15). In this last suggestion, Anderson has allies. For example, Primo and Zago (2015) have argued that, in journalism studies, technology is often "portrayed as an external force (influence) that impacts humans and what humans produce," and suggested that such binary strategies "artificially fragment journalism, reducing what is an entangled network to opposing poles" (p. 40). They suggested that "technological artifacts and other objects also do journalism. Thus, besides 'who,' we also need to ask 'what' does journalism" (p. 49). Lewis and Westlund (2015) concur, saying that "during the past two decades, journalism studies scholars have paid special attention to the role of technology in news work" but that "this line of research has given greater emphasis to human-centric considerations" and not sufficiently acknowledged "the distinct role of technology and the inherent tension between human and machine approaches" (p. 20). They say there is "an opportunity for developing a sociotechnical emphasis in journalism studies" (p. 21) that would acknowledge "the extent to which contemporary journalism is becoming interconnected with technological tools, processes, and ways of thinking as the new organizing logics of media work" (p. 21).

THE ECONOMIC LENS

In calling for a more critical approach to computational journalism, Anderson (2011) suggested that an economic lens is one that may be beneficial, and highlighted what he believed to be an absence of "work done on the relationship between economic resources and computational journalism," for example, how "different institutionally specific resources constrain the options available to various news outlets and industry segments."

The literature on computational journalism, even early on, considered economic factors, although, it is true, sometimes putting a sharper, or even exclusive, focus, on the cost benefits it might bring rather than the inequalities it might promote. Flew et al. (2012), for example, in talking of how investigative journalism could involve the laborious checking of thousands of documents, and how computation could spare journalists such lengthy toil, talked of savings in time and savings in cost. Cohen et al. (2011) considered computational journalism against the backdrop of increasing financial difficulty faced by traditional news providers: the pressures placed on public affairs reporting by "the decline in revenue and reporting staff in traditional news organizations." This, they stated, was "where the field of computational journalism can help the most" (p. 68).

However, scholars, even early on, were aware of financial complications in this idealistic picture, with, for example, Hamilton and Turner (2009) stating that tools would need "a very low cost of acquisition, since local papers and online news providers will be hard-pressed to make investments in accountability coverage" (p. 12). Flew et al. (2012) talked of "significant software and technology start-up costs" involved in the adoption of computational journalism in news organizations (p. 165). Diakopoulos (2017) wrote that the lower costs associated with computational journalism "do not always materialize," and Sylvain Parasie's (2015) case study of a journalism project that developed algorithms and databases in the service of its investigation into seismic safety standards in California showed how the time and costs involved could be problematic for other news suppliers in the current financial climate for journalism.

Various solutions have been proposed to make computational journalism tools more affordable to journalists and publishers, including alternative funding methods, open-source software, crowdsourcing, and entrepreneurial initiatives on the part of newsrooms. Hamilton and Turner (2009), and Cohen et al. (2011), spoke of the need for funding to come from outside journalism, with media organizations reluctant to invest in areas that are not "readily monetized" (Hamilton &

Turner, 2009, p. 13). One outside source highlighted by Flew et al. (2012) was the Sunlight Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization with a goal of scrutinizing government

> that has arisen in the light of the plethora of US data made publicly available under initiatives of greater government openness and transparency . . . [and] has been involved in both the creation of freely available tools and websites that enable individuals and communities to access and engage with government information.
>
> (p. 165)

We are also starting to see some entrepreneurial activities, with news organizations developing computational tools themselves. Reuters has built, in house, a tool called "Tracer," which enables "journalists to spot and validate real news in real time on Twitter" (Reuters, n.d.), and the *Washington Post* is behind a suite of publishing tools, including Clavis, "a personalization engine powered by natural language processing" (Arc Publishing, n.d.), which it sells to other publishers. Although such developments are in line with Diakopoulos' (2017) call for the journalism industry to develop its own tools, the exclusive access Reuters has to its Tracer product and the cost of using the *Washington Post*'s suite of tools—between $10,000 and $150,000 a month (Ingram, 2017)—are not quite in the spirit of Diakopoulos' call for news organizations to be "cultivating communities around . . . open source tools."

More in the spirit of Diakopoulos' call was *The Guardian*'s use of crowdsourcing to search through a huge number of documents relating to MPs' expenses, which, according to Flew et al. (2012, p. 163), was achieved at a low cost. Andersen (2009) says that the necessary software took a developer one week to build and that an additional £50 was required to "rent temporary servers."

ALGORITHMIC TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Calls—for example, by Anderson (2011), Lewis and Westlund (2015), and Primo and Zago (2015)—for closer attention to be paid to the distinct role played by technological artifacts in computational journalism are also starting, slowly, to be addressed, as attempts are made to make the inner workings of algorithms more transparent. Nicholas Diakopoulos and Michael Koliska (2017) provide some examples of where this has happened, for example NYTimes.com blogging about how its personalized news recommendation engine works and the open-sourcing of data and code used to build some of the data-driven articles (p. 810) published by BuzzFeed. Thurman et al. (2016) have shown how one tool, built to help journalists identify trending news stories in social media, relies mostly on metropolitan men in the mainstream media as inputs and prioritizes stories about people, places, and organizations that have been subject to short-term spikes of interest on social media. Although such characteristics are open to criticism, Thurman et al. (2016) emphasize how algorithms often mirror established practices and stress the importance of changes outside code, for example to the "demography of the journalism profession." Other research has described attempts to build transparent news filtering/recommender algorithms that focus on journalistic value (Song, Oh, & Jung, 2018).

Such examples are, however, relatively few and far between. Part of the reason, suggest Diakopoulos and Koliska (2017), is "a lack of business incentives for disclosure" and "the concern of overwhelming end-users with too much information" (p. 822). This latter concern may have some empirical basis. In a pilot study, Graefe et al. (2017) found that increased transparency about the authorship of an "automated" news story was correlated with lower levels of audience appreciation for the story's credibility. In spite of such possible obstacles to transparency, Diakopoulos and Koliska (2017) have outlined a transparency framework for computational journalism algorithms that covers the data they use, how the data are modeled and inferences made, as well as how "any transparency information revealed about an algorithm" could "ultimately take some 'tangible or visual' form in order to be presented to the end-user."

While Diakopoulos and Koliska's (2017) transparency framework was developed with the algorithms used in computational journalism in mind, it could equally apply to algorithms used in any context. Indeed, Diakopoulos (2015) has suggested this should happen and, in doing so, proposed extending the scope of computational journalism to include the journalistic investigation of algorithms, foregrounding the "journalism" in "computational journalism" "by making computation its *object*" (p. 399). This "algorithmic accountability reporting" would, he suggested, seek to "articulate the . . . biases, and influences" (p. 399) embedded in computational artifacts that play a role in society. Diakopoulos proposed that algorithmic power could be analyzed by looking at the decisions algorithms make, including how they prioritize, classify, associate, and filter information. In order to facilitate such analysis, the creators of algorithms could disclose information about how they work, although he acknowledged that the business and security interests of commercial and governmental organizations might prevent this from happening. When this is the case, Diakopoulos suggested that a "different, more adversarial approach" could be employed, involving "reverse engineering" (p. 403). He provided an analysis of the "opportunities and limitations of a reverse engineering approach to investigating algorithms" (p. 404) through interviews with journalists who had done just that, concluding that reverse engineering can "elucidate significant aspects of algorithms such as censorship" (p. 412).

CONCLUSION

The practice of computational journalism—the advanced application of computing, algorithms, and automation to the gathering, evaluation, composition, presentation, and distribution of news—is not new. Since as far back as the 1960s, reporters have been employing computers to interpret information as part of their investigative journalism. The use of computers' processing capabilities to automate the presentation of news goes back decades too, with news personalization deployed by commercial providers since at least the 1980s (Thurman, 2019). Between the interpretation of information and its presentation as news, there is, of course, a compositional process, where news items are written and edited. Although some of the early literature on computational journalism (Hamilton & Turner, 2009) played down the potential of computing in this phase of the news production cycle, so-called automated journalism is now firmly established. Computational news gathering—at least at scale—also took a while to take off but has now done so, driven by the increasing volumes of digital data, including on social media platforms, that contain potentially newsworthy nuggets.

Although such practices have been growing in prevalence for decades, it was not until the mid-noughties that they began to be discussed under a single, collective term. The focus of such discussions in the early computational journalism literature was on the use of computing to explore and interpret data, with a strong stress given to journalism's "watchdog," "accountability," and "monitorial" functions. The computer-assisted reporting backgrounds of some of those early writers, and their location within normatively oriented US journalism schools, offers some explanation, perhaps, for this early emphasis. There was also, initially, optimism about the potential for computational journalism, perhaps attributable to the attention the literature paid to making and doing.

As the field has developed, its literature has more fully reflected the variety of computational journalism practices and become more realistic about its potential to, for example, "level the playing field between powerful interests and the public" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 71). The information exploration and interpretation applications emphasized in the literature early on remain an important avenue for research and practice. Work on—and about—tools to help journalists explore, extract, and visualize information continues, but there has been a growing emphasis on verification (see, e.g., Fletcher, Schifferes, & Thurman, 2017), a result of the increasing volume of misleading and manipulated information in circulation, both from social media users and official sources.

Alongside its ongoing interest in information discovery, the computational journalism literature has expanded to reflect the increased use of computation and automation in the composition of news. This strand of research focused, initially, on traditionally formatted, static, written news texts, but is now starting to encompass automated, interactive news chatbots (see, e.g., Jones & Jones, 2018b, and Ford & Hutchinson, 2018) and the automation of short-form news video (Thurman, Schulte-Uentrop, Rogge, & Krueger, 2018). It is also starting to reflect the use of automated journalism among news organizations at the local level (see, e.g., Alabaster, Silcock, & Chadha, 2018) and the use of sensors embedded in the real world as a source of data driving the composition and distribution of automated news items. Examples of this "sensor-journalism" or "sensor-telling" have covered topics such as pollution and animal welfare (Vicari & Weiss, 2018).

The use of computation in personalized news distribution—and the academic and popular discourse around it—has a substantially longer history than sensor journalism. Whereas some of the pioneering authors on the topic took a normative approach, contemporary writings are more evidential: exploring whether and why news consumers think automated personalization is a better way to get news than selection by journalists and editors (Thurman, Moeller, Helberger, & Trilling, 2018); questioning received wisdom on the existence of filter bubbles (see, e.g., Zuiderveen Borgesius et al., 2016); and even asking whether recommendation engines might promote, rather than limit, diverse news exposure (Helberger, Karppinen, & D'Acunto, 2018).

At the same time as embracing a wider range of practices, the computational journalism literature has also become more sophisticated in its methods and more realistic—critical even—about computation's effects on the practice of journalism, its content, and reception. Hopes that computational news discovery would make it harder for those in society who are doing harm to hide have been tempered by a realization that the very tools being built to enable such discovery may be unaffordable to some publishers, surveil citizens in a "stalker-esque" fashion (Thurman, 2018), push a populist news agenda (ibid.), and have—or at least reflect existing—biases in their sourcing practices and determinations of newsworthiness (Thurman et al., 2016).

There are criticisms too of computational news composition, including about the one-dimensional nature of the quantitative feeds that much of it relies on (Thurman et al., 2017), the dumbed-down nature of some of its output (Ford & Hutchinson, 2018), the effects of the almost unlimited volumes of news and information it can propel into the public sphere, and the consequences—economic and ethical—of journalistic expertise being embodied in software platforms that are available to anybody, whatever their motivation or institutional affiliation—or lack of.

Such criticisms are, however, often constructively made, accompanied by concrete suggestions about how, for example, to make computational journalism's algorithms more transparent and accountable. The emerging computational journalism literature also reminds us that the consequences of computation for journalism may be less dramatic, and unfold more slowly, than some have predicted (see, e.g., Linden, Sirén-Heikel, Haapanen, & Moring, 2018; Schapals, 2018; Ferrer-Conill & Clerwall, 2018; Milosavljević & Vobič, 2018; Stray, 2018) and that it is merely the most recent manifestation of a longer history of "quantitative journalism" (Anderson, 2015).

Computational journalism was a latecomer to the journalism studies table, relatively inscrutable, even to itself. Developing initially with a relatively narrow and somewhat practice-oriented bent, it has begun to mature, recognizing the full spectrum of its interests and some of its own limitations. Whether, in the future, it will hold together or fragment remains to be seen. Some believe the literature to be "utilitarian, analytical, and theoretical . . . primarily sociological rather than technical" and have called for a complementary approach based on first principles (Anderson & Caswell, 2019). If such an approach takes hold, we can expect to see more literature in the mold of Jones and Jones' (2018a) and Caswell's (2018) that, as Anderson and Caswell (2019) suggest, participates in computational journalism on its own terms and advances it as a technological practice.

REFERENCES

Alabaster, J., Silcock, W. B., & Chadha, M. (2018, May). *Local at scale: Examining the automation of hyperlocal news*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Andersen, M. (2009, June 23). Four crowdsourcing lessons from the *Guardian*'s (spectacular) expenses-scandal experiment. *Nieman Lab*. Retrieved from www.niemanlab.org/2009/06/four-crowdsourcing-lessons-from-the-guardians-spectacular-expenses-scandal-experiment/

Anderson, C. W. (2011). Notes towards an analysis of computational journalism. *HIIG Discussion Paper Series No. 2012–1*. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2009292

Anderson, C. W. (2015). Between the unique and the pattern: Historical tensions in our understanding of quantitative journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 349–363. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976407

Anderson, C. W., & Caswell, D. (2019). Computational journalism. In T. Vos & F. Hanusch (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of journalism studies*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Arc Publishing. (n.d.). *Arc products*. Retrieved from www.arcpublishing.com/products/

Bowen, E. (1986, July 7). Press: New paths to buried treasure: Computers are revolutionizing investigative journalism. *Time Magazine*.

Carlson, M. (2015). The robotic reporter: Automated journalism and the redefinition of labor, compositional forms, and journalistic authority. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 416–431.

Carlson, M. (2018). Automating judgment? Algorithmic judgment, news knowledge, and journalistic professionalism. *New Media & Society*, *20*(5), 1755–1772.

Caswell, D. (2018, May). *Structured journalism and the semantic units of news*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Claussen, D. S. (2009). How one would really "blow up" a j-school curriculum. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *64*(2), 133–136.

Clerwall, C. (2014). Enter the robot journalist: Users' perceptions of automated content. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(5), 519–531.

Coddington, M. (2015). Clarifying journalism's quantitative turn: A typology for evaluating data journalism, computational journalism, and computer-assisted reporting. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 331–348. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976400

Cohen, N. S. (2015). From pink slips to pink slime: Transforming media labor in a digital age. *The Communication Review*, *18*(2), 98–122.

Cohen, S., Hamilton, J. T., & Turner, F. (2011). Computational journalism. *Communications of the ACM*, *54*(10), 66–71.

Danziger, M. (2008). *Information visualization for the people* (Master's thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Retrieved from http://cmsw.mit.edu/wp/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/146381107-Michael-Danziger-Information-Visualization-for-the-People.pdf

Dataminr. (n.d.). *News*. Retrieved from www.dataminr.com/news

Diakopoulos, N. (2007, January 13). *What Is Computational Journalism*? [Blog post] Retrieved from http://gt-cj.blogspot.com/

Diakopoulos, N. (2011). *A functional roadmap for innovation in computational journalism*. Retrieved from www.nickdiakopoulos.com/wp-content/uploads/2007/05/CJ_Whitepaper_Diakopoulos.pdf

Diakopoulos, N. (2015). Algorithmic accountability: Journalistic investigation of computational power structures. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 398–415. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976411

Diakopoulos, N. (2017). Computational journalism and the emergence of news platforms. In B. Franklin & S. Eldridge II (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies* (pp. 176–184). Abingdon: Routledge.

Diakopoulos, N., De Choudhury, M., & Naaman, M. (2012). Finding and assessing social media information sources in the context of journalism. *CHI'12 Proceedings of the SIGCHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems, Austin, Texas*, *USA*, 2451–2460.

Diakopoulos, N., & Koliska, M. (2017). Algorithmic transparency in the news media. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(7), 809–828. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1208053

Dickey, M. R. (2014, March 17). How an *LA Times* reporter got an algorithm to write articles for him. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from www.businessinsider.com/quakebot-robot-la-times-2014-3?IR=T

Dörr, K. (2015). Mapping the field of algorithmic journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(6), 700–722. doi:10.1080/21670811.2015.1096748

Dörr, K., & Hollnbuchner, K. (2017). Ethical challenges of algorithmic journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(4), 404–419.

Fanta, A. (2017). *Putting Europe's robots on the map: Automated journalism in news agencies*. Retrieved from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-09/Fanta%2C%20Putting%20Europe%E2%80%99s%20Robots%20on%20the%20Map.pdf

Ferrer-Conill, R., & Clerwall, C. (2018, May). *The journalistic conveyor belt: Intensities of automation and algorithmic micro-processes in Swedish newsrooms*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Fletcher, R., Schifferes, S., & Thurman, N. (2017). Building the "Truthmeter": Training algorithms to help journalists assess the credibility of social media sources. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 1–16. doi:10.1177/1354856517714955

Flew, T., Spurgeon, C., Daniel, A., & Swift, A. (2012). The promise of computational journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(2), 157–171.

Ford, H., & Hutchinson, J. (2018, May). *Bots and public service media: Democratic bedfellows or an unholy alliance?* Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Frayn, M. (1965). *The tin men*. London: William Collins Sons & Company Ltd.

Georgia Tech. (2013). *GVU brown bag seminar: Computational journalism*. Retrieved from www.gatech.edu/hg/item/182791

Google News. (n.d.). *How Google news stories are selected*. Retrieved from https://support.google.com/googlenews/answer/9005749?hl=en&ref_topic=7688382#

Graefe, A., Haim, M., & Diakopoulos, N. (2017, May). *Should news outlets let their readers know that they are reading automated content? Effects of algorithmic transparency on perceptions of automated news*. Poster presented at the 67th annual meeting of the international communication association, San Diego, CA, USA.

Graefe, A., Haim, M., Haarmann, B., & Brosius, H.-B. (2018). Readers' perception of computer-generated news: Credibility, expertise, and readability. *Journalism*, *19*(5), 595–610.

Gregory, J. (2017, July 6). Press association wins Google grant to run news service written by computers. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com

Haim, M., & Graefe, A. (2017). Automated news: Better than expected? *Digital Journalism*, *5*(8), 1044–1059.

Hamilton, J. T., & Turner, F. (2009). *Accountability through algorithm: Developing the field of computational journalism*. Retrieved from http://web.stanford.edu/~fturner/Hamilton%20Turner%20Acc%20by%20Alg%20Final.pdf

Hassan, N., Sultana, A., Wu, Y., Zhang, G., Li, C., Yang, J., & Yu, C. (2014). Data in, fact out: Automated monitoring of facts by FactWatcher. *Proceedings of the VLDB Endowment*, *7*(13), 1557–1560. doi:10.14778/2733004.2733029

Helberger, N., Karppinen, K., & D'Acunto, L. (2018). Exposure diversity as a design principle for recommender systems. *Information, Communication & Society*, *21*(2), 191–207. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2016.1271900

Ingram, M. (2017). How the *Washington Post* makes money from its competitors. *Fortune*. Retrieved from http://fortune.com/2017/03/13/washington-post-arc/

Jones, R., & Jones, B. (2018a, May). *Atomised news: Experimenting with structure in public service journalism*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Jones, R., & Jones, B. (2018b, May). *Public service chatbots: Automating conversation with BBC news*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Jung, J., Song, H., Kim, Y., Im, H., & Oh, S. (2017). Intrusion of software robots into journalism: The public's and journalists' perceptions of news written by algorithms and human journalists. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *71*(C), 291–298.

Karlsen, J., & Stavelin, E. (2014). Computational journalism in Norwegian newsrooms. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(1), 34–48.

Kim, D., & Kim, S. (2017). Newspaper companies' determinants in adopting robot journalism. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *117*(C), 184–195.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 19–37. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.927986

Lichterman, J. (2017). Want to bring automation to your newsroom? A new AP report details best practices. *Nieman Lab*. Retrieved from www.niemanlab.org/2017/04/want-to-bring-automation-to-your-newsroom-a-new-ap-report-details-best-practices/

Linden, C.-G. (2017). Decades of automation in the newsroom: Why are there still so many jobs in journalism? *Digital Journalism*, *5*(2), 123–140.

Linden, C.-G., Sirén-Heikel, S., Haapanen, L., & Moring, T. (2018, May). *So much data, so few stories: Journalistic usability of open data*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Marconi, F., & Siegman, A. (2017). The future of augmented journalism: A guide for newsrooms in the age of smart machines. *Associated Press*. Retrieved from https://insights.ap.org/uploads/images/ap_insights_the_future_of_augmented_journalism.pdf

Miller, J. H., & Page, S. E. (2007). *Complex adaptive systems: An introduction to computational models of social life*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Milosavljević, M., & Vobič, I. (2018, May). *Human-still-in-the-loop: Journalism between automation and professionalization*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Molina, M. (2012). Simulating data journalism to communicate hydrological information from sensor networks. In J. Pavón, N. D. Duque-Méndez, & R. Fuentes-Fernández (Eds.), *Advances in artificial intelligence—IBERAMIA 2012* (pp. 722–731). Heidelberg: Springer.

Montal, T., & Reich, Z. (2017). I, robot. You, journalist. Who is the author? *Digital Journalism*, *5*(7), 829–849. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1209083

Negroponte, N. (1995). *Being digital*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Ombelet, P.-J., Kuczerawy, A., & Valcke, P. (2016). Employing robot journalists: Legal implications, considerations and recommendations. *Proceedings of the 25th international conference companion on world wide web*. doi:10.1145/2872518.2890093

Parasie, S. (2015). Data-driven revelation? Epistemological tensions in investigative journalism in the age of "big data." *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 364–380. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976408

Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble*. London: Penguin Books.

Pavlik, J. V., & Bridges, F. (2013). The emergence of augmented reality (AR) as a storytelling medium in journalism. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *15*(1), 4–59. doi:10.1177/1522637912470819

Perer, A. (2008). *Integrating statistics and visualization to improve exploratory social network analysis* (Doctoral dissertation), University of Maryland, College Park. Retrieved from http://search.proquest.com/docview/304565254?pq-origsite=gscholar

Perer, A., & Wilson, C. (2007, December 21). The steroids social network. *Slate.com*. Retrieved from www.slate.com/articles/sports/sports_nut/2007/12/the_steroids_social_network.html

Primo, A., & Zago, G. (2015). Who and what do journalism? *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 38–52. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.927987

Pulimood, S. M., Shaw, D., & Lounsberry, E. (2011). Gumshoe: A model for undergraduate computational journalism education. *Proceedings of the 42nd ACM technical symposium on computer science education (SIGCSE '11)*, 529–534. doi:10.1145/1953163.1953314

Reuters. (n.d.). *Reuters News Tracer*. Retrieved from https://agency.reuters.com/en/insights/articles/articles-archive/reuters-news-tracer-filtering-through-the-noise-of-social-media.html

Schapals, A. K. (2018, May). *The challenges and opportunities of automated journalism: Illuminating the status quo in German newsrooms*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Schifferes, S., Newman, N., Thurman, N., Corney, D., Göker, A., & Martin, C. (2014). Identifying and verifying news through social media: Developing a user-centred tool for professional journalists. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(3), 406–418.

Schonfeld, E. (2010, November 12). Automated news comes to sports coverage via StatSheet. *Techcrunch*. Retrieved from https://techcrunch.com/2010/11/12/automated-news-sports-statsheet/

Schudson, M. (2005). Four approaches to the sociology of news. In J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (Eds.), *Mass media and society* (4th ed., pp. 172–197). London: Hodder Arnold.

SocialAction. (n.d.). *Social action: Integrating statistics and visualization for social network analysis*. Retrieved from www.cs.umd.edu/hcil/socialaction/

SocialSensor. (n.d.). *Introducing SocialSensor*. Retrieved from www.socialsensor.eu/

Song, H., Oh, S., & Jung, J. (2018, May). *Toward transparent news algorithms focusing on the journalistic values: A case study of Korea Press foundation's news trust project in South Korea*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Stray, J. (2018, May). *The state of the art of investigative AI*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Thurman, N. (2011). Making "The Daily Me": Technology, economics and habit in the mainstream assimilation of personalized news. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *12*(4), 395–415. doi:10.1177/1464884910388228

Thurman, N. (2018). Social media, surveillance, and news work: On the apps promising journalists a "crystal ball." *Digital Journalism*, *6*(1), 76–97.

Thurman, N. (2019). Personalization of news. In T. Vos & F. Hanusch (Eds.), *The international encyclopedia of journalism studies*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Thurman, N., Dörr, K., & Kunert, J. (2017). When reporters get hands-on with robo-writing: Professionals consider automated journalism's capabilities and consequences. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(10), 1240–1259.

Thurman, N., Moeller, J., Helberger, N., & Trilling, D. (2018). My friends, editors, algorithms, and I: Examining audience attitudes to news selection. *Digital Journalism*. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1493936

Thurman, N., Schifferes, S., Fletcher, R., Hunt, S., Schapals, A. K., & Newman, N. (2016). Giving computers a nose for news: Exploring the limits of story detection and verification. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(7), 838–848.

Thurman, N., Schulte-Uentrop, I., Rogge, C., & Krueger, K. (2018, May). *Automating short-form news videos: Perception studies with US consumers*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Van Dalen, A. (2012). The algorithms behind the headlines: How machine-written news redefines the core skills of human journalists. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(5–6), 648–658.

van der Kaa, H., & Krahmer, E. (2014). Journalist versus news consumer: The perceived credibility of machine written news. *Proceedings of the computation journalism conference*. New York. Retrieved from https://pure.uvt.nl/portal/files/4314960/c

Verne, J., & Verne, M. (1889, February). In the year 2889. *The Forum*. Retrieved from www.gutenberg.org/files/19362/19362-h/19362-h.htm

Vicari, J., & Weiss, B. (2018, May). *Sensor driven journalism: Combining reporting with the internet of things*. Paper presented at algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Waddell, T. F. (2018). A robot wrote this? How perceived machine authorship affects news credibility. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 236–255.

Washington Post Journalists to Join Sanford Faculty. (2009, Summer). *Focus*. Retrieved from http://news.sanford.duke.edu/sites/news.sanford.duke.edu/files/newsletters/focus06_09.pdf

Wu, E. B., Marcus, A., & Madden, S. (2013). Data in context: Aiding news consumers while taming dataspaces. *DBCrowd 2013: First VLDB workshop on databases and crowdsourcing* (pp. 47–50). Retrieved from http://dbweb.enst.fr/events/dbcrowd2013/proceedings.pdf

Young, M. L., & Hermida, A. (2015). From Mr. and Mrs. Outlier to central tendencies: Computational journalism and crime reporting at the *Los Angeles Times*. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 381–397. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.976409

Zheng, Y., Zhong, B., & Yang, F. (2018). When algorithms meet journalism: The user perception to automated news in a cross-cultural context. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *86*, 266–275.

Zoon, H., van Dongen, J., & Lino, J. A. (2018, May). *Designing for automated journalism in the Netherlands: First steps and no way back*. Paper presented at the algorithms, automation, and news conference, LMU Munich, Germany.

Zuiderveen Borgesius, F. J., Trilling, D., Möller, J., Bodó, B., de Vreese, C. H., & Helberger, N. (2016). Should we worry about filter bubbles? *Internet Policy Review*, *5*(1). doi:10.14763/2016.1.401

13

Journalism, Social Media, and Online Publics

David Domingo

INTRODUCTION

As was already the case with the internet and the World Wide Web in the 1990s, and other earlier communication technologies before (Mosco, 2005), the relationship between journalism and social media is full of contradictions, hopes, and frustrations. Journalism studies scholars have approached this object of research with a sense of urgency. They have highlighted the disruptive effects of "networked gatekeeping and networked framing" (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2016; see also Chapter 6), but often concluded that there was a process of "normalization" (Hermida, 2013, p. 300) of the use of the technology in the newsrooms, similar to the taming of the radical potential of other communication technologies in modern history (Winston, 2002). Empirical data, therefore, put into perspective the utopian and dystopian discourses of professionals and some academics about the opportunities and risks for journalists and news organizations when they engage with social media as spaces for news diffusion and commentary. Social media are still perceived as the last frontier for journalism, offering the promise of the biggest audience reach, the possibility to interact with the public in their own space, and ultimately the perfect public sphere where everyone can have a voice. At the same time, these digital public spheres are characterized by the toughest competition for attention and advertising revenue, the acceleration of the fragmentation of audiences, and, in some cases, the worst nightmare for democracy, the proliferation of rumors and hate speech that spread like wildfire. The tendency for technological determinism inherent in humans in general and the journalistic profession in particular (Domingo, 2008) generated a hype that attracted the attention of academic research and enshrined social media as the epitomic laboratory for the observation of the contemporary crises and evolutions of journalism.

In one of the first comprehensive reviews of social media research in journalism studies, Alfred Hermida pointed out that most research on the relationship between Twitter and journalism tended to use existing paradigms in the field as the analytical lens for making sense of the new space (2013, p. 296). Participatory journalism, "the idea that digital technologies enable the audience to get involved in making and disseminating the news" (Borger, Van Hoof, & Meijer, 2013, p. 117), has been the key underlying conceptualization for the study of social media (see Chapter 28 in this book). Borger and her colleagues' analysis of the wider research literature on participatory journalism found that researchers adopted four normative positions:

"(1) enthusiasm about new democratic opportunities; (2) disappointment with professional journalism's obduracy; (3) disappointment with journalism's economic motives to facilitate participatory journalism; (4) disappointment with news users' passivity" (Borger et al., 2013, p. 124). They concluded: "As a consequence of the dominant sociology of news discourse, the audience has become subordinate to journalists and to what journalists think they can do with audience participation" (2013, p. 130). The body of research dealing with the intersection between journalism and social media generally adheres to these approaches, mainly focusing on what journalists do with social media.

This chapter provides an overview of the state of the art: the main empirical results of over a decade of studies, the theoretical and methodological developments, and the open challenges for future research. The discussion is articulated around the three most common foci of researchers: social media as public spheres, the strategies of journalists and news organizations on these online services, and the evolving news use habits in this context.

THE ULTIMATE PUBLIC SPHERE?

The definition of what is commonly known as social media still holds to what Boyd and Ellison (2008) proposed for the early development of what they called "Social Network Sites":

> web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system.
>
> (2008, p. 211)

Their reluctance to use the term social media was intended to acknowledge the central function of services like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat, as they "enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks" (Boyd & Ellison, 2008, p. 211), often extending online relationships that already exist offline. The first online service resembling a social network site was traced back to 1997 by the authors, but it was after the creation of MySpace in 2003 and Facebook in 2005 that sharing part of their lives online quickly became part of the everyday experience of most internet users.

Social media, which has been the label of choice for most research in the Anglophone journalism studies literature, puts the emphasis on the content that is shared on these online services (Fuchs, 2014). Companies like YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter tend to refer to themselves as platforms, using the "versatility of the term and the powerful appeal of the idea behind it" to present themselves as an even playing field for ordinary users and media companies alike, relegating their role to "merely the neutral provision of content, . . . where liability should fall to the users themselves" (Gillespie, 2010, p. 358). The term platform

> suggests an element of openness and neutrality that captures aspects of how they enable action and transactions between different practices but rests awkwardly with their dominance and the fact that while they provide public services and constitute public spaces, they do so for private gain as for-profit companies.
>
> (Nielsen & Ganter, 2017, p. 4)

What the term tends to conceal is that social media "are more like traditional media than they care to admit," as they make strategic editorial decisions to increase user loyalty, maximize profitability, and avoid legal conflict, finding the balance "between safe and controversial, between socially and financially valuable, between niche and wide appeal" (Gillespie, 2010, p. 359). From this perspective, social media are as much editors as news organizations are, but their editorial decisions are hidden behind algorithms, the software that selects content from the social network site to be shown to each user based on criteria that remain company secrets. Researchers in critical software studies insist that "algorithms are not neutral, impartial expressions of knowledge, their work is not impassive and apolitical" (Kitchin, 2017, p. 18) because they reproduce the values inscribed in them by their creators. Programmers decide what algorithms consider relevant for inclusion, and therefore shape how publics are presented to themselves through the content filtered by such means (Gillespie, 2014). Ironically, it was the revelation by journalists that Facebook had human curators for its Trending Topics feature in the US version of the site that sparked a public outcry about a potential bias against conservative politicians, prompting a debate about the opacity of the editorial choices made by the company and its responsibilities as a publisher (Carlson, 2018).

Napoli (2015) contended that, from a media governance perspective, journalistic organizations and social media platforms show very different attitudes regarding the imperative of serving the public interest that both profess to share. Regardless of the economic configuration and political parallelism that news organizations may have, journalists commonly claim an ethical commitment to public service, and in many countries have a regulatory mandate to do so. By contrast, social network sites have formulations of public interest that focus on the content that should be prevented "rather than on activities or content flows that should be encouraged or required, with news and information largely neglected in these formulations" (Napoli, 2015, p. 757). The responsibility for the content is given to the individual users, evading the debate on the regulation of their algorithms in the name of transparency and public interest. So far, the analysis of the power and responsibilities of social network sites has not been at the core of research on social media and journalism. The fact that Twitter has been the empirical terrain of choice for most of the studies may explain this. Twitter's flow of content allows the users to choose exactly what they want to see, circumventing any of the standard algorithms proposed by the site to highlight popular tweets or those potentially relevant to each user. Twitter embodies the metaphor of the platform more convincingly than Facebook does. As an object of study, it tends to be transparent to researchers, who focus on the content rather than on the platform. In any case, researching how journalism happens on Twitter makes sense: the public nature of most of the interactions, in comparison with other social network sites, and the strategies of the company to foster life- and event-based discussions, makes journalism a natural fit for Twitter, and "sharing of news and information have emerged as dominant uses" (Hermida, 2010, p. 297; see also Bruns & Burgess, 2012). Another important aspect fostering research on Twitter has been the availability of simple tools to collect structured data from the "firehose" of content (Kümpel, Karnowski, & Keyling, 2015). While on Facebook systematic research requires users to explicitly allow the researcher to gather their usually semi-private data, Twitter hashtags (keywords marked with a # symbol) offer instant access to the thousands of messages related to a specific event.

NETWORKED NEWS PRODUCTION

Social media are an important research object for journalism not only because news content produced by professional media organizations is shared on them (by users who find it elsewhere on the internet and by news companies themselves directly on the platforms), but also because news emerges and may be shaped through interactions within social media (Napoli, 2015) amongst citizens, politicians, journalists, and other organized social actors. Social media are part of what Yochai Benkler and colleagues labeled the networked public sphere: "the range of practices, organizations, and technologies that have emerged from networked communication as an alternative arena for public discourse, political debate, and mobilization alongside, and in interaction with, traditional media" (Benkler et al., 2015, p. 596). In fact, it would be more pertinent to use the concept in the plural, as there may be as many networked public spheres as there are political debates, each of them with the participation of the stakeholders involved on the issue. Benkler et al.'s study on the debate about net neutrality in the US contributed an optimistic perspective on "the decentralization of the capacity to shape a public agenda and frame the debate, especially the dispersion of authority away from major media outlets and standard sources of attestation to a wider array of both individual and organizational actors" (2013, p. 612), despite the fact that the power law that tends to rule internet communications still holds on social media, as pointed out by Meraz and Papacharissi (2016): most of the attention stays focused on a few central actors. The work of these last two researchers pointed towards the need to acknowledge that "networked gatekeeping and framing make transparent, more contentious, and more iterative the process of news formation" (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013, p. 161). This does not necessarily alter the dominant position of professional news media, but it does allow other actors to gain a more prominent position in specific circumstances through the aggregated attention of users parsed by social media algorithms. The resulting "news stream" is collaboratively co-created by a plurality of voices (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2016, p. 99) and has a broad range of narrative styles: "Tweets blended emotion with opinion, and drama with fact, reflecting deeply subjective accounts and interpretations of events, as they unfolded" (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2012, p. 277).

Hermida proposed to conceptualize the generation of news in this environment as ambient journalism: "an awareness system that offers diverse means to collect, communicate, share and display news and information, serving diverse purposes" (Hermida, 2010, p. 301). He suggested the field of crisis informatics as a source of relevant empirical research on "how networked media systems enable citizens to participate in the selection, filtering and dissemination of information" (Hermida, 2013, p. 305) in moments of collective emergencies. A collective process of sense-making happens in real time in ways that are much more traceable than before the existence of social media, and it may shape professional journalistic coverage. "Journalists are one of the voices in a noisy information space outside of the formal constraints of traditional journalism, with no established editorial structures or processes" (2013, p. 306).

These theoretical approaches prompt the researcher to develop a sensitivity to the contingency of power in a hybrid media system that enables more plurality of voices than in traditional mass media channels (Chadwick, 2017). A focus on interactions in networked public spheres, looking beyond the newsrooms (Borger et al., 2013; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2016), may reveal emerging forms of news making, but also help explain how professional news media may retain their centrality in many circumstances. A multiplicity of actors (from PR professionals to activists) perform journalistic practices and adapt to the expectations of news media to gain access to the mainstream news coverage (Domingo & Le Cam, 2016). One way to conceive of the volatility of online news production in a social media environment is to trace the actors as they form a news network, a web of relationships that negotiate the shape of news in the process of making it (Domingo & Wiard, 2016). While the architecture of social media is the most explicit representation of the network metaphor, facilitating data collection, it should not be forgotten that actual social networks extend beyond social network sites to other forms of interaction online and offline that need also to be traced. Much of the empirical research on the collective co-creation of news has focused on cases where powerful social actors have lost control over the diffusion or the framing of information as other actors have risen by their use of social media in the context of, for example, the popular uprising in Egypt (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2012; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013); the polarized 2016 presidential election in the US (Faris et al., 2017; Chadwick, 2017); activist campaigns in the US (Benkler et al., 2015) and Finland (Sormanen & Dutton, 2015); and the coverage of terrorist attacks (Konow-lund & Olsson, 2017; Smyrnaios & Ratinaud, 2017). Together, such studies offer a nuanced perspective on the multifaceted implications of the growth of freedom of expression apparently enabled by social media: strengthening democratic debate in some cases; demanding professional news media to do their job better in others; and sometimes facilitating the proliferation of hate speech, online harassment, and misinformation.

STRATEGIES OF JOURNALISTS AND NEWS ORGANIZATIONS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

News organizations have a complicated relationship with "digital intermediaries" (Nielsen & Ganter, 2017, p. 1) that include the search engines and social media through which a significant proportion of internet users find their news, willingly or by incidental exposure (Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017). Social media are one of the places where people spend most time online, and that has been seen by media organizations as an opportunity to reach for their publics. But attitudes and strategies are ambivalent: many coexist and "reactively adapt to the ways in which the dominant digital intermediaries develop new products and services"; some confront them, staying away from social network sites; and some collaborate more intensely with the platforms to develop specific content (Nielsen & Ganter, 2017, p. 1). Many perceive the short-term opportunity of reaching a wider audience but worry about becoming too dependent on social media in the long-term. In a case study by Nielsen and Ganter, media executives and journalists were concerned that their news organization might "lose control over its editorial identity, access to user data, and central parts of its revenue model" (2017, p. 3). The relationship is asymmetric, because social media—by virtue of their size as companies and their position in the online environment—have the power to shape the content that is presented to each user, how it is presented, and what the public can do with it, aspects that were under the control of news organizations in communication channels such as print and broadcast. In this context, empirical research has mainly focused on social media as a source, a distribution channel, an interface with the public and a challenge for journalistic identity, blurring professional and private life.

SOCIAL MEDIA AS A SOURCE

Research on journalistic sources (see Chapter 11 in this book) has expanded to include social media, exploring how professionals deal with that seemingly chaotic stream of digital voices in preparing their news coverage. In diachronic studies covering the initial years of social media, the regular and increasing presence of explicit references to Twitter in British and Dutch print newspapers (Broersma & Graham, 2013) and to Facebook, Twitter, or YouTube in the case of Flemish ones (Paulussen & Harder, 2014) revealed that using social media as a source may diversify the traditional hierarchy of sources. Ordinary citizens were the most cited in Flemish newspapers and were ahead of politicians in British media, but there was a tendency for them to be used as an illustration rather than the trigger of the story. Showbiz and sports celebrities' accounts were also often referred to, and they tended to be quoted explicitly, maximizing the efficiency of their social media presence.

But it is during breaking news events that social media have gained most prominence as potential journalistic sources, and authors have approached the study of such cases from the perspective of verification. The coverage of unfolding terrorist attacks (Rauchfleisch, Artho, Metag, Post, & Schäfer, 2017) or long-lasting civil unrest (Hermida, Lewis, & Zamith, 2014) is facilitated by the snippets of information shared by users on the ground, allowing journalists to have access to the same flow of testimonials even from the safe distance of their newsrooms. The challenge is how to distinguish authentic images and data from rumors and outright fabrications. Hermida and his colleagues found that the coverage of the Arab Spring by Andy Carvin on Twitter relied mostly on non-elite sources, broadening the range of voices made available to other journalists through his verification work. Rauchfleisch et al. (2017) found that journalists after the Brussels bombings in 2016 often contacted Twitter users to get their permission to use images, but they did not double-check the veracity of the information and fell short of respecting common ethical principles such as the protection of the privacy of victims. Paradoxically, their focus on following the work of other journalists on social media reinforced the risk of disseminating inaccurate information, as what a journalist would share would quickly be adopted by others as verified. In the violent context of Northern Mexico, González de Bustamante and Relly (2014) described how journalists used social media to bypass the silence of authorities and criminal organizations alike and reach alternative sources, while at the same time feeling at risk of exposing themselves and their sources to digital surveillance.

In a rare ethnographic analysis of the adoption of Twitter by journalists covering the New York State capitol, Revers (2014) placed the use of social media as a source in the everyday context of reporters who had regular face-to-face meetings with officials. The study found that the use of Twitter was limited to contacting those sources or, more generally, to interacting with citizens. Journalists actually claimed to be vigilant in avoiding being carried away by politicians' use of Twitter. Politicians sought publicity by producing "news candy" that would tempt journalists to reproduce them (Revers, 2014, pp. 817–818). Hanusch and Nölleke (2018) demonstrated how around 3,000 Australian journalists tended to interact between themselves, rather than with other social actors on Twitter, following the pattern of homophily that is common for most social media users. In France, journalists observed online and interviewed by Jouët and Rieffel (2015) also had more contact with other professional journalists, but stressed that Twitter was a useful tool to quickly reach potential interviewees, avoiding official spokespersons. A comparative survey in seven countries by Gulyas (2013) found that Western European and North American journalists relied less on PR sources because of their use of social media.

SOCIAL MEDIA CONTENT PRODUCTION STRATEGIES

Studies on newsroom production practices associated with social media tend to have the individual journalist at the core of the research questions, and news organizations are seldom explored as a collective endeavor. The motivations for social media use expressed by journalists vary from the economic reasons, such as "branding, improving consumer loyalty, expanding audiences and advertising legacy news products," to the professional ones, including "acquiring information, shaping public debate, providing public service, engaging more closely with audiences" (Revers, 2014, p. 813). However, the analyses of the actual use of social media by journalists reveal that they initially saw them more as a diffusion channel, to give visibility to their work, rather than as a tool for dialogue. An influential study of the tweets of 430 US journalists (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012) characterized their use of the social network site as the "normalization" of a technological innovation, mostly using Twitter for existing journalistic practices of content publication, with minor presence of other activities enabled by the platform such as retweeting, replying, or linking to external sources. By contrast, an analysis of the Twitter habits of Dutch-speaking journalists, complemented with interviews, showed that they used it more for dialogue than to broadcast information (Brems, Temmerman, Graham, & Broersma, 2017), suggesting that uses may have evolved over time and that there may be significant diversity depending on the journalistic culture in different countries.

Other studies on journalists' adoption of Twitter have used surveys to understand their perceptions of the platform's affordances in relation to their work. Hedman (2015, p. 290) found that, despite the higher "audience orientation" of most active Twitter users in comparison to other Swedish journalists, they still adhere to core professional values in their adoption of the social network. In a follow-up study, Djerf-Pierre, Ghersetti, and Hedman (2016) observed that while use of social media increased between 2012 and 2014, journalists grew increasingly skeptical about the value of their social media presence for professional tasks, with "finding sources" dropping sharply and only the insistence of the newsroom management as a reason to use the platform. They interpreted this as "a domestication effect on social media usage as a whole, in the sense that the technology has been integrated into the everyday life of most journalists and adapted to their daily practices" (2016, p. 858), with the initial enthusiastic answers about the possibilities of the technology nuanced by experience.

If such longitudinal quantitative studies show a progressive homogenization in the profiles of social media users among journalists, qualitative approaches portray the diversity of approaches. For example, the ethnography of political journalists in the New York State capitol showed more intense use among those covering daily news in contrast with those doing in-depth reporting, linking Twitter mostly to the live coverage and commentary of political events as they unfold (Revers, 2014). In another study of political reporters (covering the parliament in Québec in this case), Chacon, Giasson, and Brin (2015) found a similar preponderance of live coverage, but they underlined the diversity of uses even within such a small group of journalists, suggesting that the adoption of Twitter remains in transition. Within another professional constituency, that of US foreign correspondents, Cozma and Chen (2013) concluded that these journalists focused more on discussing current events and promoting content produced by themselves and their media, rather than breaking news directly on Twitter. Brems and colleagues stressed that freelancers were more active in using Twitter for networking rather than sharing content, motivated by the "economic incentive" (2017, p. 450) of fostering the loyalty of their followers.

JOURNALISTIC IDENTITY ONLINE

The use of social media by journalists opens up questions about their professional identity and how they deal with the separation of private and public life. Analysis of tweets by journalists suggested that, while most of them did not share information about their personal life, those who had been users for longer tended to be more transparent, with women also being more open about private matters than men in the US and Sweden (Lasorsa, 2012; Hedman, 2016). Hedman (2016) distinguished between "skeptical tweeters," the majority in her sample, who use social media in strictly professional ways, and "enthusiastic tweeters," who "are considerably more active and do not distinguish private from professional or work-related tweeting" (Hedman, 2016, p. 11). Looking beyond Twitter, Hedman and Djerf-Pierre (2013) found that most Swedish journalists use social media for private communications every day, while less than half actually engage in professional activity on social networks in general.

Enthusiastic users of Twitter were also less attached to objectivity than were skeptical users in the case study by Revers (2014). Siapera and Iliadi (2015) noted that Greek freelance journalists perceived Twitter as a space where they needed to be authentic and caring to create a community of followers around them, in contradiction with the detached and objective values they attributed to the profession. Similarly, Lasorsa et al. (2012) found that journalists expressed their opinion in 43 percent of the tweets, thus deviating from the journalistic norm of neutrality, with a greater prevalence among journalists working for non-elite media. Brems et al. (2017) detected that opinion and debate were as prevalent as sharing news among Dutch-speaking journalists on Twitter. In contrast, among US correspondents, only 10 percent expressed personal opinions on their tweets (Cozma & Chen, 2013). Steensen considered that these trends were blurring lines between private and public and between reporting and opinion. This blurring has always existed in the history of the profession, but may have been exacerbated by social media: "The line between what is acceptable or not is fluid and difficult to predict, and j[ournalist]-tweeters have to make quick judgments on how emotionally engaged and polemic they can be without alienating themselves in the public's eye" (Steensen, 2016, p. 117). Steensen considered that the definition of the profession of journalism and its detachment from the public may evolve in the social media environment, but the strength of media brands could still be too important for the legitimacy of their work, and journalists may not completely embrace a merging of private and public personas.

After the initial exploratory phase, news organizations in many countries saw the presence of journalists on social media as a potential risk to the collective brand. Research exploring these tensions has addressed such a presence in relationship to newsroom policies. Guidelines sought to delineate a code of conduct, sometimes imposing drastic restrictions on the mix between personal and professional and even banning the expression of opinion on social media. Flemish journalists saw these policies as a limitation of their freedom and defended self-regulation as the best solution (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). In Australia, by contrast, journalists had more positive attitudes towards regulation and the leading role of social media managers in the newsroom helped them maximize the opportunities and navigate the risks of social media use (Sacco & Bossio, 2017). For Sacco and Bossio, making sense of how newsrooms deal with these tensions was a crucial reminder of the importance of "the interplay of editorial, business and technology aspects in news organizations" (p. 189).

INTERACTION WITH THE PUBLIC

Research on production practices and attitudes of journalists on social media has shown mixed results regarding the willingness of the professionals to engage with the public. As with earlier research on participatory journalism (Borger et al., 2013), studies have concluded that most journalists do not seem eager to interact, but the most enthusiastic users are also those more open to dialogue with the audience (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Djerf-Pierre et al., 2016; Brems et al., 2017; Sacco & Bossio, 2017). In her comparative study of the attitudes of journalists, Gulyas (2013) found that, despite the fact that journalists acknowledged that social media enabled them to be more in touch with their audiences, their engagement in replying to comments by the public on social media about their work varied greatly between the seven countries of the study. While two-thirds of journalists in the UK and the US had weekly interactions with members of the public, and Finland had the least engagement of all countries included in the study.

In any case, several authors argue that beyond dialogue with the public, and maybe instead of it, the presence of journalism in social media needs to be understood as the consolidation of a trend towards the quantification of the audience in online journalism (Anderson, 2011; Ferrer-Conill &

Tandoc, 2018). Website and social media usage metrics enable newsrooms to know precisely what visitors read, comment on, share, and like, allowing for the automation of editorial decisions about which content to show to each citizen. In an article calling for scholarly attention to the trend and opening the normative debate about its implications, Anderson summarized the philosophy of what he called algorithmic journalism: “The ultimate traceability of audience wants is determined through the algorithm . . . a stand-in for journalistic judgement, and it eviscerates the barriers between content production and consumer demand” (2011, p. 540). Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc (2018) explored the creation of audience-oriented editors with the task of making sense of audience data as one of the ways newsrooms were dealing with algorithmic audiences, effectively adding a human intermediary between the journalists and the data. Their conclusion was skeptical about the claim that metrics provide the ultimate knowledge about audiences: “In this sense, it is user activity and behavior that becomes a proxy for the voice of the audience. This is a limited understanding of the audience, let alone having a dialog with the audience” (2017, p. 13). Anderson (2011) already suggested that, despite the rhetorical claims that algorithmic journalism puts the audience at the center, it may actually disempower citizens, treating them as atomized consumers rather than a politically engaged public. Paradoxically, the more data newsrooms may have about news use, the weaker their image of the audience as a collective entity may be: “With social media, journalists and editors have lost the ability to control the context in which stories are consumed, interpreted and commented upon. The imagined audience, as journalists and editors previously were able to envision it, has collapsed” (Steensen, 2016, p. 122).

In this context, another way to understand the interaction of journalists with their online publics has to do with the collective co-creation of news narratives evoked above. Meraz and Papachirissi have conceptualized it as “networked gatekeeping,” defining it as the “process through which actors are crowdsourced to prominence through the use of conversational, social practices that symbiotically connect elite and crowd in the determination of information relevancy” (2013, p. 158; see Chapter 6 for a more thorough discussion). Similar concepts, such as “gatewatching” (Bruns, 2005) or “secondary gatekeeping” (Singer, 2014), put the emphasis on how the aggregated effect of the actions taken by social media users (liking, sharing, verification, recommendation) may complement the selection work made by journalists. Sometimes, especially in breaking news situations, it may end up overriding traditional news gatekeepers in deciding what is relevant and give more space to affective reactions (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2012; Konow-Lund & Olsson, 2017). This may lead to “networked framing . . . a process through which particular problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations attain prominence through crowdsourcing practices” (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013, p. 159). Harder, Sevenans, and Aelst (2017) tested the presence of intermedia agenda setting between social media, online news websites, and offline outlets (press and broadcasting). In the context of an electoral campaign in Flanders, their results suggested that newspapers still had significant weight in determining the agenda of the rest of the media, including Twitter, with original in-depth reporting. Twitter and online media tended to be the first to place breaking news in the public arena, quickly followed by the radio. Journalists and politicians were the most influential Twitter users in determining the agenda of mainstream media, reinforcing the usual “elite” perspective, rather than opening up agenda setting to other social actors.

NEWS USE HABITS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

The analysis of journalists’ use of Twitter has a counterbalance in research that explores the habits of news users in the context of social networking sites (see a more thorough discussion in Chapter 25). Twitter has again been the privileged empirical terrain for most of these studies, and users active in contributing and sharing content have attracted most of the research attention, with few studies on those who do not want or do not care to share (Kümpel et al., 2015). In their systematic literature review of research on news sharing on social media, Kümpel, and colleagues detected two main threads: one emphasizing the altruistic democratic impulse of those users who participate online to share information with other citizens, reflecting an approach similar to the ideal role of the journalist, and another demonstrating that sharing was mainly motivated by a self-serving aim of gaining status among their network of relationships: "[P]eople who share news in social media perceive themselves as opinion leaders. . . . They usually have a rich media diet and use multiple sources for information purposes" (2017, p. 5). The dominant theoretical framework for these studies is diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 2003), which privileges the exploration of success factors, rather than addressing the factors that may inhibit news sharing.

The Reuters Institute annual international survey of online news users (digitalnewsreport.org) provides a fertile longitudinal dataset with which to explore the evolution of social media habits related to journalism (see Nielsen & Schrøder, 2014, for a first overview). Kalogeropoulos, Negredo, Picone, and Nielsen (2017) found that those more likely to share news on social networks were the most politicized citizens, while those who declared consciously using social media to consume news were also more likely to engage in commenting on the news both on social networks and on news websites. "Digital media make it easier for the already motivated to engage more . . . the less motivated have equal access to the potential for participation, but in practice use it less" (2017, p. 9). While television and radio have always been an important platform for incidental exposure to news for citizens who do not consciously search for it, early research on social media use was premised on the intuition that algorithms may mean that people not interested in news would avoid it more easily with social network feeds tailored to their interests. At the same time, others argued that social media may foster access to a greater plurality of voices. (Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017) found that social media users were actually exposed to a greater variety of news content on social media and from a bigger diversity of sources, compared to nonsocial media users. YouTube and Twitter were more likely to provide news content than Facebook, and young people were particularly likely to incidentally stumble upon journalistic information.

One of the biggest concerns about algorithmic news consumption through social media has been the creation of "filter bubbles," where the selective exposure of users to news ends up producing an "echo chamber" of their own ideological positions, fostering political polarization. However, a review by Borgesius et al. (2016) suggested that there was little empirical evidence to support that worry. Based on the browsing history of 50,000 US internet users, Flaxman, Goel, and Rao (2016) provided data that pointed in the same direction as Fletcher and Nielsen (2017): social media increased the exposure to news reported with an editorial position antithetical to the users' own political views. These results relativized the importance of social media effects on news consumption, because "the vast majority of online news consumption mimicked traditional offline reading habits, with individuals directly visiting the home pages of their favorite, typically mainstream, news outlets" (Flaxman et al., 2016, p. 218). In this context, news incidentally found on social media tended to be more diverse than that explicitly sought out by the users. At the same time, the authors detected that news content consumed on social media was more politically polarized than that consumed on news websites, giving "evidence for both sides of the debate, while also finding that the magnitude of the effects is relatively modest" (2016, p. 318). Meanwhile, Bakshy, Messing, and Adamic found that "compared with algorithmic ranking, individuals' choices played a stronger role in limiting exposure to cross-cutting content" (2015, p. 1130).

METHODOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

The literature reviewed so far in this chapter showcases not only the multiple aspects analyzed, but also the diversity of methodological choices deployed to address the phenomenon of journalism and social media. The digital, structured nature of social media content has fostered the exploration of computer-assisted data gathering, privileging quantitative approaches. Kümpel et al. (2015) showed that quantitative approaches dominated in research of news usage on social media: 86 percent of the almost 500 articles they analyzed used quantitative methods, mainly content analysis (57 percent) of social media output and surveys (25 percent). The size of the samples varied enormously between the 15 percent of studies using qualitative or mixed methods (with half a dozen interviews in some cases) and the studies gathering "big data" with the help of computer software, with more than three billion messages from about 60 million Twitter users of one specific study (Kümpel et al., 2015, p. 3). In research focusing on journalistic identities and practices on social media, the balance between quantitative and qualitative approaches is more even, as the literature review in this chapter suggests.

In any case, journalism studies have embraced the "computational turn" (Berry, 2011) that characterizes the evolution of quantitative methodological approaches to the study of the internet, aided by the automated, algorithmic capturing and processing of social media data (Lewis, Zamith, & Hermida, 2013). Such approaches can provide "large-scale empirical evidence" of news production and reception processes, a more systemic perspective of the dynamics of journalism than any other methodology can contribute (Bruns, 2016). However, both Bruns (2016) and Larsson et al. warn against the temptation of thinking that the structured, digital nature of social media content and "the sheer volume of data available will enable researchers to analyze all instances of their object of study, and render all forms of sampling unnecessary" (2016, p. 500). Computer-assisted capturing, storage, and analysis of social media data can potentially deal with the whole universe of the study (a hashtag, the whole publication history of a journalist . . .), but this is not easily guaranteed for every researcher, as social media platforms have built-in technical and financial limitations in the access to the data streams, since this is one of their revenue sources. The commercial value of this information therefore becomes a burden for many research projects, which may find the prices for the most comprehensive access to data prohibitive (Larsson, Sjøvaag, Karlsson, Stavelin, & Moe, 2016). Developing software and programming scripts to capture content from the social media flows as it is published is a useful alternative that requires computational skills and, most importantly, careful planning and a clear research strategy to make sure that at any given moment the appropriate sample is captured. Bruns calls for "an open and honest discussion about the opportunities and limitations for Journalism Studies that are inherent in such new datasets and methods" (2016, p. 524).

Digital traces of activities (content produced, interactions) have the advantage of granting researchers direct and systematic access to what social actors do online, but "interpreting and making sense of these loads of data can be very challenging" (Latzko-Toth, Bonneau, & Millette, 2017, p. 200), as the context may not be always evident for an external observer. Latzko-Toth et al. (2017) propose that it can often be analytically more fruitful to actually reduce the breadth of data, the number of points that are going to be analyzed, and enhance their depth, "thickening" them using qualitative methods to gather and interpret rich information about the activity being observed, its context, and its meaning to the actors involved. This "thickening" strategy, inspired by the work of Geertz (1973) and the tradition of virtual ethnography (Hine, 2015), can include methodological strategies such as interviews with actors about their online traces, manual collection of social media data, and long-term observation of (and eventually participation in) the online interactions of the subjects of the study. Each of these options may be combined with computational processes to capture the data, but regardless of the methodological approach, Latzko-Toth et al. insist that researchers should always acknowledge that "data are not just sitting there waiting to be gathered and consumed by [them]" (Latzko-Toth et al. 2017, p. 203). Data are constructed by the methodology applied in every case, which will shape the results that can be obtained.

CONCLUSIONS

In an essay written for the opening issue of *Social Media + Society*, the open-access journal specializing in this consolidating object of study, Anderson (2015) pleaded for more systematic theorization efforts in journalism studies. He invited researchers to "look up" from empirical data to link them to existing and emerging theoretical explanations of how media work,

> bracketing, at least temporarily, our standard assumptions that the hoary old standbys of "professional journalistic culture," "bureaucratic social control of the newsroom," "framing," "agenda-setting," and so on, are the ultimate points of reference that our research should engage in the last instance.
>
> (2015, p. 1)

Rather than "dismissing" these theories, he suggested "approach[ing] them from a radically different angle" that is sensitive to the evolution of technological affordances and socio-cultural habits (2015, p. 2). To do this, Anderson insisted that adding historical perspective to research is a necessity, setting micro-observations within the wider context of political and economic trends, to avoid assuming that technology is "the single driving factor in pushing newsrooms forward across history" (2015, p. 2).

Such a call for research that moves beyond descriptions of the phenomena, that builds more explanatory approaches, to make sense of why the intersection of journalism and social media is taking the shapes that are emerging, resonates with the conclusions of literature reviews undertaken by Hermida (2013) and Kümpel et al. (2015). The tendency to revisit existing theories of journalism studies is also linked to a focus on professional journalism as the main object of study in social media analysis. A strategic move parallel to innovative theorization would set professional journalists within the wider context of collective news production (Hermida, 2013; Meraz & Papacharissi, 2016) or, more radically, explore the "motives, expectations and conditions" (Borger et al., 2013, p. 130) for participation of the citizens who engage with journalism through social media.

These research challenges have a potential ally in methodological innovation. The computerized analysis of large sets of data from social media activity, popularly known as "big data," offers opportunities for journalism studies, but Bruns considered that in order for it to move beyond "simplistic measures of volume and size" there is a need for "substantial further methodological and conceptual development [and] a frank and open debate about the limits of such approaches" (2016, p. 524). Bruns suggested that a combination with qualitative methods will enhance the explanatory power of quantitative approaches. Larsson et al. also argued that "the human element of critical assessment and contextual sensibility will remain necessary" (2016, p. 506) and similarly agreed with Lewis et al. (2013) in underlining the value of hybrid approaches to make the most of "the precision of algorithms and the context-sensitive evaluations of human coders" (2013, p. 49). Latzko-Toth et al. (2017) proposed that social media research can benefit from the "thickness" of "small data" through interviews, selective manual data collection, and long-term online observation. At the center of the challenge, scholars will have to deal with the "liquid," fluid nature of online data (Larsson et al., 2016) and the black-boxed nature of algorithms (Kitchin, 2017). Critically acknowledging the socially constructed nature of algorithms, exploring their agency in interaction with human and other technical actors, gaining access to their formulation through ethnography or interviews or even reverse-engineering the code—the options are multiple, but a combination of theoretical and methodological strategies is unavoidable for a nuanced assessment of the socio-technical actors at the center of the relationship between journalism and social media (Kitchin, 2017).

REFERENCES

Anderson, C. W. (2011). Deliberative, agonistic, and algorithmic audiences: Journalism's vision of its public in an age of audience transparency. *International Journal of Communication*, *5*, 529–547.

Anderson, C. W. (2015). Up and out: Journalism, social media, and historical sensibility. *Social Media + Society*, *1*(1), 1–2.

Bakshy, E., Messing, S., & Adamic, L. A. (2015). Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook. *Science*, *348*(6239), 1130–1133.

Benkler, Y., Roberts, H., Faris, R., Solow-niederman, A., Benkler, Y., Roberts, H. A. L., & Faris, R. (2015). Social mobilization and the networked public sphere: Mapping the SOPA-PIPA debate. *Political Communication*, *32*(4), 594–624.

Berry, D. (2011). The computational turn: Thinking about the digital humanities. *Culture Machine*, *12*, 1–22. Retrieved from www.culturemachine.net/index.php/cm/article/view/440/470

Borger, M., Van Hoof, A., & Meijer, I. C. (2013). Constructing participatory journalism as a scholarly object. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(1), 37–41.

Borgesius, F. J. Z., Trilling, D., Möller, J., Bodó, B., de Vreese, C. H., & Helberger, N. (2016). Should we worry about filter bubbles? *Internet Policy Review*, *5*(1), 1–16.

Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2008). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *13*, 210–230.

Brems, C., Temmerman, M., Graham, T., & Broersma, M. (2017). Personal branding on Twitter how employed and freelance journalists stage themselves on social media. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(4), 443–459.

Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2013). How Dutch and British newspapers used tweets in their news coverage, 2007–2011. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(4), 446–464.

Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Bruns, A. (2016). Big data analysis. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida, (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 509–527). London: Sage Publications.

Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2012). Researching news discussion on Twitter: New methodologies. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(5–6), 801–814.

Bustamante, C. G., De, Relly, J. E., & Gonza, C. (2014). Journalism in times of violence Social media use by US and Mexican journalists working in northern Mexico. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(4), 507–523.

Carlson, M. (2018). Facebook in the News: Social media, journalism, and public responsibility following the 2016 Trending Topics controversy. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(1), 4–20.

Chacon, G., Giasson, T., & Brin, C. (2015). Le journalisme politique en 140 caractères. *Sur Le Journalisme*, *4*(1), 34–49.

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cozma, R., & Chen, K. (2013). What's in a tweet? Foreign correspondents ' use of social media. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(1), 33–46.

Djerf-Pierre, M., Ghersetti, M., & Hedman, U. (2016). Appropriating social media the changing uses of social media among journalists across time. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(7), 849–860.

Domingo, D. (2008). Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: Dealing with an uncomfortable myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *13*(3), 680–704.

Domingo, D. & Le Cam, F. (2016). Journalistic role performance beyond professional news media. In Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., & Donsbach, W. (Eds.), *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, contexts and methods* (pp. 155–170). London: Routledge.

Domingo, D., & Wiard, V. (2016). News networks. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 397–409). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Faris, R., Roberts, H., Etling, B., Bourassa, N., Zuckerman, E., & Benkler, Y. (2017). Partisanship, propaganda, and disinformation: Online media and the 2016 US presidential election. *Berkman Klein Center Research Publication* (6).

Ferrer-Conill, R., & Tandoc, E. C. (2018). The audience-oriented editor: Making sense of the audience in the newsroom. *Digital Journalism*, 1–18.

Flaxman, S., Goel, S., & Rao, J. M. (2016). Filter bubbles, echo chambers and online news consumption. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *80*, 298–320.

Fletcher, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Are people incidentally exposed to news on social media? A comparative analysis. *New Media & Society*, 1–19.

Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social media: A critical introduction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Gillespie, T. (2010). The politics of "platforms." *New Media & Society*, *12*(3), 347–364.

Gillespie, T. (2014). The relevance of algorithms. In T. Gillespie, P. Boczkowski, & K. Foot (Eds.), *Media technologies*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gulyas, A. (2013). The influence of professional variables on journalists' uses and views of social media. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(2), 270–285.

Hanusch, F., & Nölleke, D. (2018). Journalistic homophily on social media: Exploring journalists' interactions with each other on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 1–23.

Harder, R. A., Sevenans, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2017). Intermedia agenda setting in the social media age: How traditional players dominate the news agenda in election times. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *22*(3), 275–293.

Hedman, U. (2015). J-Tweeters: Pointing towards a new set of professional practices and norms in journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(2), 279–297.

Hedman, U. (2016). When journalists tweet: Disclosure, participatory, and personal transparency. *Social Media+ Society*, *2*(1), 1–13.

Hedman, U., & Djerf-Pierre, M. (2013). The social journalist: Embracing the social media life or creating a new digital divide? *Digital Journalism*, *1*(3), 368–385.

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the news: The emergence of ambient journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(3), 37–41.

Hermida, A. (2013). #Journalism: Reconfiguring journalism research about Twitter, one tweet at a time. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(3), 295–313.

Hermida, A., Lewis, S. C., & Zamith, R. (2014). Sourcing the Arab Spring : A case study of Andy Carvin ' s sources on Twitter during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *19*, 479–499.

Hine, C. (2015). *Ethnography for the internet: Embedded, embodied and everyday*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Jouët, J., & Rieffel, R. (2015). La sociabilité des journalistes sur Twitter. *Sur Le Journalisme*, *4*(1), 18–33.

Kalogeropoulos, A., Negredo, S., Picone, I., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Who shares and comments on news? A cross-national comparative analysis of online and social media participation. *Social Media + Society*, 1–12.

Kitchin, R. (2017). Thinking critically about and researching algorithms. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(1), 14–29.

Konow-lund, M., & Olsson, E. (2017). Social media's challenge to journalistic norms and values during a terror attack. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(9), 1192–1204.

Kümpel, A. S., Karnowski, V., & Keyling, T. (2015). News Sharing in social media: A review of current research on news sharing users, content, and networks why study news sharing in social. *Social Media + Society*, 1–14.

Larsson, A. O., Sjøvaag, H., Karlsson, M., Stavelin, E., & Moe, H. (2016). Sampling liquid journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 494–508). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Lasorsa, D. L. (2012). Transparency and other journalistic norms on Twitter. The role of gender. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(3), 402–417.
Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., Normalizing, A. E. H., . . . Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging communication space. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(1), 19–36.
Latzko-Toth, G., Bonneau, C., & Millette, M. (2017). Small data, thick data: Thickening strategies for trace-based social media research. In *The Sage handbook of social media research methods* (pp. 199–214). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Lewis, S. C., Zamith, R., & Hermida, A. (2013). Content analysis in an era of big data: A hybrid approach to computational and manual methods. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *57*(1), 34–52.
Meraz, S., & Papacharissi, Z. (2013). Networked gatekeeping and networked framing on #Egypt. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *18*(2), 138–166.
Meraz, S., & Papacharissi, Z. (2016). Networked framing and gatekeeping. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 95–112). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Mosco, V. (2005). *The digital sublime: Myth, power, and cyberspace*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Napoli, P. M. (2015). Social media and the public interest: Governance of news platforms in the realm of individual and algorithmic gatekeepers. *Telecommunications Policy*, *39*(9), 751–760.
Nielsen, R. K., & Ganter, S. A. (2017). Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms. *New Media & Society*, 1–18.
Nielsen, R. K., & Schrøder, K. C. (2014). The relative importance of social media for accessing, finding, and engaging with news: An eight-country cross-media comparison. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(4), 472–489.
Opgenhaffen, M., & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social media guidelines for journalists: An investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(6), 726–741.
Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. D. F. (2012). Affective news and networked publics : The rhythms of news storytelling on #Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, *62*, 266–282.
Paulussen, S., & Harder, R. A. (2014). Social media references in Newspapers Facebook, Twitter and YouTube as sources in newspaper journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(5), 542–551.
Rauchfleisch, A., Artho, X., Metag, J., Post, S., & Schäfer, M. S. (2017). How journalists verify user-generated content during terrorist crises. Analyzing Twitter communication during the Brussels attacks. *Social Media + Society*, 1–13.
Revers, M. (2014). The Twitterization of news making: Transparency and journalistic professionalism. *Journal of Communication*, *64*, 806–826.
Rogers, E. M. (2003). *Diffusion of innovations*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2017). Don't tweet this ! How journalists and media organizations negotiate tensions emerging from the implementation of social media policy in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(2), 177–193.
Siapera, E., & Iliadi, I. (2015). Twitter, journalism and affective labour. *Sur le journalisme, About journalism, Sobre jornalismo*, *4*(1), 76–89.
Singer, J. B. (2014). User-generated visibility: Secondary gatekeeping in a shared media space. *New Media & Society*, *16*(1), 55–73.
Smyrnaios, N., & Ratinaud, P. (2017). The Charlie Hebdo attacks on Twitter: A comparative analysis of a political controversy in English and French. *Social Media+ Society*, *3*(1), 1–13.
Sormanen, N., & Dutton, W. H. (2015). The role of social media in societal change: Cases in Finland of Fifth Estate activity on Facebook. *Social Media+ Society*, *1*(2), 1–16.
Steensen, S. (2016). The intimization of journalism. In Witschge, T., Anderson, C. W., Domingo, D., Hermida, A. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 113–127). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Winston, B. (2002). *Media, technology and society—A history: From the telegraph to the Internet*. London: Routledge.

Part III

NEWS CONTENT

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

14

News Values and News Selection

Deirdre O'Neill and Tony Harcup

News has been defined as "the fresh, unpublished, unusual and generally interesting," with the most important news stories being about something that has actually happened and the least important concerned with something that has merely been *said* (Randall, 2016, pp. 32–40). Up to a point, perhaps. But for Angela Phillips (2015, p. 5), at least, "there is no objective matter that can be described as 'news.'" This suspicion that there might be more to the identification, selection, and presentation of news stories than meets the eye has resulted in the publication of a library's worth of scholarly studies over the past six decades and more. This chapter will consider some of the key thinkers and approaches to be found within this literature on what have become known as news values, before concluding with an assessment of what we think we know about news selection today and some thoughts on that which we might seek to discover tomorrow.

Common sense explanations of what news might be frequently place an emphasis on the "new" element of the word "news," often accompanied with the notion that news is unpredictable. But common sense always needs to be questioned (Harcup, 2014), and the reality of much news reporting is that it is neither particularly new nor totally unexpected (Phillips, 2015; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). Indeed, the production of news has been described by scholars of communication as "the passive exercise of routine and highly regulated procedures in the task of selecting from already limited supplies of information" (Golding & Elliott, 1979, p. 114). Yet news values remain worthy of study because they are said to be journalists' "shared operational understanding" that informs "the mediated world that is presented to news audiences" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, p. 1470).

NEWS JUDGEMENTS IN PRACTICE

Journalists sometimes claim to have a "gut feeling" that informs their judgements of news (Randall, 2016; Schultz, 2007). Harold Evans (2000) says they acquire their grasp of news values from what he calls the College of Osmosis; that is, journalists both consume news and inhabit news organizations "long enough to absorb the essentials." However, new recruits to journalism may be surprised on their arrival in a newsroom to witness few if any lengthy debates about the relative merits of news stories, notes David Randall (2016, p. 33), another experienced practitioner:

> Instead they see a lot of news judgements being made swiftly and surely and seemingly based on nothing more scientific than gut feeling. The process is, however, a lot more measured than that.

> It just appears to be instinctive because a lot of the calculations that go into deciding a story's strength have been learnt to the point where they are made very rapidly—sometimes too rapidly.

Exhaustive newsroom discussions about news values may be rare but that does not mean that journalists are unable to understand or articulate their reasons for selecting one story over another, observe Peter Golding and Philip Elliott (1979, p. 114):

> Indeed, they [news values] pepper the daily exchanges between journalists in collaborative production procedures. . . . [T]hey are terse shorthand references to shared understandings about the nature and purpose of news which can be used to ease the rapid and difficult manufacture of bulletins and news programmes.

Echoing this point, news values have been described as providing "a shared shorthand operational understanding of what working journalists are required to produce to deadline" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, p. 1470). There is not even always the luxury of a deadline these days, of course, as the delivery of instant news via digital and social media has resulted in news judgements being speeded up even more than they were already, compromising accuracy, verifiability, and depth (Conboy, 2011).

News, according to Jackie Harrison (2006, p. 13), is whatever is "judged to be newsworthy by journalists, who exercise their news sense within the constraints of the news organizations within which they operate." This judging process is guided by an understanding of the news values—that are "passed down to new generations of journalists through a process of training and socialisation" (Harrison, 2006, p. 153). Such news values operate in practice, as Jerry Palmer (2000, p. 45) notes, as "a system of criteria which are used to make decisions about the inclusion and exclusion of material" and about which aspects of selected stories to emphasize. In this sense, they "transcend individual judgements, although of course they are to be found embodied in every news judgement made by particular journalists."

The key consideration when selecting a story is usually very simple, argues former Fleet Street editor Alastair Hetherington (1985). It boils down to the question: "Does it interest me?" For Evans, meanwhile, "news is people" (as cited in Watson & Hill, 2003, p. 198). Not, however, all of the people all of the time, but people *doing* things (Harcup, 2015). While *Times* journalist Mark Henderson (2003) believes that news is "the unexpected and dramatic, not the run-of-the-mill," in contrast Phillips (2015, p. 10) points out that news is more likely to be "planned and routine," that is, predictable. For David Randall (2016, p. 33), news reporting should not be equated to a scientific process because news selection is subjective; indeed, subjectivity "pervades the whole process of journalism."

NEWS VALUES IN THEORY

News values may be a slippery concept, but that has not prevented successive scholars attempting to pin them down via a succession of theoretical and taxonomical studies (such as those discussed later in this chapter). However, while the identification of sets of news values may be "predictive of a pattern" of which events will make the news and which will not, they cannot provide a complete explanation of all the irregularities of news composition (McQuail, 2000, p. 343). "No theory of news values can explain everything" in part because "arbitrary factors including luck, convenience and serendipity can come into play," as well as structural, cultural, and political-economic factors (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, p. 1472). And, as has often been pointed out by scholars, it may be that "the identification of news values in stories offers insights into the *how* of the reporting rather than the *why*" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 44; our emphasis; also see Hartley, 1982; Palmer, 2000).

Yet, despite offering only an incomplete explanation of the processes at work in news journalism, the study of news values is regarded as an important area of exploration within journalism studies scholarship because it is a way of making more transparent a set of practices and judgements which are otherwise shrouded in opacity, as Stuart Hall (1973, p. 181) argues:

> Journalists speak of 'the news' as if events select themselves. . . . We appear to be dealing, then, with a 'deep structure' whose function as a selective device is un-transparent even to those who professionally most know how to operate it.

In their classic study of news values—discussed in detail below—Galtung and Ruge (1965) argued that the more clearly an event could be understood and interpreted unambiguously, without multiple potential meanings, the more likely it was to be selected as a news story. But it is not necessarily the event itself that is unambiguous, and a subsequent study of the UK press found "many news stories that were written unambiguously about events and issues that were likely to have been highly ambiguous" (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, p. 270). According to Nkosi Ndlela, by selecting and shaping news, media represent the world rather than reflect it, leading to stereotyped frames: "Media representations reduce, shrink, condense and select/repeat aspects of intricate social relations in order to represent them as fixed, natural, obvious and ready to consume" (Ndlela, 2005, p. 3). For James Curran and Jean Seaton (2003, p. 336), news values allow journalists to "translate untidy reality into neat stories with beginnings, middles, and denouements," and in the process, such values tend to "reinforce conventional opinions and established authority." Furthermore, they argue, "many items of news are not 'events' at all, that is in the sense of occurrences in the real world which take place independently of the media." This question of the definition of events is central to consideration of news values, argues Joachim Friedrich Staab (1990, pp. 430–439), because "events do not exist per se but are the result of subjective perceptions and definitions."

Similarly, Denis McQuail (1994, p. 270) observes that lists of news values seem to be based on the presumption that a given reality exists "out there" which journalists acting as gatekeepers will either admit or exclude. Yet, for Jorgen Westerstahl and Folke Johansson (1994, p. 71), the journalistic selection process involved in news reporting is itself "probably as important or perhaps sometimes more important than what 'really happens.'" Alternative and critical approaches to news selection (and construction) are frequently found in practice within the output of alternative media projects (Harcup, 2007, pp. 56–59), and in theory within scholarship devoted to an understanding of what is sometimes labeled "alternative journalism" (Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Harcup, 2013).

TAXONOMIES OF NEWS VALUES

Lists of news values—sometimes labeled variously as news factors, news criteria, or similar—such as those drawn up by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Harcup and O'Neill (2001, 2017) have been described as "useful as an ad hoc set of elements with a partial explanatory value," although such lists "probably cannot constitute a systematic basis for the analysis of news" (Palmer, 2000, p. 31). In any event, news values are "far from a unified entity" because "they are divided by medium and by format" as well as by the "title identity" of the news organization and by the "local" context within which news judgements are made (Palmer, 2000, pp. 45–58). But a more fundamental problem with such lists of news values, argues John Richardson, is that they downplay the issue of ideology: "Illustrating that ephemeral issues are newsworthy, for example, does little to explain *why* this is the case, nor to interrogate whether it is in the public interest to pander persistently to 'what interests the public'" (Richardson, 2005, p. 174; emphasis in original).

So taxonomies may not tell us everything there is to know about news selection but generations of scholars seem to agree that they can tell us *something*. Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge have been credited with initiating "a rich tradition of academic discussion on the notion of news values" (Joye, Heinrich, & Wohlert, 2016, p. 6) because they were among the first to provide a systematic list of news values (Palmer, 1998). That was in a paper presented at the first Nordic Conference on Peace Research in Oslo in 1963. It is this study that, more than five decades later, remains a touchstone for the discussion of news values in numerous scholarly books about journalism (see, for example, Sissons, 2006; McKane, 2006; Phillips, 2015). Galtung and Ruge's article (1965) has long been regarded as *the* study of news values: Bell (1991, p. 155) described the work as "the foundation study of news values"; McQuail (1994, p. 270) as the "most influential explanation" of news values; and Tunstall (1970, p. 20) believed it could be the classic answer to the question "what is news?" For Barbie Zelizer (2004, p. 54), Galtung and Ruge were responsible for "perhaps the single piece of research that most cogently advanced a general understanding of news selection processes" that "remains even today one of the most influential pieces on news making."

Given its subsequent influence on the field—involving "a process of canonization," according to Joye et al. (2016, p. 10)—it is perhaps ironic that Galtung and Ruge's paper was not primarily concerned with identifying news values as such. Rather than beginning with what made the news and then unpicking why, they instead began with major world events which they then followed to see if and how they became reported as news. Thus, their article critiqued the reporting of three global crises in the Norwegian press and proposed some alternative approaches to reporting conflict. As part of this process they asked, "How do events become news?" It was in an effort to answer this question that Galtung and Ruge presented 12 factors (summarized in our words below) that they identified as being important in the selection of news:

- *Frequency:* An event that unfolds within a publication cycle of the news medium is more likely to be selected than a one that takes place over a long period of time.
- *Threshold:* Events have to pass a threshold before being recorded at all; the greater the intensity (the more gruesome the murder or the more casualties in an accident), the greater the impact and the more likely it is to be selected.
- *Unambiguity:* The more clearly an event can be understood and interpreted without multiple meanings, the more likely it is to be selected.
- *Meaningfulness:* The culturally familiar is more likely to be selected.
- *Consonance:* The news selector may be able to predict (due to experience) events that will be newsworthy, thus forming a "pre-image" of an event, which in turn increases its chances of becoming news.
- *Unexpectedness:* Among events meaningful and/or consonant, the unexpected or rare event is more likely to be selected.
- *Continuity:* An event already in the news has a good chance of remaining in the news (even if its impact has been reduced) because it has become familiar and easier to interpret.
- *Composition:* An event may be included as news less because of its intrinsic news value than because it fits into the overall composition or balance of a newspaper or news broadcast.

- *Reference to elite nations:* The actions of elite nations are seen as more consequential than the actions of other nations.
- *Reference to elite people:* Again, the actions of elite people, likely to be famous, may be seen by news selectors as having more consequence than others, and news audiences may identify with them.
- *Reference to persons:* News that can be presented in terms of individual people rather than abstractions is likely to be selected.
- *Reference to something negative:* Bad events are generally unambiguous and newsworthy.

Galtung and Ruge (1965, pp. 64–65) stated at the outset: "No claim is made for completeness in the list of factors or 'deductions.'" And they concluded with the following warning: "It should be emphasized . . . that the present article hypothesizes rather than demonstrates the presence of these factors, and hypothesizes rather than demonstrates that these factors, if present, have certain effects among the audience" (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, pp. 84–85). Yet their study "often appears to have been stripped over the years from such qualifications and subtle differences in meaning, resulting in a persistent image of the absolute landmark study and ultimate taxonomy of news values," as Joye et al. (2016, p. 10) put it.

However, some scholars have gone beyond citing the work of Galtung and Ruge to question, extend, and/or update the study of news values. Winfried Schulz (1982), for example, developed the work of Galtung and Ruge by carrying out a content analysis of newspapers, examining domestic and apolitical news, as well as foreign news. He proposed six different dimensions to news selection, which he further broke down into 19 news factors: *status* (elite nation, elite institution, elite person); *valence* (aggression, controversy, values, success); *relevance* (consequence, concern); *identification* (proximity, ethnocentrism, personalization, emotions); *consonance* (theme, stereotype, predictability); and *dynamics* (timeliness, uncertainty, unexpectedness). A later study of broadcast and online news by Brighton and Foy (2007) listed Relevance, Topicality, Composition, Expectation, Unusualness, Worth, and External Influences as key news values.

The issue of whether news values are universal for all news media, or whether certain values dominate in certain types of media, was raised during studies of television news. For instance, in his 1978 study of BBC News (updated in 1987), Schlesinger noted that broadcast news set out to use the media values of television to create its "own set of news values" where visuals dominate and the "light tail-piece" was developed (Day, 1961, as cited in Schlesinger, 1987, p. 41). Schlesinger also highlighted technical imperatives which, in broadcast news, he argued, dominated news selection more than "substantive news judgements" (1987, p. 51). For Schlesinger (1987, pp. 116–134), the driving forces behind news values contained assumptions about audience interest, professional duty, and actuality (or a pictorial imperative whereby picture value is a selection criterion, making TV a strong news medium by virtue of its ability to depict events as they happen).

This approach was also taken by Golding and Elliott (1979, p. 114) who argued that news values were often imbued with greater importance and mystique than they merited. For them, news values derived essentially from occupational pragmatism and implicit assumptions, which they described as *audience*, *accessibility*, and *fit*. This involved consideration of whether an event/issue was important to the audience, would hold their attention, be understood, enjoyed, registered, or perceived as relevant; the extent to which an event was known to the news organization and the resources it would require to obtain; and whether the event fitted the routines of production and made sense in terms of what was already known about the subject.

Informed by this analysis, Golding and Elliott (1979, pp. 115–123) suggested the following selection criteria:

- *Drama:* This is often presented as conflict, commonly as opposing viewpoints.
- *Visual attractiveness:* They discuss this in terms of images for television though, of course, images are also relevant to print and online news media. "A story may be included simply because film is available or because of the dramatic qualities of the film" (1979, p. 116).
- *Entertainment:* In order to captivate as wide an audience as possible, news producers must take account of entertainment values that amuse or divert the audience. This includes "human interest" stories and the actors in these whimsical and bizarre events may be celebrities, children, and animals.
- *Importance:* This may mean the reported event is greatly significant for a large proportion of the audience, but it also explains the inclusion of items that might be omitted on the criteria of other audience-based news values.
- *Size:* The more people involved in a disaster, or the bigger the "names" at an event, the more likely the item is to be on the news agenda.
- *Proximity:* As with size, this derives partly from audience considerations and partly from accessibility since there is cultural *and* geographical proximity. The first depends on what is familiar and within the experience of journalists and their audience, while the second may depend on where correspondents are based. As a rule of thumb, nearby events take precedence over similar events at a distance.
- *Negativity:* "Bad news is good news. . . . News is about disruptions in the normal current of events . . . not the uneventful" (1979, p. 120). Such news provides drama and shock value which attracts audiences.
- *Brevity:* A story that is full of facts with little padding is preferred (particularly important for broadcast news).
- *Recency:* Competition between news outlets puts a "premium" on exclusives and scoops. Also daily news production is within a daily time frame so that news events must normally occur within the 24 hours between bulletins (or newspaper editions) to merit inclusion.
- *Elites:* Clearly big names attract audiences, but there is a circularity in that big names become famous by virtue of their exposure.
- *Personalities:* Since news is about people, this is reflected in the need to reduce complex events and issues to the actions of individuals.

An essentially similar definition of newsworthiness in terms of the "suitability" of events was produced by Herbert Gans (1980). Allan Bell (1991) went further and argued for the importance to story selection of co-option, whereby a story only tangentially related could be presented in terms of a high-profile continuing story; predictability, whereby events that could be prescheduled for journalists were more likely to be covered than those that arrived unheralded; and pre-fabrication, the existence of ready-made texts, such as press releases.

Sigurd Allern (2002, p. 145) arrived at similar criteria by distinguishing between "traditional" news values and what he described as "commercial" news values. He suggested that traditional news values do not, in themselves, explain the selection process, and since "news is literally for sale," they need to be supplemented with a set of "commercial news criteria." The market is crucial to the output of any news organization, yet this may not often be made explicit or acknowledged when discussing the selection and production of news. It means news is selected and packaged in a format that is audience-oriented and commercial by being entertaining and reflecting popular tastes. But it is also more than this: for Allern there were three general factors that governed the selection and production of news, one of which is *competition*. The second concerned the *geographical area of coverage and type of audience*. For Allern, this is more than just *proximity*, whereby events nearby are more interesting than distant ones. "Certain English-language elite papers, such as the *Financial Times* and *Herald Tribune*, have market-based reasons to carry considerably more international politics, etc., than newspapers that address a national readership" (Allern, 2002, p. 143). And he emphasizes the role of advertisers in this process: "events that take place outside a paper's home market, even dramatic ones, may be considered non-events simply because they occur outside the area [or social class/niche interest] where the medium has its audience (and its advertisers)" (ibid., our addition). The third of Allern's general factors was *the budget allotted to news departments*, which is an expression of the company's financial objectives. The reality—rarely acknowledged in journalism textbooks—is that budget constraints means that managers are far more often focused on financial control than winning professional recognition.

The cheapest type of news is that produced by what BBC journalist Waseem Zakir coined as "churnalism"—rewrites of press releases, press statements, and copy from news agencies (Harcup, 2004, pp. 3–4); this has developed to include the regurgitating of the social media output of celebrities, as well as organizations such as the police. Studies of "converged" digital newsrooms within the UK regional press, in which newspaper journalists produce audio-visual material as well as text for their company's online presence, have found that this trend towards cheap and recycled news is likely to continue unless managements adopt an alternative model of investing in journalism (Williams & Franklin, 2007).

Informed by such factors, Allern presented a supplementary list of commercial news values:

- The more resources it costs to follow up a story or expose an event/issue, the less likely it will become a news story.
- The more journalistically a potential news item is prepared/formatted by the source or sender, the greater the likelihood that it will become news.
- The more selectively a story is distributed to news organizations, the more likely it will become news.
- The more a news medium's strategy is based on sensationalist reporting in order to attract public attention and the greater the opportunity for accentuating these elements in a potential story, the more likely a story is to be used.

These commercial selection pressures were reinforced by a study of Swedish journalists into what they thought *should be* selected as news compared to what *actually is* selected as news (Strömbäck et al., 2012). Journalists thought it important to select news that increased "people's awareness of problems in society," that had "consequences for people's daily lives," and that increased "people's insights and knowledge" (ibid., p. 725). However, the researchers found that journalists believed these factors were, in practice, secondary considerations to stories of interest to their editorial managers, stories that were inexpensive to cover, about famous persons or organizations, or where a good press release was available. Furthermore, the journalists believed that unexpected, sensational, and dramatic events, as well as exclusivity, governed what appeared in the news rather than what they perceived to be important for society.

In examining news, scholars have often found it necessary to distinguish between news appearing in different sections of the media market, and/or on different platforms. While differences in the style and content of, for instance, the popular and quality press have been eroded in recent years (Conboy, 2011), in a UK analysis of newspapers, Palmer found broad agreement about what constitutes the main story or stories of the day but found less foreign news in popular papers. In general, the treatment of stories differed, with the quality press concentrating on policy, background, and a wider range of reactions, and the popular press on human interest angles (Palmer, 2000). And in their study, Brighton and Foy (2007) found that news values varied between broadcast and digital news.

One review of previous scholarship about the selection of international news suggests that four key news values are the presence of conflict or deviance, relevance to the audience, a sense of cultural affinity, and degree of prominence within the hierarchy of nations (Golan, 2008). Golan's own research into how US television networks cover the continent of Africa found evidence to support the above, with coverage focusing on negative stories such as conflict and disasters in a relatively small number of countries, while the majority of African countries received little or no coverage at all despite "many newsworthy events" taking place in the period under study (Golan, 2008, p. 53). Golan also referred to the additional importance of pictures to the selection process, something that has also been noted by other scholars (Caple & Bednarek, 2016; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017):

> One may argue that deviance alone does not make an event newsworthy. It is possible that the visual images linked to an event may also influence its newsworthiness. Gatekeepers might select the more visually sensational footage of a train crash over visuals of hungry children in Mali.
>
> (Golan, 2008, p. 53)

To investigate changes in news values over time, two major empirical studies have been undertaken of the UK press by considering Galtung and Ruge's 12 news factors in relation to a total of 1,987 published news stories over a month (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). While some of the findings had similarities with Galtung and Ruge's factors, there were some notable problems and differences with Galtung and Ruge's original definitions. For example, "elite people" was too vague a category, with no distinction made between a pop star and the president of the US. There was a surprising number of stories that were not concerned with elite countries or people but with elite institutions (for instance, the Bank of England, the Vatican, the United Nations, even major businesses and corporations). Some of Galtung and Ruge's factors could have more to do with news treatment, rather than selection (unambiguity or personification may have less to do with the intrinsic subject matter than how journalists are required to write up stories). Going against conventional wisdom, there were a surprising number of "good news" stories as well as stories with no clear timescale or which did not appear to unfold at a frequency suited to newspaper production. Changes in audience expectations and technology since Galtung and Ruge's study meant that the importance of the availability of strong pictures or other visuals was also noted, along with the tendency for stories to be selected with at least half an eye on how likely they are to be shared by audiences on social media.

On the basis of examining combined datasets totaling more than 2,000 stories (including the most frequently shared news items on Facebook and Twitter), a new set of news values was suggested and subsequently updated and expanded (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; 2017). The most recent study found that, although there will be exceptions, news stories must generally satisfy one or preferably more of the following requirements to be selected:

- *Exclusivity:* Stories generated by, or available first to, the news organization as a result of interviews, letters, investigations, surveys, polls, and so on.
- *Bad news:* Stories with particularly negative overtones such as death, injury, defeat, and loss (of a job, for example).

- *Conflict:* Stories concerning conflict such as controversies, arguments, splits, strikes, fights, insurrections, and warfare.
- *Surprise:* Stories that have an element of surprise, contrast, and/or the unusual about them.
- *Audio-visuals:* Stories that have arresting photographs, video, or audio and/or that can be illustrated with infographics.
- *Shareability:* Stories that are thought likely to generate sharing and comments via Facebook, Twitter, and other forms of social media.
- *Entertainment:* Soft stories concerning sex, show business, sport, lighter human interest, animals, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, witty headlines, or lists.
- *Drama:* Stories concerning an unfolding drama such as escapes, accidents, searches, sieges, rescues, battles, or court cases.
- *Follow-up:* Stories about subjects already in the news.
- *The power elite:* Stories concerning powerful individuals, organizations, institutions, or corporations.
- *Relevance:* Stories about groups or nations perceived to be influential with, or culturally or historically familiar to, the audience.
- *Magnitude:* Stories perceived as sufficiently significant in the large numbers of people involved or in potential impact, or involving a degree of extreme behavior or extreme occurrence.
- *Celebrity:* Stories concerning people who are already famous.
- *Good news:* Stories with particularly positive overtones such as recoveries, breakthroughs, cures, wins, and celebrations.
- *News organization's agenda:* Stories that set or fit the news organization's own agenda, whether ideological, commercial, or as part of a specific campaign.

(Harcup & O'Neill, 2017)

The above list was accompanied by the following health warning:

> It is important to reiterate that the above criteria can be contested since they are also governed by practical considerations, such as the availability of resources and time, and subjective, often unconscious, influences, such as a mix of the social, educational, ideological and cultural influences on journalists, as well as the environment in which they work, their position in the workplace hierarchy and the type of audience for whom journalists are producing news.
>
> (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017, pp. 1482–1483)

NEWS VALUES AND AUDIENCES IN A DIGITAL AGE

The development of digital technology has altered the news selection process by transforming the journalist-audience relationship. Way back in 1985, Hetherington found journalists selecting news by asking, "What interests me?" Journalists now have to ask themselves "What will work on social media?" One enormous change wrought by social and digital media is that journalists are provided with constant feedback on what stories audiences are engaged with, what they like, and what they share. Assumptions made by journalists about what is newsworthy—or at least what interests the audience—can now be tested. It would be a foolish (or maverick) journalist who did not consider what might engage their audience when selecting events or issues to become news. However, in an increasingly competitive media landscape, scholars have been concerned with the extent to which commercial pressures are resulting in the selection of news stories on the basis of their populist appeal to target audiences rather than by professional journalistic judgements about newsworthiness or importance (Niblock & Machin, 2007; Strömbäck et al., 2012).

The option of pursuing the popular for audience hits—the economic Holy Grail known as "clickbait"—can become very attractive to news media outlets competing in a market where profit margins are strained and "monetization of content" is the new mantra. This in turn can distort the "news" product and notions of what news looks like. For journalists, there may be a contradiction between what they consider newsworthy and what audiences choose to view or share (Strömbäck et al., 2012).

Clearly, the audience and market forces should be part of the equation in any study of news values (Allern, 2002). According to some recent studies on audiences and user rankings in the US and the Netherlands, this knowledge about news consumer behavior is influencing news values and the selection of news (Tien Vu, 2014; Welbers, Van Atteveldt, Kleinnijenhuis, Ruigrok, & Schaper, 2016) and how it is presented to the public (Thurman & Myllylahti, 2009). However, looking at online news from a range of providers in Sweden, Karlsson and Clerwall (2012) found that journalists attempted to steer a middle course between maintaining professional news values and editorial independence on the one hand, and giving the audience what it appears to want on the other. And not all studies agree that the news values of stories selected by audiences differ from those that are selected by professional journalists. A German study that compared the news values of the top stories on user ranking sites (the most viewed by audiences) with the news values of the top stories produced by journalists in print and online news found broadly similar news values (Wendelin, Engelmann, & Neubarth, 2017). However, it may be the case that the journalists are still being influenced by the audience and that any similarity in news values merely reflects journalists having adapted to this new media environment. In addition, web metrics only provides data about quantities, not about the thinking behind any selection by the audience. Furthermore, what "people expect from a specific content provider and what they actually select on the internet is not necessarily identical in all cases" (ibid., p. 137), so there is room for further exploration around the decisions made by audiences selecting news and the audience effect on how professional journalists now select news.

The inclusion of "Entertainment" as a news value was documented by Golding and Elliott (1979) and reiterated by Harcup and O'Neill (2001), and it should be acknowledged that entertaining news serves a positive role in engaging news consumers and off-setting an overload of scary and gloomy stories. However, for some scholars, such as Franklin (1997), this balance can be taken too far, leading to the trivialization of news and "dumbing down." Research into the rise of celebrity news values in the quality press in the UK (O'Neill, 2012) suggests that the balance may have tipped too far in favor of trivial news and that celebrity news is driving out more important news from the agenda, limiting choice for audiences seeking hard news. Recent research on journalists in the UK by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (Thurman, Cornia, & Kunert, 2016, p. 5) supports these findings. It found that providing entertainment is either "extremely" or "very" important for half of UK journalists, as is providing the "kind of news that attracts the largest audience," and the report points out that this is "an indication of how economic pressures are inducing journalists to treat their audiences less as citizens and more as consumers."

NEWS VALUES: A PARTIAL EXPLANATION

Exploration of news values may help us to answer the question, "What is news?," but it has frequently been argued that the concept of news values offers only a partial explanation of the journalistic selection process. While acknowledging that a set of common understandings exists among journalists, Lewis (2006) believes that the nature of journalism means that any rationale for what makes a good story retains an arbitrary quality; news values therefore often appear contradictory and incoherent. It is also argued that news values tend to retrospectively endow judgments made by journalists with legitimacy. "News values exist and are, of course, significant," write Golding and Elliott (1979, pp. 114–115): "But they are as much the resultant explanation or justification of necessary procedures as their source."

As outlined above, news selection is not based merely on intrinsic aspects of events, but also on functions external to events themselves, including occupational routines and constraints, and ideology whereby news is "a socially determined construction of reality" (Staab, 1990, p. 428). Staab asserted that most studies of news values do not in fact deal with the actual process of news selection, but with news *treatment*. He went on to question their objectivity and causal role as well as the problem of defining events themselves. Since news values have limited validity, he argued for a functional model that takes into account the intentions of journalists.

For Wolfgang Donsbach (2004), understanding the psychology of news decisions by journalists is key to understanding news selection. Evaluative judgements such as news values by definition lack objective criteria—they are based on value judgements which can neither be verified nor falsified (Donsbach, 2004). Nor should the role of ideology in news selection be underestimated, argue Westerstahl and Johansson (1986, 1994). They distinguish between news values—generally static and informed by audience taste—and news ideologies, which they perceive as born out of a desire to inform or influence the audience and which are shifting over time (1986). "In our view ideologies are the main source of deviations in news reporting from a standard based on more or less objectified news values" (Westerstahl & Johansson, 1994, p. 77).

Other academics argue that news values themselves can be seen as an ideologically loaded way of perceiving—and presenting—the world. For Hall (1973, p. 235), although the news values of mainstream journalism may appear to be "a set of neutral, routine practices," they actually form part of an "ideological structure" that privileges the perspectives of the most powerful groups within society. Robert McChesney (2000, pp. 49–50, 110) has highlighted the way in which a journalistic emphasis on individual "events" and "news hooks" results in less visible or more long-term issues being downplayed, with individualism being portrayed as "natural" and more civic or collective values being treated as "marginal."

In their "propaganda model," Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky ([1988] 1994, p. 298) go further, suggesting that "selection of topics" is one of the key ways in which the media fulfill their "societal purpose" of inculcating "the economic, social, and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state." According to their model, five filters—identified as the concentration of media ownership, the influence of advertising, the overreliance on information from the powerful, "flak" against transgressors, and an ethos of anticommunism—combine to produce "the news fit to print" (Herman & Chomsky [1988] 1994, p. 2). Debate and dissent are permitted, but only within a largely internalized consensus; any journalist stepping outside that consensus runs the risk of appearing unprofessional.

Studies of news coverage of marginalized groups such as trade unionists would appear to support this (Beharrell & Philo, 1977; Greenberg, 2004; O'Neill, 2007; Williams, 2014). However, in her study of a national firefighters' strike, Deirdre O'Neill also found that by appealing to human interest news values the union was able to achieve publication of a number of news stories that highlighted its members' case, thus, to some extent, militating against the dominance of establishment views (O'Neill, 2007).

Studies have also examined the universality of news values: are they changed by socioeconomic, cultural and political differences? For example, a study of male and female editors in seven Israeli papers found that both sexes applied broadly similar criteria to news selection and practice, with little in the way of gender distinctions (Lavie & Lehman-Wilzig, 2003). In the same way that news values were adhered to by both sexes, news values appeared to drive French television coverage of the 2002 presidential elections, rather than any party political bias of newsroom staff (Kuhn, 2005). News values were also found to dominate professional practice in a study of long-term trends in campaign coverage in the German press. Wilke and Reinemann (2001) found that German political journalists used the same news values in or out of election campaigns.

Investigating news values in different countries, Chaudhary (1974) compared the news judgements of American and Indian journalists. Despite being culturally dissimilar, journalists on the English language newspapers in democratic countries tended to use the same news values. However, Lange (1984) found that the socio-political environment in which journalists operated—including the severe sanctions for criticizing the government that some Third World journalists face—did affect their news values. He found that the less economically developed a nation, the more emphasis on direct exhortations in the news, the more emphasis on news stories set in the future, the more emphasis on news stories about cooperation and the more emphasis on positive evaluations of the news subjects—the type of reporting often described as development journalism (Rampal, 1984; Chu, 1985).

In a study of the role of national identity in the coverage of foreign news in the UK, the US and Israel, news values became subordinate to national loyalties (Nossek, 2004). The closer journalists were to a news event in terms of national interest, the less likely they were to apply professional news values. Zayani and Ayish (2006, p. 494) found that the news values of Arab satellite channels covering the fall of Baghdad in 2003, while generally professionally driven, "were also tainted to various degrees with cultural, political and historical considerations."

While there is an assumption that adherence to news values is implicitly more "professional," eliminating bias, political or otherwise, this can be problematic in that news values may create uniformity, negativity, and reduction to stereotypes (Ndlela, 2005), as well as presenting obstacles for non-Western journalists. A study of journalism training in Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Libya (Rampal, 1996) found that an emphasis on what could be described as Western professional news values did not reflect the realities for graduates facing severe political and legal constraints. Rampal argues for a curriculum that teaches "a journalistic philosophy—and concomitant news values—that is compatible with the political and legal orientation of a given country, yet helps in improving the quality of journalism" (Rampal, 1996, p. 41).

Lee, Maslog, and Kim (2006) believe that traditional news values, which often emphasize conflict, are a barrier to what they term peace journalism, a journalism that explores the causes of and alternatives to conflict. In a study of the Zimbabwean crisis as reported in the Norwegian press, Ndlela (2005) found that coverage primarily fitted with Galtung and Ruge's negativity factor, leading to stereotyped frames and unbalanced reporting which presented the crisis as a racial one, rather than a political one. Subsequent reporting treated developments as isolated events, which lacked an historical or wider context. Chu (1985) also noted an emphasis on conflictual criteria and bizarre and exceptional events in Western news values and called for the "gradual institutionalization of an additional value" that allows for development news that reflects and mobilizes the process of social, cultural, and political change (Chu, 1985, p. 6). Finally, in examining determinants of international news coverage in 38 countries, Wu (2000) found that news values alone could not explain coverage—economic interest, information availability, and production cost of international news were also at work in determining the volume of information from abroad selected for inclusion.

However, thinking of news values solely in terms of selection is rather missing the point, as far as linguistic researchers Monika Bednarek and Helen Caple are concerned. Arguably of more significance than which stories are selected is how they are "*constructed* as news" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 43; emphasis in original). Therefore, they have outlined an analytical framework they call "discursive news values analysis," or DNVA, which combines insights informed by semiotics and discourse analysis with a knowledge of how journalism works in practice "to examine how news organizations, metaphorically speaking, 'sell' the news to us *as news* through verbal and visual resources" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017, p. 257; emphasis in original).

CONCLUSION: DEFINITIONS OF NEWS ARE NOT FIXED

The concept of news values, then, can help us to understand the ways in which some phenomena become identified as "events," the ways that some of those "events" are then selected to become "news," and the ways in which certain elements of the selected "events" will be emphasized while others will be downplayed or excluded. In this sense, discussion of news values sometimes of necessity blurs distinctions between news selection and news treatment.

Definitions of news are not fixed. Many lists of news values have been drawn up, and news values can change over time, from place to place, and between different sectors of the news media. For example, Galtung and Ruge put great emphasis on the "frequency" with which events occur; yet, as technology changes many of the ways in which news is produced and received, criteria such as "frequency" may become increasingly irrelevant in the digital world of instant news. For these news media, however, "recency" (Golding & Elliot, 1979) and "competition" (Gans, 1980; Bell, 1991; Allern, 2002) may become more dominant selection criteria, as well as the "type of audience" (Golding & Elliott, 1979; Gans, 1980; Allern, 2002) in an increasingly fragmented news market. This and other perceived changes in news values suggest that the topic will remain a fruitful one for journalism scholars for many years to come. For, whatever the technology and media involved—and notwithstanding the growth of 24-hour news, user-generated content, blogs, online news aggregators, Facebook, and Twitter—the process of news journalism will still involve decision-making and some element of selection. And, although many journalists tend to refer to "gut feeling" or the need for an instinctive "nose" for news selection, most academic researchers in the field would probably agree with Joye et al. (2016, p. 15) when they argue that journalism is practiced within "political, economic, social, global and other contexts" and that "journalists cannot detach themselves from media markets and the media organizations in which they operate." Therefore, it is probably not possible to examine news values in a meaningful way without also paying attention to occupational routines, budgets, the market, and ideology as well as wider societal, cultural, economic, and political considerations.

Further research is undoubtedly needed to measure the extent to which any of the taxonomies of news values discussed above apply to different forms of media in different circumstances, in different societies, and how they may change over time.

An understanding of news values is clearly of importance for practitioners and scholars of journalism, but they are not the only ones to grapple with the question of what news is. Public relations professionals and "spin doctors" use their knowledge of news values to help them place or influence stories in the news media. Critics of mainstream media use an understanding of news values either to urge changes in such values or to inform the creation of alternative forms of media with an alternative conception of news values. Groups who find their viewpoints marginalized in mainstream media, such as environmental groups or unions, can use an understanding of mainstream news values to obtain some access for their message (Manning, 2001, p. 192;

O'Neill, 2007) and/or seek to tell their stories via the alternative news values of alternative media (Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Harcup, 2013). And, last but by no means least, a society's citizens can benefit from the increase in media literacy that may potentially result from the efforts of journalism studies scholars to scrutinize, unpick, and explain the ways in which news is selected and constructed. Just as long as we remember that any taxonomy of news values must "remain open to inquiry rather than be seen as a closed set of values for journalism in all times and places" (Zelizer, 2004, p. 55).

REFERENCES

Allern, S. (2002). Journalistic and commercial news values: News organizations as patrons of an institution and market actors. *Nordcom Review*, *23*(1–2), 137–152.
Atton, C., & Hamilton, J. (2008). *Alternative journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2017). *The discourse of news values: How news organizations create newsworthiness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Beharrell, P., & Philo, G. (1977). *Trade unions and the media*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Brighton, P., & Foy, D. (2007). *News values*. London: Sage Publications.
Caple, H., & Bednarek, M. (2016). Rethinking news values: What a discursive approach can tell us about the construction of news discourse and news photography. *Journalism*, *17*(4), 435–455.
Chaudhary, A. (1974). Comparative news judgment of Indian and American journalists. *International Communication Gazette*, *20*(4), 233–248.
Chu, L. L. (1985). An organizational perspective on international news flows: Some generalizations, hypotheses, and questions for research. *International Communication Gazette*, *35*(1), 3–18.
Conboy, M. (2011). *Journalism in Britain: A historical introduction*. London, Thousand Oaks, CA, New Delhi and Singapore: Sage Publications.
Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2003). *Power without responsibility: The press, broadcasting, and new media in Britain*. London: Routledge.
Day, R. (1961). *Television: A personal report*. London: Hutchinson.
Donsbach, W. (2004). Psychology of news decisions: Factors behind journalists professional behavior. *Journalism*, *5*(2), 131–157.
Evans, H. (2000). *Essential English for journalists, editors and writers*. London: Pimlico.
Franklin, B. (1997). *Newszak and news media*. London: Arnold.
Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of International Peace Research*, *2*(1), 64–91.
Gans, Herbert, J. (1980). *Deciding what's news*. London: Constable.
Golan, G. (2008). Where in the world is Africa? Predicting coverage of Africa by US television networks. *International Communication Gazette*, *70*(1), 41–57.
Golding, P., & Elliott, P. (1979). *Making the news*. London and New York, NY: Longman.
Greenberg, J. (2004). Tories, teachers and the media politics of education reform: News discourse and the 1997 Ontario teachers' strike. *Journalism Studies*, *5*(3), 353–371.
Hall, S. (1973). The determinations of news photographs. In S. Cohen & J. Young (Eds.), *The manufacture of news: Deviance, social problems and the mass media* (pp. 226–243). London: Constable.
Harcup, T. (2004). *Journalism: Principles and practice*. London: Sage Publications.
Harcup, T. (2007). *The ethical journalist*. London: Sage Publications.
Harcup, T. (2013). *Alternative journalism, alternative voices*. London: Routledge.
Harcup, T. (2014). *A dictionary of journalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harcup, T. (2015). *Journalism: Principles and practice* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), 261–268.

Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2017). What is news? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*, *18*(12), 1470–1488.

Harrison, J. (2006). *News*. London: Routledge.

Hartley, J. (1982). *Understanding news*. London: Methuen.

Henderson, M. (2003, September 20). Junk medicine: Don't believe the hype. *Times*.

Herman, E., & Chomsky, N. (1988 [1994]). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. London: Vintage Books.

Hetherington, A. (1985). *News, newspapers and television*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Joye, S., Heinrich, A., & Wohlert, R. (2016). 50 Years of Galtung and Ruge: Reflections on their model of news values and its relevance for the study of journalism and communication today. *CM: Communication and Media*, *XI*(36), 5–28.

Karlsson, M., & Clerwall, C. (2012). Patterns and origins in the evolution of multimedia on broadsheet and tabloid news sites: Swedish online news 2005–2010. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(4), 550–565.

Kuhn, R. (2005). 'Be very afraid': Television and l'insecurite in the 2002 French presidential election. *European Journal of Communication*, *20*(2), 181–198.

Lange, J. C. (1984). National development and news values: The press in the third world and the West. *International Communication Gazette*, *33*(2), 69–86.

Lavie, A., & Lehman-Wilzig, S. (2003). Whose news? Does gender determine the editorial product? *European Journal of Communication*, *18*(1), 5–29.

Lee, S. T., Maslog, C. C., & Kim, H. S. (2006). Asian conflicts and the Iraq war. *International Communication Gazette*, *68*(5–6), 499–518.

Lewis, J. (2006). News and the empowerment of citizens. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *9*(3), 303–319.

Manning, P. (2001). *News and news sources: A critical introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

McChesney, R. (2000). *Rich media, poor democracy: Communications politics in dubious times*. New York, NY: The New Press.

McKane, A. (2006). *News writing*. London: Sage Publications.

McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory*. London: Sage Publications.

McQuail, D. (2000). *McQuail's mass communication theory*. London: Sage Publications.

Ndlela, N. (2005). The African paradigm: The coverage of the Zimbabwean crisis in the Norwegian media. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *2* (Special Issue November 2005), 71–90.

Niblock, S., & Machin, D. (2007). News values for consumer groups: The case of Independent Radio News, London. *Journalism*, *8*(2), 184–204.

Nossek, H. (2004). Our News and their News: The role of national identity in the coverage of Foreign news. *Journalism*, *5*(3), 343–368.

O'Neill, D. (2007). From hunky heroes to dangerous dinosaurs: Journalism-union relations, news access and press coverage in the 2002–3 British Fire Brigades Union dispute. *Journalism Studies*, *8*(5), 813–830.

O'Neill, D. (2012). No cause for celebration: The rise of celebrity news values in the British quality press. *Journalism Education*, *1*(2), 26–44.

Palmer, J. (1998). News production, news values. In A. Briggs & P. Cobley (Eds.), *The media: An introduction* (pp. 377–391). Harlow: Longman.

Palmer, J. (2000). *Spinning into control: News values and source strategies*. London and New York, NY: Leicester University Press.

Phillips, A. (2015). *Journalism in context: Practice and theory for the digital age*. London: Routledge.

Rampal, K. R. (1984). Adversary vs developmental journalism: Indian mass media at the crossroads. *International Communication Gazette*, *34*(1), 3–20.

Rampal, K. R. (1996). Professionals in search of professionalism: Journalists' dilemma in four Maghreb states. *International Communication Gazette*, *58*(1), 25–43.

Randall, D. (2016). *The universal journalist* (5th ed.). London: Pluto Press.

Richardson, J. (2005). News values. In B. Franklin, M. Hamer, M. Hanna, M. Kinsey, & J. Richardson (Eds.), *Key concepts in journalism studies* (pp. 173–174). London: Sage Publications.

Schlesinger, P. (1987). *Putting reality together*. London and New York, NY: Methuen.

Schultz, I. (2007). The journalistic gut feeling. *Journalism Practice*, *1*(2), 190–207.
Schulz, W. F. (1982). News structure and people's awareness of political events. *International Communication Gazette*, *30*(3), 139–153.
Sissons, H. (2006). *Practical journalism: How to write news*. London: Sage Publications.
Staab, J. F. (1990). The role of news factors in news selection: A theoretical reconsideration. *European Journal of Communication*, *5*(4), 423–443.
Strömbäck, J., Karlsson, M., & Hopmann, D. N. (2012). Determinants of news content, *Journalism Studies*, *1*(5–6), 718–728.
Thurman, N., Cornia, A., & Kunert, J. (2016). *Journalists in the UK*. University of Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Retrieved from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Journalists%20in%20the%20UK.pdf
Thurman, N., & Myllylahti, M. (2009). Taking the paper out of news. *Journalism Studies*, *10*(5), 691–708.
Tien Vu, H. (2014). The online audience as gatekeeper: The influence of reader metrics on news editorial selection. *Journalism*, *15*(8), 1094–1110.
Tunstall, J. (1970). *Media sociology*. London: Constable.
Watson, J., & Hill, A. (2003). *Dictionary of media and communication studies*. London: Arnold.
Welbers, K., Van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N., & Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics, *Journalism*, *17*(8), 1037–1053.
Wendelin, M., Engelmann, I., & Neubarth, J. (2017). User rankings and journalistic news selection, *Journalism Studies*, *18*(2), 135–153.
Westerstahl, J., & Johansson, F. (1986). News ideologies as moulders of domestic news. *European Journal of Communication*, *1*(2), 133–149.
Westerstahl, J., & Johansson, F. (1994). Foreign news: News values and ideologies. *European Journal of Communication*, *9*(1), 71–89.
Wilke, J., & Reinemann, C. (2001). Do the candidates matter? Long-term trends of campaign coverage—a study of the German press since 1949. *European Journal of Communication*, *16*(3), 291–314.
Williams, A., & Franklin, B. (2007). *Turning around the tanker: Implementing Trinity Mirror's online strategy*. Cardiff: School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies, Cardiff University.
Williams, G. (2014). *Settling scores: The media, the police and the miners' strike*. London: Campaign for Press & Broadcasting Freedom.
Wu, H. D. (2000). Systemic determinants of international news coverage: A comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication*, *50*(2), 110–130.
Zayani, M., & Ayish, M. I. (2006). Arab satellite TV and crisis reporting: Covering the fall of Baghdad. *International Communication Gazette*, *68*(5–6), 473–447.
Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. London: Sage Publications.

15

Framing the News

Christian Baden

Journalists are framers. Within the journalistic news production process, one of the key decisions that every journalist needs to make time and again concerns what "aspects of a perceived reality" (Entman, 1993, p. 52) to foreground; what "connection among them" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143) to weave; and thus what meaning to provide "to an unfolding strip of events" (ibid.). Drawing upon frames offered to them by numerous sources, and transforming these into frames suitable for presentation in the news, journalists occupy a central place in the framing of public issues.

In academic scholarship, the framing of journalistic news has also received an immense amount of attention. Yet, there is a curious imbalance in the present study of frames in the news. On the "input" side, large literatures in political communication research, strategic communication scholarship, the study of social movements, and several other fields have detailed how sources craft strategic frames, hoping to shape journalistic coverage (e.g., Benford & Snow, 2000; Entman, 2003; Hänggli & Kriesi, 2012). Also, on the "output" side, journals across communication, political science, sociology, and other disciplines present a steady flow of studies investigating the framing of all sorts of issues in the news (e.g., Aday, Cluverius, & Livingston, 2005; Edy, 1999; Houston, Pfefferbaum, & Rosenholtz, 2012; Lück, Wessler, Wozniak, & Lycarião, 2016). In media effects research, audience studies, and scholarship on political deliberation, countless studies have examined the varied implications of news frames for individuals' knowledge, emotions, attitudes, and behavior (e.g., Chong & Druckman, 2007; Lecheler, 2018; Nelson, Oxley, & Clawson, 1997), as well as wider, societal sense-making processes (e.g., Baden, 2010; Graber, 1988; Sapiro & Soss, 1999). However, since Gaye Tuchman's (1978) seminal study on *Making News*, what happens between journalists' discovery of specific, source-sponsored frames, and the publication of specific news frames, has fallen somewhat into neglect.

In the present chapter, I will review the ample scholarship on framing the news in light of what it can contribute to understanding the specific role and contribution of journalists. I will emphasize those aspects of existing research that address journalists' interventions and transformations in the framing of news and discuss how studies that focus primarily on other questions can shed light on key processes structuring journalistic framing. I thus locate journalists' contribution to news framing as a key stage between the source frames entering and the news frames exiting the newsroom. As illustrated in Figure 15.1, journalists receive frames crafted by a wide variety of political, activist, corporate, and other sources, which reflect their respective expertise, perspectives, and interests ("frame building"; Scheufele, 1999; Tuchman, 1978). Journalists then

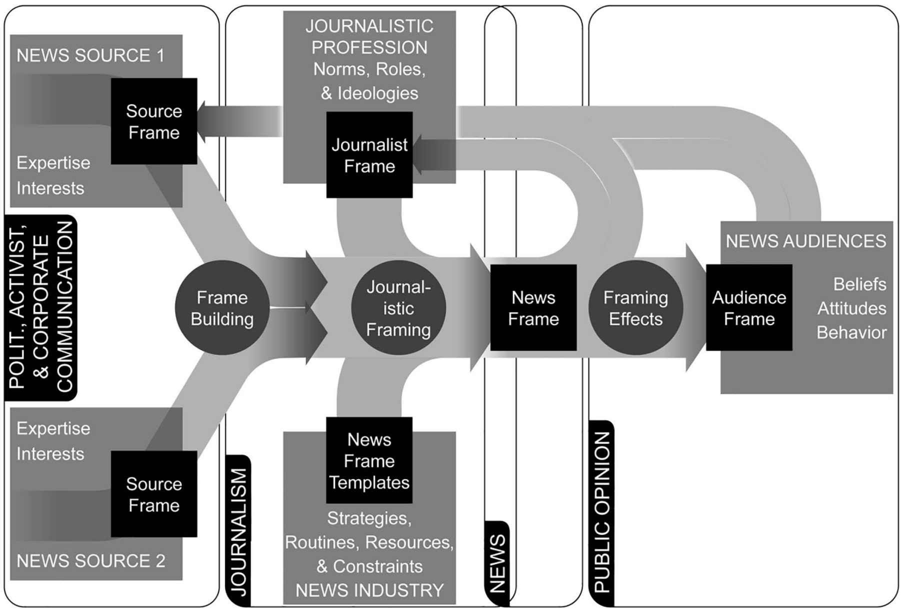

Figure 15.1 Model of the News Framing Process

need to select and somehow combine newsworthy source frames, relying on their own frames and role conceptions, as well as their professional framing strategies and templates, to transform the available information into meaningful news frames (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018). The frames published in the news subsequently influence a wide range of news audiences, including sources and journalists themselves, and shape their beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors ("frame setting"; Chong & Druckman, 2007). Both the different states and locations of frames (squares) and those framing processes mediating between these (circles) constitute relevant fields of scholarship, whose contributions I will discuss in this chapter.

JOURNALISTIC FRAMING IN THE FRAMING SCHOLARSHIP

One difficulty in assessing the role of journalism within this public process of negotiating frames derives from the relative scarcity of research directly addressing journalistic framing practices. Most work has focused on published news frames as journalistic products after these have emerged from the newsroom. Other studies examine the strategic crafting of frames up to the point when these enter the journalistic production and transformation process. In both bodies of research, what happens between a frame's entry and exit from the journalistic framing process has received only scant attention. While many studies advance some assumptions about the (active or passive, selection-focused, or transformative) role of journalists (e.g., Bennett, 1996; Entman, 2003), only a handful of studies have directly examined journalists' own framing strategies (Boesman, d'Haenens, & van Gorp, 2016; de Vreese, 2014).

In order to assess the current knowledge on roles of journalists in framing the news, I will proceed in five main steps. After (1) a quick review of definitions and theoretical perspectives on frames, I will (2) proceed from the literature's dominant focus on frames in the news toward

(3) their antecedents in varied sources' frames and the insights that can be gained from their juxtaposition. Subsequently, I will focus on (4) the study of journalistic frames and framing strategies and connect this scholarship to the respective inputs and outcomes of the journalistic framing process. Finally, I will (5) examine the role of framing effects research for conceptualizing the role of journalists. For the study of journalism, each of these fields provides a different, important perspective on journalistic framing. Framing theory contributes to understanding the specific roles and functions of journalistic news for democratic public debates and societal sense-making efforts. From an appraisal of produced news frames, we can identify important meanings created and interpretive resources mobilized by journalists, and point at possible deficiencies in the resulting debate. The juxtaposition of source frames entering the news-making process illuminates journalistic selection and transformation patterns, while sources' mediatization strategies provide additional insights into journalists' heuristics for adopting source frames. The study of journalists' own frames, narrative strategies, practices, and templates enables us to connect the role conceptions and routines shaping news production directly to the observed outcomes and qualities of news debates. The effects that news frames exert upon their varied audiences, finally, help us understand important feedback processes and dynamics in news framing that contribute to emergent phenomena such as hegemony and consonance, bias, controversy, and polarization. Even if only a few of the studies reviewed explicitly identified journalism and journalists' role in framing the news as their focus, the existing literature provides valuable insights for framing research in journalism studies.

FRAMING THEORY

As a theoretical perspective, framing theory derives from the selective, constructive nature of communication—a property that is not unique to journalism or even mass mediated communication, but applies to communication in general. Because it is not possible to convey all aspects of a situation, event, issue, or idea in any form of communication, any message inevitably foregrounds some aspects and omits or sidelines others. Given this, framing theory holds that the specific selection of communicated aspects matters because it leads recipients to construct different frames, and thus derive different meanings.

In defining frames, researchers across disciplines have emphasized different aspects of the underlying process. Erving Goffman, a sociologist often regarded as a founding father of framing research, focused his understanding of frames on their ability to contextualize present experiences. By attending to what is salient in a given situation, he argued, people can identify relevant frames of reference that provide suitable "schemata of interpretation" (Goffman, 1974). William Gamson and Andre Modigliani (1987) focused their definition of frames more specifically upon their role in interpreting communication messages. In their words, a frame requires "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (p. 143). Emphasizing the need to "weave a connection" among those aspects rendered salient, they foreground the active role of interpreters in constructing the frames that render information meaningful. Inversely, political scholar Robert Entman (1993) highlighted the ability of communicators to deliberately structure information such as to guide interpreters toward a specific, intended interpretation. According to his widely cited definition,

> [t]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.
>
> (p. 52)

Different frames endow the same reality with different meanings and serve different political-ideological or otherwise persuasive purposes. Another, somewhat separate, root of framing theory derives from the work of Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky (1979), whose “prospect theory” documented that even different wordings of identical information suffice to shift recipients’ preferences. While most researchers today distinguish such “equivalence framing” from the selective foregrounding of different information (“emphasis framing”; Chong & Druckman, 2007), both function by priming slightly different contextual information and heuristics, thus altering the meaning and appraisal of information. Taken together, we can thus characterize framing as the purposefully selective representation of an issue, object, or situation, which serves to guide interpreters to construct specific frames that coherently organize the foregrounded information and render it meaningful.

While framing pervades virtually all forms of communication and has been studied in a wide variety of settings and disciplines, the journalistic framing of news occupies a central place for several reasons. To begin with, one of the key functions of journalism is to inform the public about novel events and their specific significance for both individuals and the community, as well as other issues of public concern. By selecting newsworthy information and interpreting its possible meaning, journalists are framers by profession (Brüggemann, 2014; Reese, 2010). In addition, also where journalists relay to their audiences those frames constructed by political sources, experts, or other actors, journalistic practices govern the selection, transformation, and presentation of available source frames (Tuchman, 1978). Both as primary definers of social reality offering their own frames and as secondary definers mediating and commenting upon the frames of others (Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978), journalistic framing synchronizes the meanings available to large and dispersed audiences. Consequently, journalistic news presents one of the key venues where political issues, but also cultural identities, societal values, and public concerns are negotiated (Benson, 2012; Carey, 1989). Especially in democratic societies, where journalism is committed to enabling citizens to form their own independent opinions, the framing of news has therefore rightfully become the subject of much public and political concern, and a key site also of scientific inquiry. As any issue supports the formation of diverse frames, and any presented frame conveys only one possible meaning, maintaining the plurality of frames in the public debate can be considered one core normative requirement for journalistic performance (Baden & Springer, 2017).

FRAMES IN THE NEWS

Owing to the power of news frames to shape public opinion and political agendas, scholars have accumulated a huge body of literature scrutinizing the specific frames used for covering virtually any kind of issue. By far the most studies have either coded the presence of predefined, holistic frames in a content analytic fashion or obtained frames through hermeneutic, qualitative analysis. Deductive and quantitative approaches offer good scalability and rigorous measurement; however, they remain limited in their ability to capture important nuances and detect unanticipated frames. Inversely, inductive and qualitative approaches allow detailed analysis but often face difficulties in establishing transparent, reliable, and transferable measures. Both approaches, in addition, have been criticized for their tendency to confound frames with other, related phenomena such as topics, arguments, narratives, or policy positions. Addressing these difficulties, Jörg Matthes and Matthias Kohring (2008) have developed a modular approach that departs from Entman’s (1993) framing definition (cited above) to identify frames semi-inductively based on the co-occurrence of constitutive frame elements. Baldwin van Gorp (2010) has presented a strategy for delineating frames in a discourse analytic, qualitative fashion while maintaining a high degree of intersubjectivity and rigor. Christian Baden (2010, 2018) has proposed an algorithmic strategy that identifies frames inductively from a semantic network analysis of systematic concept associations in news discourse (see also van Atteveldt, Ruigrok, & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006; David, Atun, Fille, & Monterola, 2011). Contemporary approaches to news frame analysis increasingly incorporate visual and multimodal information as well, and take into account the dependency of news frames on cultural resources of meaning beyond the news text (e.g., Dan, 2018; Wozniak, Lück, & Wessler, 2015; for a recent review, see David & Baden, 2017).

Drawing upon this diverse methodological portfolio, framing scholars have classified a vast repository of frames commonly found in the news. The majority of this work is primarily descriptive in orientation, and often highly case- and context-specific. As its main rationale is to sketch what interpretations were rendered available to certain news audiences in a specific setting, such scholarship rarely distinguishes whether frames have been pushed into the news by powerful strategic actors, or have been shaped or originally advanced by journalists. Descriptive framing studies mostly serve to comment on current public debates, draw inferences about prevalent public perceptions and opinions, or provide anecdotal evidence of specific failures of journalistic performance—mostly by denouncing the undue dominance of one frame or the undue absence of another. However, without an explicit causal model of framing influence, or a normative standard for good journalism or healthy public debate, they provide little theoretical insight into journalistic framing practices or the dynamics of public sense-making.

At the same time, several studies have approached the framing of news with an interest in uncovering important regularities in journalistic practices and shedding light upon the underlying processes. To begin with, scholars have investigated the cultural resources (van Gorp, 2007) and narrative strategies (Johnson-Cartee, 2004; Pan & Kosicki, 1993) used in journalistic framing. For instance, Jill Edy (1999) has illuminated journalists' rich uses of collective memory references as a means for framing and interpreting present events (see also Tuchman, 1978). Further, journalists exhibit a noted preference for dramatic narratives, framing the news in terms of heroes, villains, and fools confronting a variety of fateful turns on their quests (e.g., Carey, 1989). Gadi Wolfsfeld (1997) argued that journalists rely heavily on their own and their colleagues' prior frames for interpreting the news. In a comparative study of the frames used to interpret the downing of two passenger planes in the 1980s—one by Soviet, one by US forces—Robert Entman (1991) has exposed deep ethnocentric biases and double standards employed in the coverage of foreign news. At the same time, Julia Lück and her coauthors argued that some frames regarding issues of global concern can be present across different cultural and political settings, even if they are "domesticated" (Clausen, 2004) in a way that connects to national public debates in each country's news (Lück et al., 2016).

In another line of research, scholars have studied the life cycle of frames in the news, leading to valuable conclusions about journalistic and public attention dynamics. Bertram Scheufele (2006) has investigated how frames in the news are shaped by salient events but tend to last beyond these, shaping also the coverage of subsequent events. In a study of US, British, and Russian news coverage of the Syrian conflict, Christian Baden and Katsiaryna Stalpouskaya (2015) examined a variety of journalistic routines employed to defend and maintain existing frames despite the arrival of disconfirming evidence. Rebekah Tromble and Michael Meffert (2016) suggested that frames in the news tend to endure longer if they possess certain dramatic qualities. Finally, in a long-term study, Frank Baumgartner and coauthors studied the gradual evolution of news frames on capital punishment, positioning journalistic framing practices in the context of societal value change (Baumgartner, De Boef, & Boydstun, 2008). While each of these studies focused on the framing of specific events and issues in the news, they point to important underlying principles and routines that guide journalists in their frame constructions. They illuminate how issue-specific news frames are deeply rooted in cultural beliefs and myths, prior news, and existing frames. The studies also emphasize the role of journalists as storytellers (Bird & Dardenne, 2009) who anchor newsworthy events and issues in a community's symbolic universe.

A distinct field of study, which departed from the study of issue-specific frames during the early 2000s, has focused on so-called "generic frames" found in the news (de Vreese, 2005). In this line of research, scholars have catalogued between five and more than a dozen common ways in which news stories organize the presented information. Among the most well-established "generic frames" are "conflict" frames, which present current events as a conflict between competing actors, issues, or interpretations, while "game" or "strategy frames" foreground their respective efforts at gaining support and influence (Lawrence, 2000). "Thematic" or "issue" frames focus on the substantive content of public concerns, while "human interest" frames narrate from the point of view of individuals affected by reported events or issues (see also Iyengar, 1991, 2010; Rhee, 1997; Schuck, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2016b). There have been some efforts to organize the list of recurrent structures, however, as many types overlap (e.g., many "human interest" frames are "episodic frames" in that they present specific episodes without much "thematic" issue context), this enterprise has yet to converge on a consistent canon. Also, it has been contested whether "generic frames" are frames at all, as they are indifferent toward specific contents and meanings and thus fall short of the definitions provided by Entman (1993) and by Gamson and Modigliani (1987). Frames or not, the discovery of recurrent narrative structures in journalistic accounts offers important insights into the ways in which "journalistic conventions and production processes translate political events into templates for news stories" (de Vreese, 2014; see also Brüggemann & D'Angelo, 2018). On the one hand, the existence of commonly used narrative templates when framing the news points toward recurrent challenges faced by journalists, for which they have developed professional routines. For instance, conflict frames enable journalists to relay different perspectives without necessarily endorsing either, and episodic frames allow them to continue news stories that have already developed in the past without reiterating the entire genesis of the issue (Baden, 2018). On the other hand, generic frames actualize important journalistic norms (Tewksbury, Jones, Peske, Raymond, & Vig, 2000). For instance, human interest frames can make abstract information understandable and relevant to lay audiences, and economic consequences frames provide an assessment of the expected implications of events and policies discussed. I will return to these points in the below section on "Journalist Framing".

With regard to those voices cited in the news to present relevant frames, numerous studies have documented journalists' tendency to preferentially represent frames sponsored by political and other elites, especially executives. In fact, this finding is so pertinent that several scholars have developed theoretical models, most of which cast journalists as relatively passive conduits for elite frames. In Robert Entman's (2003) "Cascading Activation Model," frames are ideated by executives and political elites and handed "down" to the news media, which amplify these frames toward the public. Even in a much weaker feedback loop included in the model, which communicates frames back from public perceptions to political elites, journalists are presented as mere intermediaries that collect input and represent it in the news to reach the attention of political decision-makers. Lance Bennett's (1990, 1996) closely related "Indexing Hypothesis" takes a similar perspective. However, it formulates journalists' preferential representation of competing elite frames as an active, if somewhat mechanistic, intervention on the part of journalists, who aim to enact a professional balance norm. In Gadi Wolfsfeld's (2004) "Politics-Media-Politics" model, finally, journalists are mostly driven by the frames pushed forward by powerful political actors but can develop independent agency if power relations are in their favor. Also, while journalists mostly react to political frames, their ability to selectively amplify or challenge sources' frames constitutes them as important actors in their own right (see also de Vreese, 2014).

FRAMES OF NEWS SOURCES

Given their important role in shaping public debates, the efforts of strategic communicators at "building" frames have been subject to intense scholarly attention (Scheufele, 1999). The existing literature on frame building, which originates mostly from political communication and social movement research, can for the most part be divided into three main strands. One tradition examines the organizational efforts engaged in by sources when advocating their frames toward the media. Robert Benford and David Snow (2000; Snow & Benford, 1992), Bert Klandermans (1992) and others have studied how non-elite sources build coalitions and forge integrative, overarching frames, both to mobilize larger constituencies and to gain relevance so that they are picked up by the media. According to Yuqiong Zhou and Patricia Moy (2007), large and vociferous online publics can also shape the framing of professional news media. Both Regula Hänggli (2012) and Gadi Wolfsfeld (2004) have emphasized the importance of political sources' power over real-world events as an important factor in shaping media framing. Relatedly, Romy Fröhlich and Burkhard Rüdiger (2006) have argued that sources that maintain one or a few frames throughout their communications are more likely to succeed in getting coverage than sources shifting between different frames (see also Hänggli & Kriesi, 2012). Also, the personalization, presentation of catchy metaphors and soundbites, and visualization of sources' frames have been linked to successful frame building.

A second tradition has focused on the content of source frames gaining traction in the media. Tamir Sheafer and Itay Gabay (2009) have shown that strategic actors' frames are more likely to resonate in the news if they relate to shared values and interests (see also Sheafer, Shenhav, Takens, & van Atteveldt, 2014). Christian Baden and Yossi David (2017) have argued that both the familiarity of claims and the possibility to bring frames into consonance with prevalent community values enhances their resonance. Additionally, strategic frames anchored in societal myths and narratives, or pegged to related or competing frames present in the public debate, receive preferential coverage in the news.

While neither perspective investigates journalistic practices, these findings nevertheless allow several important inferences. Notably, they suggest that either the consonance with which frames are advanced from different sources or the breadth of constituencies backing sponsored frames play a role in journalists' decisions to pick up sources' frames. Moreover, journalists seem to perceive frames as more compelling when these are formulated in familiar cultural and ideological terms. Another upshot might be that journalists prefer frames that can fit into wider narratives alongside frames advanced by other actors. Indeed, despite the widely acknowledged tendency of journalists to seek novelty and surprise, there is no major indication that journalists much appreciate highly innovative, unfamiliar source frames.

A third tradition, which is sometimes discussed under the heading of mediatization, is interested in the rhetorical, narrative, and presentational strategies applied by professional communicators. Aiming to get their frames included in the news, preferably with minimal amounts of editing, sources submit their own communication activities (and often more than that) to the distinctive logic of the media (Strömbäck & Esser, 2014). In this vein, Julie Andsager (2000) found pro-life groups' use of emotionally charged, dramatic rhetoric to be more successful in influencing journalists' frames than pro-choice groups' rights-based frames. Research has uncovered a wide range of strategies that sources use to emulate journalistic writing—including the arrangement of information, the use of quotes and supportive visuals, as well as a variety of stylistic conventions (McGrath, 2007; Zoch & Molleda, 2006). For instance, Kirk Hallahan (2011) suggested that involving credible third parties in the presentation of frames may help public relations practitioners gain traction in the news. Likewise, sources generate events that resemble genuine news events but incorporate images, evidence, and narrative opportunities that support specific intended frames (e.g., Delicath & DeLuca, 2003). Of the varied strategies involved in sources' production of mediatized public relations materials, many may not be specific to framing. However, as sources attempt to anticipate and preempt journalistic transformation, the practices and hints included in public relations manuals may sometimes provide valuable clues about journalists' routines for selecting and editing sources' frames.

JOURNALISTIC FRAMING

Between the quickly growing body of frame building research and the unending stream of publications studying frames in the published news, the process of journalistic framing has long evaded scholarly attention. Only relatively recently have several scholars begun to systematically address journalists as framers in their own right.

One approach located within the dominant text-focused paradigm of both news framing and frame building analysis departs from a systematic juxtaposition of frames entering and exiting the newsroom. For instance, Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Christian Baden (2018) compared the frames constructed in the news to cover a sequence of hate crimes to the frames sponsored by cited sources. In this comparison, four characteristic transformations were identified in which journalists (1) embed the news within the cultural life worlds of their audiences, (2) evaluate its significance, (3) provide political commentary, and (4) generate emotive audience involvement. A fifth kind of transformation serves to signal journalistic professionalism and build trust in the news (see also Tuchman, 1972). In this process of transformation, moreover, journalists subordinate cited source frames and frame elements to their own, wider news frames: they position fully elaborated source frames as newsworthy viewpoints, recast sources' statements as testimony in a journalistic truth-seeking account, or reduce them to communicative actions in a political struggle over meaning and influence (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018). Using specific news frame templates to arrange the specific contents and meanings of selected source frames, journalists craft characteristic news narratives that address professional quality criteria—for instance, the balance norm in conflict frames (Tewksbury et al., 2000). As a result, many news texts exhibit familiar, "generic" frame structures, such as thematic or episodic, conflict, strategy, or human interest frames (Brüggemann & D'Angelo, 2018; de Vreese, 2005). By identifying specific changes and additions to the included information, its issue-specific framing and narrative presentation, this input-output type of analysis provides a more nuanced understanding of the respective contributions of journalists and their sources.

Complementing this textual approach, there has been a recent resurgence of interview-based and ethnographic studies interested in the journalistic production of news, including news frames. Based on a series of qualitative interviews, Guus Bartholomé, Sophie Lecheler, and Claes de Vreese (2015) argued that journalists frame news as conflict primarily in an effort to generate drama and audience involvement but consider this practice detrimental to other journalistic norms. Jan Boesman and Baldwin van Gorp (2017) have conducted extensive newsroom ethnographies to investigate journalistic framing practices. Based on these insights, they point to a delicate balance between journalists' conscious efforts to construct frames that render news stories interesting and their rejection of other framing practices viewed as distortive and unethical. Using reconstruction interviews, they detail how journalists mobilize and update culturally established frames in an effort to embed current news within their audiences' life worlds (Boesman, Berbers, d'Haenens, & van Gorp, 2017). Together with Leen d'Haenens, they have proposed an integrated strategy for studying journalists' contributions to framing the news (Boesman et al., 2016). Their approach combines the textual analysis of source materials and resulting news with the ethnographic observation of news-making processes and the interview-based reconstruction of intervening choices (see also Reich, 2009).

A third perspective on journalistic framing choices focuses on journalists' own understandings of the issues in the news, which can be elicited via interviews or inferred from an analysis of specific authors' writings. Journalists' cognitive frames are shaped by those frames available in a culture and to journalistic audiences, a wide range of professional norms and journalistic role conceptions, beat and newsroom frames, as well as journalists' own experiences and ideological commitments (Brüggemann, 2014; Delli Carpini, 2005). They shape not only the presentation of the news, but also journalists' strategies for obtaining and identifying newsworthy information. In a detailed, diachronic study of German journalists' coverage of xenophobic violence, for instance, Bertram Scheufele (2006) documented that infrequent, salient events updated journalists' beliefs about the focal problem, its causes, and evaluations. Following such events, then, journalists tended to preferentially select events for coverage that matched their cognitive frames and highlight aspects of the news that supported their present interpretations. Sven Engesser and Michael Brüggemann (2016) have mapped similar frames about climate change held by journalists in different countries, raising the question of to what extent journalists constitute an epistemic community of shared beliefs and professional criteria (Haas, 1992). Brüggemann (2014) has furthermore linked journalists' frames to their provision of evaluation and commentary on selected sources' frames (see also Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010).

Taken together, these perspectives illuminate several important linkages between the specific challenges and role conceptions structuring journalistic practice, and the contribution that journalists make to framing the news. On the one hand, journalists face the need to construct relevant, coherent news narratives from a fragmented, often contradictory, diet of information and interpretations. They need to carve out newsworthy aspects and implications, and engage their audiences with the news. In doing so, they have not only developed strategic routines that help with selecting and integrating newsworthy information (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016), the profession has also established a set of narrative templates that help to organize dispersed inputs into news stories and constitute different types of news frames (so-called "generic frames"; Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018; de Vreese, 2005). On the other hand, journalists' interventions in the framing process are shaped not only by these formal, professional routines but also reflect substantive preconceptions of the reported news. Cultural and organizational frame repositories, as well as journalists' personal views, influence what inputs and aspects will be selected and how these will be woven together into a meaningful news frame (Brüggemann, 2014). Considerable additional research is needed to investigate how journalistic framing practices construct specific kinds of meaning, generate greater or lesser amounts of diversity, and address different journalistic roles and professional challenges. However, the recent focus on journalistic framing as a transformative practice holds considerable promise not only for understanding how sources' frame building efforts translate into evolving and dominant frames in the news, but also for the study of journalism itself.

FRAMING EFFECTS

A final field of framing research, which has generated an immense body of scholarship from political science and communications all the way to social and cognitive psychology and behavioral economics, concerns the effects that frames elicit among their respective audiences. Scholarship on framing effects can be divided based on its focus on the cognitive, emotional, attitudinal, or behavioral implications of frames. Since frames affect behavior essentially by shaping individuals' perceptions and preferences, behavioral framing studies can mostly be subsumed under whichever psychological state is deemed responsible for a certain kind of behavior. Starting from Daniel Kahneman's and Amos Tversky's (1979) famous "Asian flu" experiments, the largest and oldest field by far concerns the impacts of frames upon preferences and attitudes. By presenting specific issues, policies, actors, or other objects as risky or safe, in line or in conflict with specific values, or simply about different domains in public life (e.g., economics, safety, or humanitarianism), frames have been shown to reliably shift people's attitudes (for reviews of the expansive literature, see Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2017). Over recent decades, numerous scholars have proposed different models of frame processing, advancing our understanding of the underlying psychological mechanisms (Baden & Lecheler, 2012; Nelson et al., 1997; Price & Tewksbury, 1997; Slothuus, 2008). At the same time, much scholarship has pointed out that frames' attitudinal and behavioral effects are mediated by changes in subjects' cognitive understanding and affective appraisal of framed issues (e.g., Nelson et al., 1997; Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Frames primarily affect recipients' momentary constructions of meaning, activating specific schematic beliefs or considerations that they already possess, or suggesting new beliefs that can become incorporated into knowledge (e.g., Baden, 2010; Berinsky & Kinder, 2006; Edy & Meirick, 2007). Depending on how recipients make sense of presented issues, then, they arrive at different evaluative conclusions, which can be reported as transient opinions, or can update their enduring attitudes (Matthes, 2007; Nelson et al., 1997).

Importantly, Vincent Price, David Tewksbury, and Elisabeth Powers (1997) have documented that frames do not sway people's beliefs and attitudes in any simple mechanistic fashion but interact with their prior beliefs and attitudes to engender a range of different results. Recipients are capable of choosing among competing frames, rejecting frames that they regard as implausible or inappropriate, and engaging creatively and constructively with frames to arrive at their own conclusions (Busby, Flynn, & Druckman, 2018; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Tourangeau & Rasinski, 1988). In an ongoing effort to study framing effects in a more realistic context, Dennis Chong and James Druckman (2007; Druckman, 2004) have initiated a surge in research on the effects of frame competition. Sophie Lecheler and Claes de Vreese (2011, 2016) have pushed toward a systematic study of framing effects over time, highlighting the cumulative impact of repeated uses of the same frames. Others have expanded the field to consider the role of emotions (e.g., Lecheler, 2018; Nabi, 2003) and include visual and multimodal frames (e.g., Coleman, 2006; Geise, 2017). At the same time, there has been a methodological diversification in the study of framing effects, which has traditionally been dominated by experimental methods. Andreas Schuck, Rens Vliegenthart, and Claes de Vreese (2016a, 2016b) and their collaborators at the Amsterdam School of Communication Research have introduced new strategies for linking real-world news framing with shifts in public opinion. Further, recent advances in research on cultural and sociological framing processes (e.g., Baden, 2018; Baden & David, 2017; van Gorp, 2007; Vliegenthart & van Zoonen, 2011) have contributed to a more nuanced understanding of the complex implications of frames in news discourse.

From the perspective of journalism studies, two aspects of framing effects research are specifically of interest. On the one hand, understanding the effects of news framing upon public beliefs, opinion formation, and behavior contributes to an evaluation of the democratic performance of journalism. Contrary to fears of news frames as powerful tools of manipulation and elite influence, current wisdom tends to support Gamson's (1992) suggestion that news audiences are "constrained by omissions from media discourse but relatively immune to differences in the relative prominence of visible frames" (p. 180). Consequently, one important standard for journalistic framing is the ability of news media to present a diversity of frames about an issue, enabling audiences to sift and choose those interpretations they regard most appropriate (Baden & Springer, 2017; Benson, 2012). By contrast, the traditional focus on the visibility and hegemony of (typically executive-sponsored, established) frames appears to be of secondary importance.

On the other hand, frames in the news affect not only general news audiences, but also political and other sources—most of them heavy news consumers—as well as journalists themselves (Scheufele, 1999). While not a key theme in the study of framing, there is evidence from research on journalistic co-orientation that journalists align their own frames toward interpretations perceived as salient within opinion-leading media (Danielian & Reese, 1989). Also, sources routinely take into account current news frames when formulating their messages. In both cases, the specific effects of frames upon journalists and sources potentially form a feedback loop (Scheufele, 1999) that contributes to the convergence of frames presented in the news, and a gradual diminishment of frame diversity (Baden & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2017).

CONCLUSION

Returning to the role of journalists within the complex, dynamic process of framing the news, the existing scholarship offers several important conclusions and points to other, similarly important avenues for future study. First, journalists occupy a central place within the process of framing the news but are simultaneously embedded in a dense web of strategic inputs and diffuse influences, available resources and practical constraints, established routines, and normative desiderates. The question here is less about who among the journalists and sources, publishers and audiences leads this "dance" but how the many collaborations, interactions, and interdependencies come together to shape its delicate choreography (Carlson, 2009). Second, inversely, framing practices occupy a central place within journalistic news production. Source interactions, newsroom routines and cultures, role conceptions, news genres, and professional narratives all contribute to shaping the frames used to interpret the news. At the same time, many organizational, cultural, normative, and practical institutions in journalism have been developed in response to journalists' need to frame the news in ways that address its political, economic, social, and other functions (Tuchman, 1978). Just as we can try to understand news frames in relation to how they emerge from journalistic work, we can study journalism with regard to how it supports and structures journalists' ability to interpret the news and render it meaningful.

Third, from the vantage point of the study of society, journalistic framing practices are among the key influences shaping the quality of public debates, and, thereby, the formation of public perceptions and opinions. By selecting and transforming available frames to generate news frames that satisfy certain professional and societal norms, journalists manage the bandwidth of meanings that can be considered and negotiated in a democratic debate (Reese, 2001, 2010). Each kind of framing-related journalistic practice also serves some wider societal function—from the verbalization of sources' and groups' perceptions, interests, and critiques, to the maintenance of fair and constructive discussions, to their presentation in an intelligible manner to synchronized, diverse audiences, to the explication of societal fault lines and collectively negotiable choices. Where journalism succeeds in offering an adequate plurality of relevant frames, publics are able to consider different possible positions and opinions, and participate meaningfully in their political and cultural communities (Benson, 2012; Chong, 1996). Inversely, where journalists fail to represent important perspectives, or fail to expose irrelevancies and distortions, publics lose their ability to manage diversity and disagreement. Beyond asking how journalistic framing practices influence the range of frames in the news, researchers need to engage with the normative functions of the news and relate both practices and contents to their implications for societal public debates (Carragee & Roefs, 2004).

Over recent decades, framing research has experienced a massive expansion, now connecting studies on the public construction of meaning across various societal domains and scientific disciplines (Matthes, 2011). Building upon an impressive literature and a wide range of important insights into the psychological, sociological, cultural, political, and communicative mechanisms involved, the field has begun to return to where Gaye Tuchman's (1978) seminal study left off 40 years ago. Studying framing as a key journalistic accomplishment, embedded within a multifaceted, interactive, and reflexive process, researchers still have many important contributions to make to understanding the workings of journalism in its ever-changing environment.

REFERENCES

Aday, S., Cluverius, J., & Livingston, S. (2005). As goes the statue, so goes the war: The emergence of the victory frame in television coverage of the Iraq war. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *49*(3), 314–331.

Andsager, J. L. (2000). How interest groups attempt to shape public opinion with competing news frames. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *77*(3), 577–592.

Baden, C. (2010). *Communication, contextualization, & cognition: Patterns & processes of frames' influence on people's interpretations of the EU Constitution*. Delft, The Netherlands: Eburon.

Baden, C. (2018). Reconstructing frames from intertextual news discourse: A semantic network approach to news framing analysis. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 3–26). New York, NY: Routledge.

Baden, C., & David, Y. (2017). On resonance. A study of culture-dependent reinterpretations of extremist violence in Israeli media discourse. *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(4), 514–534. doi:10.1177/0163443717734404

Baden, C., & Lecheler, S. K. (2012). Fleeting, fading, or far-reaching? A knowledge-based model of the persistence of framing effects. *Communication Theory*, *22*(4), 359–382. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2012.01413.x

Baden, C., & Springer, N. (2017). Conceptualizing viewpoint diversity in news discourse. *Journalism*, *18*(2), 176–194. doi:10.1177/1464884915605028

Baden, C., & Stalpouskaya, K. (2015). *Maintaining frame coherence between uncertain information and changing agendas: The evolving framing of the Syrian chemical attacks in the US, British, and Russian news*. Paper presented at the 65th ICA annual conference, San Juan, Puerto Rico, USA.

Baden, C., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2017). Convergent news? A longitudinal study of similarity and dissimilarity in the domestic and global coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(1), 1–25. doi:10.1111/jcom.12272

Baden, C., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2018). Viewpoint, testimony, action: How journalists reposition source frames within news frames. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(1), 143–161. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1161495

Bartholomé, G., Lecheler, S. K., & de Vreese, C. H. (2015). Manufacturing consent? How journalists intervene in the conflict frame building process. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *20*(4), 438–457. doi:10.1177/1940161215595514

Baumgartner, F. R., De Boef, S., & Boydstun, A. E. (2008). *The decline of the death penalty and the discovery of innocence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *26*, 611–639. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611
Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, *40*(2), 103–125.
Bennett, W. L. (1996). An introduction to journalism norms and representations of politics. *Political Communication*, *13*(4), 373–384.
Benson, R. (2012). *Framing immigration: How the French and American media shape public debate*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Berinsky, A. J., & Kinder, D. R. (2006). Making sense of issues through media frames: Understanding the Kosovo crisis. *The Journal of Politics*, *68*(3), 640–656. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00451.x
Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (2009). Rethinking news and myth as storytelling. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 205–217). London: Routledge.
Boesman, J., Berbers, A., d'Haenens, L., & van Gorp, B. (2017). The news is in the frame: A journalist-centered approach to the frame-building process of the Belgian Syria fighters. *Journalism*, *18*(3), 298–316. doi:10.1177/1464884915610988
Boesman, J., d'Haenens, L., & van Gorp, B. (2016). Between silence and salience: A multimethod model to study frame building from a journalistic perspective. *Communication Methods & Measures*, *10*(4), 233–247. doi:10.1080/19312458.2016.1228864
Boesman, J., & van Gorp, B. (2017). An insidious poison or a door to the story? *Journalism Practice*, *11*(5), 559–576. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1159920
Brüggemann, M. (2014). Between frame setting and frame sending: How journalists contribute to news frames. *Communication Theory*, *24*(1), 61–82. doi:10.1111/comt.12027
Brüggemann, M., & D'Angelo, P. (2018). Defragmenting news framing research: Reconciling generic and issue-specific frames. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 90–111). New York, NY: Routledge.
Busby, E., Flynn, D. J., & Druckman, J. N. (2018). Studying framing effects on political preferences: Existing research and lingering questions. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 27–50). New York, NY: Routledge.
Carey, J. (1989). *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
Carlson, M. (2009). Dueling, dancing, or dominating? Journalists and their sources. *Sociology Compass*, *3*(4), 526–542. doi:10.1111/j.1751-9020.2009.00219.x
Carragee, K. M., & Roefs, W. (2004). The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of Communication*, *54*(2), 214–233. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2004.tb02625.x
Chong, D. (1996). Creating common frames of reference on political issues. In D. C. Mutz, P. M. Sniderman, & R. A. Brody (Eds.), *Political persuasion and attitude change* (pp. 195–224). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 99–118. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00331.x
Clausen, L. (2004). Localizing the global: 'Domestication' processes in international news production. *Media, Culture & Society*, *26*(2), 25–44. doi:10.1177/0163443704038203
Coleman, R. (2006). The effects of visuals on ethical reasoning: What's a photograph worth to journalists making moral decisions. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *83*(4), 835–850. doi:10.1177/107769900608300407
Dan, V. (2018). A methodological approach for integrative framing analysis of television news. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 191–220). New York, NY: Routledge.
Danielian, L. H., & Reese, S. D. (1989). Intermedia influence and the drug issue: Converging on cocaine. In P. J. Shoemaker (Ed.), *Communication campaigns about drugs: Government, media, and the public* (pp. 29–45). Hillsdale, NJ: LEA.
David, C. C., Atun, J. M., Fille, E., & Monterola, C. (2011). Finding frames: Comparing two methods of frame analysis. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *5*(4), 329–351. doi:10.1080/19312458.2011.624873
David, C. C., & Baden, C. (2017). Frame analysis. In J. Matthes (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication research methods*. London: Wiley-Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0109

De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Informational Design Journal + Document Design*, *13*(1), 51–62. doi:10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre

De Vreese, C. H. (2014). Mediatization of news: The role of journalistic framing. In F. Esser & J. Strömbäck (Eds.), *Mediatization of politics: Understanding the transformation of Western democracies* (pp. 137–155). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Delicath, J. W., & DeLuca, K. M. (2003). Image events, the public sphere, and argumentative practice: The case of radical environmental groups. *Argumentation*, *17*(3), 315–333.

Delli Carpini, M. X. (2005). News from somewhere: Journalistic frames and the debate over "public journalism." In K. Callaghan & F. Schnell (Eds.), *Framing American politics* (pp. 21–53). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Druckman, J. N. (2004). Political preference formation: Competition, deliberation, and the (ir)relevance of framing effects. *American Political Science Review*, *98*(4), 671–686. doi:10.1017/S0003055404041413

Edy, J. A. (1999). Journalistic uses of collective memory. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(2), 71–85. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02794.x

Edy, J. A., & Meirick, P. C. (2007). Wanted, dead or alive: Media frames, frame adoption, and support for the war in Afghanistan. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 119–141. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00332.x

Engesser, S., & Brüggemann, M. (2016). Mapping the minds of the mediators: The cognitive frames of climate journalists from five countries. *Public Understanding of Science*, *25*(7), 825–841. doi:10.1177/0963662515583621

Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran Air incidents. *Journal of Communication*, *41*(4), 6–27. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1991.tb02328.x

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, *43*(4), 51–58. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading activation: Contesting the White House's frame after 9/11. *Political Communication*, *20*(4), 415–432. doi:10.1080/10584600390244176

Fröhlich, R., & Rüdiger, B. (2006). Framing political public relations: Measuring success of political communication strategies in Germany. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(1), 18–25.

Gamson, W. A. (1992). *Talking politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. In R. G. Braungart & M. M. Braungart (Eds.), *Research in political sociology* (Vol. 3, pp. 137–177). Greenwich, CN: JAI Press.

Geise, S. (2017). Visual framing. In P. Rössler (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of media effects*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781118783764.wbieme0120

Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Graber, D. A. (1988). *Processing the news: How people tame the information tide* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Haas, P. M. (1992). Introduction: Epistemic communities and international policy coordination. *International Organization*, *46*(1), 1–35.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hallahan, K. (2011). Political public relations and strategic framing. In J. Strömbäck & S. Kiousis (Eds.), *Political public relations: Principles and applications* (pp. 177–213). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Hänggli, R. (2012). Key factors in frame building: How strategic political actors shape news media coverage. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *56*(3), 300–317. doi:10.1177/0002764211426327

Hänggli, R., & Kriesi, H. (2012). Frame construction and frame promotion (strategic framing choices). *American Behavioral Scientist*, *56*(3), 260–278. doi:10.1177/0002764211426325

Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2016). What is news? News values revisited (again). *Journalism Studies*, *18*(12), 1–19. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2016.1150193

Houston, J. B., Pfefferbaum, B., & Rosenholtz, C. E. (2012). Disaster news: Framing and frame changing in coverage of major natural disasters, 2000–2010. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *89*(4), 606–623. doi:10.1177/1077699012456022

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S. (2010). Framing: The next steps. In B. Schaffner & P. Sellers (Eds.), *Winning with words: The origins and impact of political framing* (pp. 185–191). New York, NY: Routledge.

Johnson-Cartee, K. S. (2004). *News narrative and news framing: Constructing political reality*. Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1979). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, *47*(2), 263–291.

Klandermans, B. (1992). The social construction of protest and multiorganizational fields. In A. D. Morris & C. McClurg Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp. 77–103). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Lawrence, R. G. (2000). Game-framing the issues: Tracking the strategy frame in public policy news. *Political Communication*, *17*(2), 93–114.

Lecheler, S. K. (2018). Down the rabbit hole: Integrating emotions into news framing effects research. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis 2* (pp. 71–89). New York, NY: Routledge.

Lecheler, S. K., & de Vreese, C. H. (2011). Getting real: The duration of framing effects. *Journal of Communication*, *61*(5), 959–983. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2011.01580.x

Lecheler, S. K., & de Vreese, C. H. (2016). How long do news framing effects last? A systematic review of longitudinal studies. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *40*(1), 3–30. doi:10.1080/23808985.2015.11735254

Lück, J., Wessler, H., Wozniak, A., & Lycarião, D. (2016). Counterbalancing global media frames with nationally colored narratives: A comparative study of news narratives and news framing in the climate change coverage of five countries. *Journalism*. doi:10.1177/1464884916680372

Matthes, J. (2007). Beyond accessibility? Toward an on-line and memory-based model of framing effects. *Communications*, *32*(1), 51–78. doi:10.1515/COMMUN.2007.003

Matthes, J. (2011). Framing politics: An integrative approach. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *56*(3), 247–259. doi:10.1177/0002764211426324

Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The content analysis of media frames: Toward improving reliability and validity. *Journal of Communication*, *58*(2), 258–279. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2008.00384.x

McGrath, C. (2007). Framing lobbying messages: Defining and communicating political issues persuasively. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *7*(3), 269–280. doi:10.1002/pa.267

Nabi, R. L. (2003). Exploring the framing effects of emotion. *Communication Research*, *30*(2), 224–247. doi:10.1177/0093650202250881

Nelson, T. E., Oxley, Z. M., & Clawson, R. A. (1997). Toward a psychology of framing effects. *Political Behaviour*, *19*(3), 221–246. doi:10.1023/A:1024834831093

Pan, Z., & Kosicki, G. M. (1993). Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political Communication*, *10*(1), 55–75. doi:10.1080/10584609.1993.9962963

Price, V., & Tewksbury, D. (1997). News values and public opinion: A theoretical account of media priming and framing. In G. A. Barnett & F. J. Boster (Eds.), *Progress in the communication sciences* (Vol. 13, pp. 173–212). Greenwich, CT: Ablex.

Price, V., Tewksbury, D., & Powers, E. (1997). Switching trains of thought: The impact of news frames on readers' cognitive responses. *Communication Research*, *24*(5), 481–506. doi:10.1177/009365097024005002

Reese, S. D. (2001). Prologue: Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, Jr., & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp. 7–31). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Reese, S. D. (2010). Finding frames in a web of culture: The case of the war on terror. In P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 17–42). New York, NY: Routledge.

Reich, Z. (2009). *Sourcing the news: Key issues in journalism: An innovative study of the Israeli press*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Rhee, J. W. (1997). Strategy and issue frames in election campaign coverage: A social cognitive account of framing effects. *Journal of Communication*, *47*(3), 26–48. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1997.tb02715.x

Sapiro, V., & Soss, J. (1999). Spectacular politics, dramatic interpretations: Multiple meanings in the Thomas/Hill hearings. *Political Communication*, *16*(3), 285–314.

Scheufele, B. T. (2006). Frames, schemata, and news reporting. *Communications*, *31*(1), 65–83.

Scheufele, B. T., & Scheufele, D. A. (2010). Of spreading activation, applicability, and schemas: Conceptual distinctions and their operational implications for measuring frames and framing effects. In P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 110–134). New York, NY: Routledge.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(1), 103–122. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02784.x

Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2017). The state of framing research: A call for new directions. In K. Kenski & K. Hall Jamieson (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.013.47

Schuck, A. R. T., Vliegenthart, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2016a). Matching theory and data: Why combining media content with survey data matters. *British Journal of Political Science*, *46*(1), 205–213.

Schuck, A. R. T., Vliegenthart, R., & de Vreese, C. H. (2016b). Who's afraid of conflict? The mobilizing effect of conflict framing in campaign news. *British Journal of Political Science*, *46*(1), 177–194. doi:10.1017/S0007123413000525

Sheafer, T., & Gabay, I. (2009). Mediated public diplomacy: A strategic contest over international agenda building and frame building. *Political Communication*, *26*(4), 447–467. doi:10.1080/10584600903297240

Sheafer, T., Shenhav, S., Takens, J., & van Atteveldt, W. (2014). Relative political and value proximity in mediated public diplomacy: The effect of state-level homophily on international frame building. *Political Communication*, *31*(1), 149–167. doi:10.1080/10584609.2013.799107

Slothuus, R. (2008). More than weighting cognitive importance: A dual process model of issue framing effects. *Political Psychology*, *29*(1), 1–28. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00610.x

Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1992). Master frames and cycles of protest. In A. D. Morris & C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers of social movement theory* (pp. 133–155). Bringhamton, New York, NY: Yale University Press.

Strömbäck, J., & Esser, F. (2014). Introduction. In F. Esser & J. Strömbäck (Eds.), *Mediatization of politics: Understanding the transformation of Western democracies* (pp. 3–30). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., & Baden, C. (2018). Journalistic transformation: How source texts are turned into news stories. *Journalism*, *19*(4), 481–499. doi:10.1177/1464884916667873

Tewksbury, D., Jones, J., Peske, M. W., Raymond, A., & Vig, W. (2000). The interaction of news and advocate frames: Manipulating audience perceptions of a local public policy issue. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *77*(4), 804–829. doi:10.1177/107769900007700406

Tewksbury, D., & Scheufele, D. A. (2009). News framing theory and research. In J. Bryant & M. B. Oliver (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 17–33). New York, NY: Routledge.

Tourangeau, R., & Rasinski, K. A. (1988). Cognitive processes underlying context effects in attitude measurement. *Psychological Bulletin*, *103*(3), 299–314. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.103.3.299

Tromble, R., & Meffert, M. F. (2016). The life and death of frames: Dynamics of media frame duration. *International Journal of Communication*, *10*, 5079–5101.

Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as strategic ritual: An examination of newsmen's notions of objectivity. *The American Journal of Sociology*, *77*(4), 660–679.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Van Atteveldt, W., Ruigrok, N., & Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2006). *Associative framing: A unified method for measuring media frames and the media agenda*. Paper presented at the ICA 56th annual conference, Dresden, Germany.

Van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 60–78. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00329.x

Van Gorp, B. (2010). Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis. In P. D'Angelo & J. A. Kuypers (Eds.), *Doing news framing analysis: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 84–109). New York, NY: Routledge.

Vliegenthart, R., & van Zoonen, L. (2011). Power to the frame: Bringing sociology back to frame analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, *26*(2), 101–115.

Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). *Media and political conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). *Media and the path to peace*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Wozniak, A., Lück, J., & Wessler, H. (2015). Frames, stories, and images: The advantages of a multimodal approach in comparative media content research on climate change. *Environmental Communication*, *9*(4), 469–490.
Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(1), 79–98. doi:10.1111/j.0021-9916.2007.00330.x
Zoch, L. M., & Molleda, J-C. (2006). Building a theoretical model of media relationships using framing, information subsidies, and agenda-building. In C. H. Botan & V. Hazleton (Eds.), *Public relations theory II* (pp. 245–272). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

16

News, Discourse, and Ideology

Darren Kelsey

Journalists work within organizational structures and adhere to editorial values and pressures that influence the work they produce. Furthermore, journalists are people who are part of the shared cultural practices that readers and audiences are engaged with in society. As this chapter shows, we must analyze news, discourse, and ideology as a polygonal complex of societal, political, and interpersonal relations. In other words, ideology in the news should not be approached conspiratorially: it is part of our culture(s).

This chapter provides an historical overview of approaches to critical theory that have analyzed the ideological significance of media. By then discussing more recent developments in Critical Linguistics, which has studied the significance of language in the production and consumption of news, this chapter moves towards the field of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Whilst CDA originally developed from predominantly linguistic approaches to discourse analysis, this chapter covers a range of analytical approaches to news, discourse, and ideology from critical perspectives beyond linguistics. Interdisciplinary approaches to CDA have contributed significantly to the enrichment of journalism studies through its critical lens and attention to ideology in news media. Hence, this chapter also addresses non-Western developments in CDA, which have seen it expand beyond its Western foundations through global analyses of ideology in news discourse in a range of cultural contexts.

The interdisciplinary nature of CDA as a global research discipline has provided opportunities for media analysts to develop further innovations into analyzing the multiple dimensions of discourse and ideology in news. Through the study of signs and symbols in their social contexts, *semiotics* provides useful toolkits for analyzing news since it expands beyond the linguistic content of discourse. By considering the multiple textual layers and components of news—the images, layouts, and broader composition of news texts—multimodal frameworks provide the scope to analyze multimedia news platforms. Hence, this chapter also demonstrates the growing necessity to understand the ideological and discursive practices of news given the rapid developments of digital and social media contexts. The digital systems that are currently impacting upon journalistic practices will, for better or worse, continue to have ideological implications on the content of news discourse. But before we speculate on the growing impact of digital discursive practices, let's consider some of those historical approaches that have shaped critical research on news, discourse, and ideology.

HISTORICAL APPROACHES IN CRITICAL MEDIA RESEARCH

Critical media research stretches way back beyond much of the historical ground covered in this chapter. Marxist traditions of research (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972; Habermas, 1962; Gramsci, 1971) had previously scrutinized the media in terms of its economic base, ownership, and means of production. From this point, critical research was concerned with how the political and economic conditions of media production affect its content and subsequently influence the meaning of media content that citizens consumed. But Marxist models of media and audience research, such as the Frankfurt School (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1972; Habermas, 1962), were critiqued for their economic reductionism and lack of attention to the diverse ways in which audiences consume and actively reflect on media. Whilst it was understood that media plays a significant role in public discourse, those early Marxist projects were critiqued for offering overly simplistic notions that suggested the media functioned like a "hypodermic needle" or "magic bullet." Nonetheless, despite their flaws, these early schools of thought had stimulated a justified interest in both the media systems of production and social environments that affect media content.

This historical background is important since critical analyses of news, discourse, and ideology is concerned with the social and political power relations that news media operate within and the interests that they serve. Whilst a Marxist approach is not essential here, some of those historical approaches have offered analytical vocabulary and reflective positions that help us to critique the ideological operations and content of news media in the social, political, and economic contexts of capitalist societies. The areas covered in this chapter show how we can continually adapt and review those analytical toolkits in order to understand the social and technological developments in media that are part of the discursive and ideological practices of news.

The Glasgow Media Group (GMG) conducted large research studies on television news and audiences (Winston, Philo, & Eldridge, 1982). In *Bad News From Israel*, for example, GMG adopted quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze television news media coverage of the Israel-Palestine conflict (Philo & Berry, 2004). Their research found "major differences in the way Israelis and Palestinians are represented, including how casualties are shown and the presentation of the motives and rationales of both sides" (ibid.). This analysis of media content was also "combined with a very extensive audience study involving hundreds of participants from the US, Britain and Germany" (ibid.). Their findings reflected significant differences in "levels of knowledge and understanding, especially amongst young people from these countries" (ibid.). Through its triangulation of multiple research methods, this project brought together journalists and audiences to jointly examine the ideological implications of news content in perceptions of news. Their research showed "how public belief and opinion have been shaped by media reporting" (ibid.). Since then one of GMG's follow-up studies, *Bad News for Refugees*, has applied a similar approach to show "how hysterical and inaccurate media accounts act to legitimize political action which can have terrible consequences both on the lives of refugees and also on established migrant communities" (Philo, Briant, & Donald, 2013).

GMG's research has provided a rigorous theoretical and methodological approach to analyzing processes that shape news content. Philo argues that it is only through these triangulated methodologies that we can really understand the processes of production and consumption involved in the discursive practices of news media. Philo (2007, p. 175) has gone as far as to respond to the field of CDA by arguing that discourse and ideology are studied insufficiently through textual approaches that do not engage with audiences and practitioners:

> A comparison of the methods of the Glasgow University Media Group with the work of Norman Fairclough and Teun van Dijk shows that discourse analysis which remains text-based has problems in its ability to show: (1) the origins of competing discourses and how they relate to different social interests, (2) the diversity of social accounts compared to what is present (and absent) in a specific text, (3) the impact of external factors such as professional media practice on the manner in which the discourses are represented, and (4) what the text actually means to different parts of the audience.

I sympathize with Philo's points here. However, as demonstrated below, textual approaches can offer rigorous and satisfactory insights when they are clear about those aspects of communication that they can engage with. Furthermore, some approaches to CDA have examined international conflicts and foreign affairs through triangulated frameworks that synergize CDA with other methods to provide practical and ethnographic insights to the discursive practices of news production (Richardson & Barkho, 2009; Barkho, 2008; Kryzanowski, 2014).

Whilst these approaches have demonstrated the compatibility of CDA within more triangulated frameworks, we can still learn a lot from analyzing discourse through textual analysis that adopts broader theoretical and contextual knowledge about the production and consumption of news. There is a significant purpose to rigorous analyses of discourse and ideology in news that does not necessarily require those other dimensions of analysis Philo refers to if it is conducted appropriately within the parameters of its scope. The interdisciplinary bodies of research that are covered below show how researchers with any level of experience or resourcing can conduct insightful, rigorous, and state-of-the-art analysis on news, discourse, and ideology.

LANGUAGE AND IDEOLOGY IN NEWS MEDIA

Critical Linguistics provided the foundations for frameworks designed to critically interrogate journalistic language in relation to power and society (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 1979; Trew, 1979; Kress, 1983; Chilton, 1985; Fowler, 1991, 1991; Hodge & Kress, 1993). *Language and Control* (1979), Fowler et al.'s seminal work, developed Critical Linguistics through its microanalytical techniques in relation to more macro oriented contexts such a class structure and social power, which were significant to journalism studies. This work laid the foundations for expansive Critical Linguistics research on media texts that would provide the roots to CDA.

Amongst various innovations, Trew's (1979) work on linguistic variation and ideology in newspaper discourse became a milestone text that paved the way for CL's introduction in critical media research. Trew developed "systematic ways of isolating ideology in discourse to illustrate further aspects of the linguistic expression of the relations of newspapers and ideologies to social processes" (1979, p. 118). For example, Trew's work on press coverage of the 1977 Notting Hill Carnival (1979) showed how print news covered social violence through different language choices across texts that reflect the ideological interests of particular news sources, according to their accounts of social groups and their agency.

Most importantly, whilst this work showed how Critical Linguistics could be applied in journalism studies, this was only on the condition that the frameworks applied could understand the specific generic context and cultural landscape of the press. As a former journalist, Bell's (1991) work adopted this ethos. Bell was particularly astute in the insights he brought to CL: his ability to introduce practical and environmental analysis of news production shed light on how language is a product of explicit functional processes of the newsroom. Bell's work covered a range of practical journalistic factors such as the production of a news story that determined its structure and narrative. His experience meant he could account for the newsgathering processes of a newsroom and explain the values behind processes of news storytelling.

For media scholars adopting innovative but complex frameworks of Critical Linguistics theory in journalism studies, Fowler (1991) also provided an accessible approach. Fowler addressed the micro structures of language and power through to the macro ideological contexts of newspapers and their editorial values. He argued that the news media often reproduce the dominant order due to the ideological influence of those in positions of power. Powerful institutions "provide the newspapers with modes of discourse which already encode the attitudes of a powerful elite. Newspapers in part adopt this language for their own and . . . reproduce the attitudes of the powerful" (Fowler, 1991, pp. 23–24). Fowler provided a series of case studies including: linguistic formations in discriminatory discourses of gender and power between social groups, discursive constructions of public opinion and consensus in newspapers, and the argumentative generic conventions and forms of modality that newspaper editorials adopt in their style of "connecting" with readers. Fowler argued that language is always produced by sources with their own ideological interests: "Anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium" (1991, p. 10).

Fowler's approach was a welcome effort to explicitly address interdisciplinary nuances (through connections to media studies) that valued the work of critical media research (Philo, Hewitt, Beharrell, & Davis, 1982) but was also committed to a more sophisticated understanding of *language* in media texts. Fowler argued that most approaches to critical media research saw news discourse as a social construct that needed to be understood in semiotic terms. However, he still felt that language gets relatively minor attention in media analysis, like that of the Glasgow Group, who he saw as being "better equipped technically to analyze, visual techniques in television" (ibid., p. 8).

By Fowler's admission, there are multiple dimensions and discursive components in the construction of any newspaper text that are beyond the scope of CL. The layout, images, headlines, typography, and other interactive elements of newspapers are not considered in his analysis. Particularly in the world of online news, stories are constructed through unique and complex textual and digitally interactive layouts that require multimodal frameworks to analyze them in their entirety (Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Knox, 2007, 2010). But Fowler was justifiably content in his focus on language from a Critical Linguistics perspective through a framework designed to do a specific job: interrogate the social and ideological role of language in the news. He acknowledged the importance of understanding contextual circumstances and processes of production behind news discourse, which his peers, such as Bell (1991), had demonstrated the significance of. Subsequently, developments in CDA since the emergence of Critical Linguistics have sought to further address the practical and contextual complexities of news content beyond exclusive analyses of language.

JOURNALISM AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE STUDIES

A significant development from Critical Linguistics to CDA came in the work of van Dijk (1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1998). This work presented a new, interdisciplinary approach to critical media analysis through a framework of discourse analysis and social cognition. Van Dijk differentiated this approach from other critical media and communication research:

> We . . . find that few approaches pay sufficient attention to the study of news as discourse in its own right. This is particularly true of the macrosociological approaches to news. We also believe that the cognitive dimension of news production and understanding has been neglected.
>
> (1988a, pp. 2–3)

From a discourse analytical grounding, van Dijk has always argued that news should be studied in its relevant context but still as a significant form of public discourse.

He understood that mass communication research was already concerned with the economic, social, and cultural contexts of news media, but he also stressed the importance of conducting structural analysis of news stories as a "qualitative alternative to traditional methods of content analysis" (1988a, p. vii). He claimed that news discourse was "explicitly linked to social practices and ideologies of newsmaking and, indirectly, to the institutional and macrosociological contexts of the news media" (ibid., p. vii). A useful example of this approach applied to journalistic material is his work on racism in the press (1991). Following transnational research on the negative representations and stereotyping of racial minorities, van Dijk highlighted the institutional bias against ethnic minority leaders and workers, with minority journalists often discriminated against in professional environments (1991).

Another popular approach in critical media research, which again developed from its roots in Critical Linguistics, is Fairclough's (1995, 2003) three-layered model of CDA. This framework transcended "the division between work inspired by social theory which tends not to analyze texts, and work which focuses upon the language of texts but tends not to engage with social theoretical issues" (2003, pp. 2–3). Fairclough's approach includes "interdiscursive analysis, that is, seeing texts in terms of the different discourses, genres and styles they draw upon and articulate together" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). This enables a critical outlook on "the relatively durable structuring of language which is itself one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices" (ibid., p. 3).

The first layer of Fairclough's model is concerned with *textual analysis*. This is more than linguistic or grammatical analysis of texts; like Critical Linguistics, it concerns the ideological role of language as a social product. As Paul Simpson (1993) explains, language is used by powerful groups to reinforce dominant ideologies and therefore needs to be studied as a site of ideological struggle. Hence, the second layer of analysis is *discursive practice*. In terms of news discourse and journalism, textual features are all seen to occur through decision-making processes in their cultural and professional contexts. Journalists and news organizations are wrapped up in cultural practices of time and place as well as their employers having their own editorial interests and socioeconomic agendas to fulfill. Attention to discursive practice means that processes of textual production and consumption are scrutinized. Discursive practices can account for the ways in which "authors of texts draw on already existing discourses and genres to create a text and . . . how receivers of texts also apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of . . . texts" (Jorgenson, & Phillips, 2002, p. 69). This has been particularly important in Kelsey's (2015c) work on journalism, mythology, memory, and discourses of national narration. These elements reflect what Blommaert refers to in systems of reproduction, reception, and remembering, which affect the way that texts are produced and consumed since socio-historical and cultural mechanisms form discourses and produce meaning (1999, pp. 5–6).

In *Analysing Newspapers* (2007), Richardson provides a rigorous example of Fairclough's model applied in journalism studies. He provides examples of discursive practices in processes of news production and consumption to explain the dynamics of newspaper stories in relation to their readerships, editorial values, and broader social contexts. These micro-macro dimensions of discursive practice take us to the third level of Fairclough's model: *social practice*. This level expands beyond media texts and examines some the wider social contexts of which the discourse is a product of and/or responding to. This is often the level where CDA takes an explicit normative or political position in response to a problem, dominant ideology, or exploitative social relations (Richardson, 2007). It is here, in the overlapping ground between discursive and social practices, which supplement each other through the production and consumption of news texts, where CDA begins to oscillate between its linguistic roots and connections to social, cultural, and critical theoretical analysis. This addresses broader questions regarding the social and political role of journalism, considering anything from what news says about the society in which it is produced to the impact it has on the (reproductive) social relations that it is a part of (Richardson, 2007).

In Kelsey's research (2012, 2014, 2015c, 2015d), the analytical toolkits and insights of CDA covered so far have been synergized with cultural theory to analyze mythology and ideology in journalistic storytelling. The discourse-mythological approach was developed with two main objectives: to use the tools of CDA to analyze discursive constructions of mythology in news stories; and to show how myth theory can demonstrate cultural, semiotic, archetypal, and ideological functions of news discourse and journalistic storytelling (Barthes, 1993; Lule, 2001; Kelsey, 2015c, 2017a).

DISCOURSE, MYTHOLOGY, AND IDEOLOGY

Analyses of news as a form of mythological storytelling are not uncommon in journalism studies (Kelsey, 2015c, 2017a; Lule, 2001; O'Donnell, 2003; Bird & Dardenne, 2008). Lule argues that mythological storytelling justifies ideological standpoints: "Myth celebrates dominant beliefs and values. Myth degrades and demeans other beliefs that do not align with those of the storyteller" (ibid., p. 184). This selective process is a highly politicized negotiation of discursive practices: "The diachronic and synchronic formations of mythology might articulate simple messages but they are complex processes that often provide sophisticated manipulations of popular stories, memories and identities" (Kelsey, 2015c, p. 187). Journalists are storytellers (or mythmakers) in contemporary societies: "Like myth tellers from every age, journalists can draw from the rich treasure trove of archetypal stories and make sense of the world" (Lule, 2001, p. 18). Equally, audiences often rely on the same archetypal conventions and familiar cultural mythologies to understand the stories they are told (Kelsey, 2015c; Kelsey, 2015d). This approach, for example, enabled Kelsey to identify the archetypal conventions of particular stories about Nigel Farage and Brexit—where Campbell's (1949) monomyth (the Hero's Journey) functioned ideologically in discursive constructions of Farage's mission to win a referendum on the UK's membership of the EU (Kelsey, 2017a).

As Flood (2002) points out, it is important to understand how myth "arises from the intricate, highly variable relationship between claims to validity, discursive construction, ideological marking, and reception of the account by a particular audience in a particular historical context." Hence, in *Media and Affective Mythologies*, Kelsey provided a psycho-discursive analysis of archetypes and ideology in news stories. This research further developed the discourse-mythological approach (Kelsey, 2015c, 2017a), which provides a detailed breakdown of differences between mythology, ideology, and discourse. This framework shows how discourse constructs myth, which carries ideology, yet ideology also informs discourse in the construction of mythology.

In *Media, Myth and Terrorism* this framework also drew on the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) to analyze the historical contexts of language, ideology, and mythology. Wodak's approach examines the historical meanings, complexities, contradictions, and ideological implications of words, phrases, and stories in diachronic and synchronic contexts. This analysis provided a rigorous case study of World War II mythology about the "blitz spirit" in British newspaper responses to the July 7th bombings. Heroism, trauma, economics, royalty, rituals, human rights, foreign policy, immigration, and multiculturalism were just some of the intertextual and interdiscursive elements that featured across a vast landscape of stories embracing a myth from 1940 in order to understand acts of terrorism in 2005. Considering how the press, politicians, and members of the public were caught up in popular accounts of Britain's past, Kelsey explored the ideological battleground that occurred after the bombings when the myth of the blitz was invoked.

Through the complexities and contradictions of this discursive landscape, Kelsey began to pay increasing attention to the "messiness" and inconsistent nature of news discourse and ideology in popular myths of national identity. Rather than avoiding those discursive patterns and complexities that appeared to be messy and complicated, Kelsey found further reason to address the ideological operations and nuances of news discourse.

PARADOX, CONTRADICTION, AND IDEOLOGY IN NEWS DISCOURSE

The contradictions and complexities of news stories should interest scholars in journalism and discourse studies. In attempts to make sense of contradictions and ideological contexts, Kelsey adopted the tools of CDA to examine the "paradoxical persuasions" of discourse (Kelsey, 2015b, 2015c). The "messiness" and inconsistencies of news demands a thorough cultural and political understanding of the social contexts in which the press operates. For example, Kelsey (2015b) analyzed right-wing newspapers during the London rights to show how the ideological consistencies operating beyond the foreground and immediacy of individual news stories override the appearance of discursive contradiction across longitudinal contexts. In another analysis, Kelsey (2015b) came across a case where radical left-wing politician, George Galloway had written a column in the Daily Mail (a right-wing newspaper) where he held Blair and British foreign policy responsible for the attacks.[1] By addressing the "messiness" of discourse, we can see how ideology in the news does not operate through the monolithic narratives we often expect from particular news providers.

Scholars of journalism and discourse studies should not shy away from these nuances and complications. They actually provide some of the most insightful and provocative instances of ideological practices that operate between news providers and readers. They show how ideology and cultural practices that function beyond news through society provide some of the most crucial binding factors of meaning making. News discourse forms part of public discourse that is dialogically connected to social ideals and values of those ideological paradigms we operate within according to our personal and cultural circumstances. News providers do not need (or intend) to be consistent in terms of their narrative detail across different stories—news stories are not designed to be juxtaposed, compared and approved of in terms of their longitudinal consistency. Rather, news stories are written to serve an immediate purpose through whatever narrative form that suits editorial values. The immediate purpose that a story serves often overrides discursive "contradictions." This is why Kelsey argues that we can only make sense of these discursive nuances by understanding how *ideology* functions through particular readings of news stories.

A recent case of this occurred in a sophisticated analysis of *Fox News* discourse and ideology in relation to Pope Francis and his position on climate change (Tandoc, Takahashi, & Thomas, 2017). On the one hand, there was a reluctance to be critical of the Catholic Church. Yet, at the at the same time, the Pope's position and agenda on climate change was oppositional to that of Fox News. This was significant due to the ambivalence and non-committal position that was adopted through particular strategies of dissonance in news discourse:

> When Pope Francis, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church, released his encyclical on climate change in June 2015, the Fox News Channel, the most watched cable news network in the United States, faced a dilemma. Some of its news anchors and regular commentators are Catholics, and therefore have a positive bias for the Pope. But the network is also known for its bias against man-made climate change. Guided by cognitive dissonance theory, this study analyzed how Fox News' anchors and commentators discussed Pope Francis' stance on climate change. The analysis found a clear ambivalence in their discourse and identified four discursive strategies that they used to navigate discursive dissonance.
>
> (Tandoc et al., 2017)

Multiple producers of multiple texts and discourses do not provide monolithic narratives for us to make sense of. This is not a problem: it provides a fascinating melee of intertextual and interdiscursive levels of representations and ideology through expressions and perceptions of multifaceted social contexts. It is the job of discourse analysts to make sense of those complexities and their implications on social relations.

However, these discursive complexities occur within those cultural contexts that are familiar to Western audiences and analysts who work within disciplines of research that respond to Western affairs. They are, therefore, able to recognize social and cultural nuances within political and economic environments beyond their immediate interests as critical analysts of media. Hence, we need a range of analytical skills and interests across disciplines of journalism studies to understand the ever expanding range of global news cultures. And, furthermore, we need to understand what happens discursively when *translations* of language are involved within different cultures. Some of the transnational approaches in journalism and discourse studies have addressed these issues whilst more broadly de-Westernizing CDA as a discipline. One of the most impressive adaptive developments of CDA has been its application beyond the Western culture in which it was developed due to its relevance in terms of ideology and power in language and discursive practice.

NON-WESTERN NEWS, DISCOURSE, AND IDEOLOGY

Due to the interdisciplinary flexibility of CDA it can be adapted across geographical cultures of research. The literature covered in this section shows how CDA has evolved transnationally to consider the discursive and journalistic dynamics that operate in processes of language translation, national and international environments, and other intercultural tensions of media and society. Kuo and Nakamura (2005) use CDA to analyze headlines, editorial choices (deletions and additions), linguistic variations, stylistic differences, and thematic changes in translated Chinese versions of the same English language text. They argue that these translations are actually more *transformations* since the "differences found in the two Chinese texts are not arbitrary, but rather are ideologically motivated, that is, they reflect and construct the underlying opposed ideologies between the two [Chinese] newspapers" (2005, p. 393).

Alvaro (2015) also adopted a "sociolinguistic view of China's English language media and its attempted penetration of the global language community" (p. 260). By adopting Kachru's Caliban dynamic as a metaphor, Alvaro examines how China disseminates ideological messages back to the "colonizers" through a Sinocentric from of English language (ibid., p. 260). Alvaro's (2013) earlier work adopted CDA to examine Chinese media discourses "in which a dissident social actor is represented in China's state-run English-language press" (p. 289). Alvaro shows how Chinese media sources use particular discursive practices to frame dissidents in news stories. He argues that this serves the purpose of similar dynamics to an ideological square (van Dijk, 1998, p. 267),[2] since this media introduces ideological bias through representations of positive-Self/negative-Other in the discourse on dissidents.

This international adoption of CDA applied to multiple journalistic genres is also reflected in Juuko's (2015) work on the Ugandan broadcast media's framing of environmental risk. Her analysis shows how media sources "reproduce the order of the hegemonic discourse, whereby, the wealthy elite are highly regarded while the poor ordinary people are marginalized" (p. 2). Juuko argues that whilst those marginalized voices occur in media coverage, situations are often framed as the consequences of their actions. Hence, "blaming the victim," a strategy that, as Ryan (1971, p. 7) points out, usually serves to "justify a perverse form of social action designed to change not society, but rather society's victim." Way's (2015) work has also adapted CDA to analyze the ideological tensions of broadcast media in coverage of Turkish-Cypriot conflicts. By examining radio news broadcasts in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Way shows how media coverage aggravated relations with the Republic of Cyprus during a period when explicit efforts had been made to improve relations between the two regions. Way argues that whilst broadcasters appeared to be applauding the election of pro-federation politicians and diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict, closer attention to the language of radio news did not reflect a pro-solution discourse. Instead, the lexical and grammatical construction of radio news perpetuated the conflict by communicating "uncertainty, suspicion and even threat, in each case slightly differently, to support each station's associated ideologies and interests which are consistently anti-unity" (ibid., p. 2). This ideological context was a result of close relationships between "news media and politics where a plurality of stations offer a range of viewpoints but all are connected to political parties and interests whose concerns are mostly that of self-interest" (ibid., p. 2).

The news media's role in constructions of national identity and its ideological significance in policy discourses were also examined by Flowerdew and Leong (2007) in their analysis of Hong Kong's reform debate. Their analysis examines "the role of metaphors in the discursive construction of the notion of patriotism in postcolonial Hong Kong" (p. 273). By analyzing news reports and opinion pieces from two local newspapers covering the issue of patriotism, they provide insight to "the role of language in constructing the identity of a patriotic Chinese" (ibid., p. 273). Furthermore, this analysis helps to provide a better "understanding of the politics and tensions between the local and the national under the unprecedented 'one country two systems' arrangement of postcolonial Hong Kong" (ibid., p. 273).

Issues of patriotism and national identity in news media have seen CDA adopted in European contexts to examine cultural constructions and ideological tensions in the European Union (Kelsey, 2015d; Hardt-Mautner, 1995). Hardt-Mautner (1995) examined how the British press represented and responded to the challenges of European integration and EU policymaking processes. Her analysis showed that national stereotyping features significantly in the news coverage of France and Germany and data from *The Sun* newspaper was "used to illustrate strategies employed to make elite discourse more accessible to the lay reader" (ibid., p. 177). Kelsey (2015d, 2017a) has also shown how the British press and rhetoric of the UK Independence Party continue to play a significant role in media and public discourse around EU integration, membership, and referendum debates.

These cultural and conceptual developments of CDA show how it has grown significantly as an interdisciplinary field since those initial foundations in Critical Linguistics and CDA that I discussed earlier on. However, there are further cultural nuances and technological developments to account for, which are significant to CDA, in multimodal approaches to news discourse. Transnational scholarly efforts to introduce journalistic research to the field of CDA (and vice versa) have recently expanded through other frameworks concerned with the visual and technological developments of news media.

MULTIMODALITY, ONLINE NEWS, AND ALGORITHMIC DISCURSIVE PRACTICE

Online media provides new challenges and complexities to consider in our attention to news, discourse, and ideology. Media convergence factors and multimodal dimensions of online technologies have seen significant social and political dynamics occur in the production, consumption, and participatory aspects of online news. Multimodal approaches to discourse have responded through the development of analytical frameworks that are suitable for analyzing the digital media practices of online news (Jones, 2004; Van Leeuven & Kress, 2011; van Leeuwen, 2004; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Caple, 2013; Kelsey, 2015a). Furthermore, the participatory nature of social media has seen discourse scholars adapting the tools of CDA to examine entire communicative practices in their ideological contexts beyond any exclusive (and otherwise inadequate) attention to digital texts. A text can rarely be considered in isolation through online media since it is surrounded by a number of significant political factors and discursive practices.

The foundations of multimodal research are based on social semiotic theories (Barthes, 1993; Thibault, 1991) that have been commonly adopted in communication and language research (Halliday, 1978; van Leeuwen, 2004; Van Leeuven & Kress, 2011). In this conceptual and analytical approach, no single component of a multimodal formation functions in isolation at any single moment. Van Leeuven and Kress (2011) describe this as the study of “the material resources we use in multimodal communication, and the way we use these resources for purposes of communication and expression” (p. 109). Similarly, Bednarek and Caple’s (2012) approach considered discourse as an incorporation of both language and image in their semiotic modes that are simultaneously operating in their uses across different news sources (including print, broadcast, and online), to show how various discourse analytical approaches can be applied to these formats.

Caple argues that “multisemiotic storytelling” has developed through online news environments (2013) and the images of online news provide multifunctional purposes in the construction of a story and its interactive dynamic with the reader. The traditional news “paper” story displays its familiar features online combined with other multimedia and interactive elements that are becoming increasingly relevant to developing forms of participatory communicative practice and multimodal analysis:

> [Online news stories] represent the institutional news media in the sense that they are usually produced by media professionals. However, the more significant change is that they are published along with user-generated genres that have become popular through social media.
>
> (Caple, 2013, pp. 83–84)

Therefore, more expansive considerations of entire multisemiotic conventions provide the opportunity to see how stories stimulate particular readings, responses, and debates that are significant to the communicative practices of news stories in their entirety. For example, Caple illustrates the significance of system networks and how to adopt metafunctional approaches to analyzing news images (2013, p. 58). Similarly, Knox (2007, 2010) made significant advances in adapting linguistic approaches for semiotic research by analyzing the function of thumbnail images in newsbites and hard-news stories. Knox's work identifies newsbites (headline-plus-lead-hyperlink) on newspaper website homepages as complex signs containing hyper visual elements that attract and stimulate readers in different ways (also see Caple, 2013; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Knox (2007, p. 26) argues that newsbites operate as "independent texts in their own unique contextual environment to construe actors and events according to the institutional goals and ideologies of the newspaper."

One example of this can be seen in the business model and discursive practices of the *Mail Online*. As Kelsey's previous analysis of the *Mail Online* points out, multimodal qualities such as embedded videos, "attractive" thumbnail images and multiple side-bar headlines have become a significant feature of some news websites, particularly in the case of the *Mail Online* (Kelsey, 2017b). What is significant about the *Mail Online*'s success is the exacerbation of commercial and business interests that have increasingly impacted upon news content. As Richardson (2007) previously explained in relation to traditional news organizations, "advertisers will not subsidize a news producer without an audience. And this pushes journalism towards increasing light, entertaining copy at the expense of more weighty examinations or more expensive long-term investigative reporting" (pp. 78–79). Digital platforms arguably exacerbate this dynamic. Online news providers that seek to update homepages regularly across a 24-hour period seek as much copy as possible to reproduce as quickly as possible.

Given these technological advancements, critical analysts will need to continually adapt to account for their ideological influence on news discourse. For example, growing developments in online journalism have seen the introduction of algorithms and big data. Algorithms are already being critiqued in terms of their social power (Beer, 2017; Kitchin, 2017) and ideological implications (Mager, 2012). Dorr has provided a rigorous analysis that "uncovers new ethical challenges and shifts of responsibility in news production for journalism practice and journalism research at the levels of objectivity, authority, transparency, and at the level of implicit or explicit values." These are significant aspects of discursive practice that are of a central concern to CDA. Montal and Reich (2017) have highlighted an increasing "reliance on algorithms to generate news automatically." They argue that these developments have "significant practical, sociopolitical, psychological, legal and occupational implications for news organizations, journalists and their audiences. One of its most controversial yet unexplored aspects is the algorithmic authorship" (p. 829). Hence, algorithmic authorship is significant to news, discourse, and ideology.

Attention to the discursive and ideological practices of algorithmic authorship is essential if we are to continue enriching the critical scope of journalism studies. In the same manner that we currently scrutinize the discursive construction of news by those who own news providers, manage newsrooms, and influence news discourse, we should be equally concerned by the design and implementation of algorithms and their ideological implications on news discourse. CDA must keep up with these innovations and find ways to critically analyze what I refer to here as *algorithmic discursive practice*. Those concerns about algorithms and big data in journalism (Beer, 2016; Kitchin, 2017; Mager, 2012; Montal & Reich, 2017; Dalen, 2012) all relate to the ideological operations of discursive practice that are directly relevant to the future interests of critical media research.

CONCLUSION: ADAPT, TRANSFORM, AND INNOVATE

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of understanding the cultural and professional pressures and complexities that impact upon the discursive construction of news. As this chapter has shown, news discourse is messy, sometimes unpredictable, contradictory, and culturally complex. Ideologies are not monolithic, and they operate through multiple social, economic, and technological influences. Hence, this chapter has shown how critical media research has developed from its Marxist foundations historically through to those interdisciplinary research innovations that have adapted and transformed over time. Whilst CDA is not an exclusive field of critical media research, it has provided a substantial overview in the account of this chapter, which has moved from the theoretical and linguistic approaches that preceded CDA through to the multimodal frameworks that have recently been adapted to consider the multiple layers and technological components of news media. As discussed, the growing significance of algorithms and big data pose new questions for critical researchers. The authorship and influence of algorithmic discursive practice appears to be rapidly developing new journalistic forms and practices in the social construction of news. But as CDA (and critical media research more broadly) has always shown, it can and does continue to adapt, transform, and innovate according to the challenges of analyzing news, discourse, and ideology.

NOTES

1. Galloway's left-wing political stance would usually be incompatible with the *Mail on Sunday*'s conservative values. However, both parties in this instance had a shared interest in criticizing Blair. Their motivations might have differed but their broader target of criticism was the same. This is what Kelsey refer to as a case of paradoxical persuasion in discursive practices: the *Daily Mail*'s readership and editorial interests would not want to be associated with Galloway, and neither would Galloway or his supporters want to be associated, or in alliance, with a conservative newspaper. However, a shared opposition against Blair plays a unifying and persuasive role (Kelsey, 2015c).
2. *Ideological square* is a term that van Dijk refers to when lexical and indexical elements maintain the positive image associated with the self, in contrast to the negative image of the other. Van Dijk views the construction of this model in the combination of four key viewpoints. These consist of an emphasis on "our" good properties, in contrast to "their" bad properties. Then, the mitigation of "our" bad properties is contrasted with the mitigation of "their" good properties (see Bell & Garrett, 1998, p. 33). This linguistic structure demonstrates how language can act ideologically. Language can reinforce binary oppositions and maintain dichotomies in the simplistic portrayal of a morally superior-self that contrasts with a negative other.

REFERENCES

Alvaro, J. (2013). Discursive representations of a dissident: The case of Liu Xiaobo in China's English press. *Discourse & Society*, *24*(3), 289–314.

Alvaro, J. (2015). Analysing China's English-language media. *World Englishers*, *34*(2), 260–277. doi:10.1111/weng.12137

Barkho, L. (2008). The discursive and social power of news discourse: The case of Aljazeera in comparison and parallel with the BBC and CNN. *Studies in Language and Capitalism*. Retrieved from www.languageandcapitalism.info/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/slc3-4-barkho.pdf

Barthes, R. (1993). *Mythologies*. London: Vintage Books.

Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012). *News discourse*. London: Continuum.

Beer, D. (2017). The social power of algorithms. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(1), 1–13. Retrieved from www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1216147

Bell, A. (1991). *The language of news media*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Bell, A., & Garrett, P. (1998). *Approaches to media discourse*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.

Bird, E., & Dardenne, R. (2008). Rethinking news and myth as storytelling. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen. & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 205–217). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bloomaert, J. (1999). *Language ideological debates*. New York, NY: Mouton De Gruyter.

Campbell, J. (1949). *The hero with a thousand faces*. Novato, CA: New World Library.

Caple, H. (2013). *Photojournalism: A social semiotic approach*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chilton, P. (Ed.). (1985). *Language and the nuclear arms debate: Nukespeak today*. London: Frances Pinter.

Dalen, A. (2012). The algorithms behind the headlines. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(5–6). http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.667268

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Essex: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

Flood, C. (2002). *Political myth*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Flowerdew, J., & Leong, S. (2007). Metaphors in the discursive construction of patriotism: The case of Hong Kong's constitutional reform debate. *Discourse & Society*, *18*(3), 273–294.

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, R., Hodge, B., Kress, G., & Trew, T. (1979). *Language and control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. New York, NY: International Publishers.

Habermas, J. (1962). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Halliday, M. (1978). *Language as a social semiotic: Social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Hodder Arnold.

Hardt-Mautner, G. (1995). How does one become a good European? The British press and European integration. *Discourse & Society*, *6*(2), 177–205.

Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1993). *Language as ideology* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. W. (1972). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. New York, NY: Herder and Herder.

Jones, R. (2004). The problem of context in computer-mediated communication. In T. Levine & R. Scollon (Eds.), *Discourse and technology: Multimodal discourse analysis* (pp. 22–33). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Juuko, M. (2015). Framing environmental risk in the broadcast media in Uganda. *Journalism and Discourse Studies*, *1*(1), 1–17.

Kelsey, D. (2012). Pound for pound champions: The myth of the blitz spirit in British newspaper discourses of the city and economy after the July 7th Bombings. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *9*(3), 285–299.

Kelsey, D. (2014). The myth of the city trickster: Storytelling, bankers and ideology in the mail online. *Political Ideologies*, *19*(3), 307–330. doi:10.1080/13569317.2014.951147

Kelsey, D. (2015a). Discourse, affect and surveillance: Gender conflict in the omniopticon. *Journalism and Discourse Studies*, *1*(2), 1–21. Retrieved from www.jdsjournal.net/uploads/2/3/6/4/23642404/darrenkelsey-jdsjournal-vol1-issue2.pdf

Kelsey, D. (2015b). Defining the sick society: Discourses of class and morality in British, right wing newspapers during the 2011 England riots. *Journal of Capital & Class*, *39*(2), 243–264.

Kelsey, D. (2015c). *Media, myth and terrorism: A discourse-mythological analysis of the 'Blitz Spirit' in British newspaper responses to the July 7th Bombings*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kelsey, D. (2015d). Hero mythology and right-wing populism. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(8), 971–988. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2015.1023571

Kelsey, D. (2017a). *Media and affective mythologies: Discourse, archetypes and ideology in contemporary politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kelsey, D. (2017b). Journalism and critical discourse studies. In J. Flowerdew & J. Richardson (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 510–524). London: Routledge.

Kitchin, R. (2017). Thinking critically about and researching algorithms. *Information, Communication & Society*, *20*(1), 14–29. Retrieved from www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1154087?src=recsys

Knox, J. (2007). Visual-verbal communication on online newspaper home pages. *Visual Communication*, *6*(1), 19–53.

Knox, J. (2010). Online newspapers: Evolving genres, evolving theory. In C. Coffin, T. Lillis, & K. O'Halloran (Eds.), *Applied linguistics methods: A reader* (pp. 33–51). London: Routledge.

Kress, G. (1983). Linguistic processes and the mediation of 'reality': The politics of newspaper language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *40*, 43–57.

Kryzanowski, M. (2014). Values, imaginaries and templates of journalistic practice: A critical discourse analysis. *Journalism Studies*, *24*(3), 345–365.

Kuo, S-H., & Nakamura, M. (2005). Translation or transformation? A case study of language and ideology in the Taiwanese press. *Discourse & Society*, *16*(3), 393–417.

Lule, J. (2001). *Daily news, eternal stories: The mythological role of journalism*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to do critical discourse analysis: A multimodal introduction*. London: Sage Publications.

Mager, A. (2012). Algorithmic ideology: 'How capitalist society shapes search engines.' *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(5), 769–787.

Montal, T., & Reich, Z. (2017). I, robot: You, journalist. Who is the author? *Digital Journalism*. *5*, 829–849.

O'Donnell, M. (2003). Preposterous trickster: Myth, news, the law and John Marsden. *Media Arts Law Review*, *8*(4), 282–305.

Philo, G. (2007). Can discourse analysis successfully explain the content of media and journalistic practice? *Journalism Studies*, *8*(2), 175–196.

Philo, G., & Berry, M. (2004). *Bad news from Israel*. London: Pluto Press.

Philo, G., Briant, E., & Donald, P. (2013). *Bad news for refugees*. London: Pluto Press.

Philo, G., Hewitt, J., Beharrell, P., & Davis, H. (1982). *Really bad news*. London: Writers and Readers.

Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2009). The discourse-historical approach (DHA). In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (2nd Rev. ed., pp. 87–121). London: Sage Publications.

Richardson, J. (2007). *Analysing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richardson, J., & Barkho, L. (2009). Reporting Israel/Palestine: Ethnographic insights into the verbal and visual rhetoric of BBC journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *10*(5), 594–622.

Ryan, W. (1971). *Blaming the victim*. New York, NY: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.

Simpson, P. (1993). *Language, ideology and point of view*. London: Routledge.

Tandoc, E., Takahashi, B., & Thomas, R. (2017). Bias vs. bias: How Fox News anchors discussed Pope Francis' stance on climate change. *Journalism Practice*, 1–16. Published online: 13th July. Retrieved from www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17512786.2017.1343095

Thibault, P. (1991). La langue en mouvement: Simplification, régularisation, restructuration. *LINX (Linguistique—Paris X, Nanterre)*, *25*, 79–92.

Trew, T. (1979). 'What the papers say': Linguistic variation and ideological difference. In R. Fowler, B. Hodge, G. Kress, & T. Trew (Eds.), *Language and control* (pp. 94–117). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Van Dijk, T. (1988a). *News as discourse*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Dijk, T. (1988b). *News analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Dijk, T. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage Publications.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2004). Ten reasons why linguists should pay attention to visual communication. In T. Levine & R. Scollon (Eds.), *Discourse and technology: Multimodal discourse analysis* (pp. 7–19). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Van Leeuven, T., & Kress, G. (2011). Discourse semiotics. In T. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction* (pp. 107–125). London: Sage Publications.
Way, L. (2015). A fly in the ointment: How Turkish Cypriot radio news aggravates relations with the republic of Cyprus. *Journalism and Discourse Studies*, *1*(1), 1–16.
Winston, B., Philo, G., & Eldridge, J. (1982). *Really bad news*. London: Readers and Writers.

17

News and Storytelling

Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas R. Schmidt

INTRODUCTION

Over the past three decades, narrative has become such a popular—and contested—concept in the social sciences and humanities that numerous scholars detected a "narrative turn" (Bruner, 1991; Kreiswirth, 1992; Brockmeier & Harre, 2001). After its beginnings in philosophy, literary theory, and classical narratology, the "concept has successfully traveled to psychology, education, social sciences, political thought and policy analysis, health research, law, theology and cognitive science" (Hyvärinen, 2006, p. 20). In journalism studies, however, as Zelizer (2004, p. 130) observed, "[s]cholarship on news narrative was set in place with a certain degree of opposition from journalism professionals and traditional journalism scholars, for the narrative qualities of news from the onset were seen as posing problems for journalists." This might have to do with the fact, discussed in more detail below, that journalistic storytelling is a narrative practice housed in a professional practice, creating a permanent tension between the demand for objectivity and distance and the need to tell compelling stories. Despite some initial misgivings, journalism scholars have nevertheless produced extensive research exploring the relationship between news and narrative over the past decades (see Bird & Dardenne, 2009; Forde, 2008; Zelizer, 2004).

In this chapter, we examine the traditions of scholarship around news, storytelling, and narrative. For the purposes of this chapter, we suggest that storytelling and narrative can be distinguished as follows: *storytelling* uses *narrative modes* that may actually appear in different journalistic genres (reportage, report, first-person narrative, etc.) and in different kinds of media (print, audio, video, and digital). These media have their own specific affordances and ways of encoding emotions. Nevertheless, the unifying theme is that any specific form of storytelling uses a specific narrative mode, or "a smaller set of conventions—really a constellation of stylistic effects—that combine together to *elicit* a familiar set of [emotional] responses in readers" (Wilson, n.d.; emphasis added). However, different traditions of scholarship—in journalism studies and adjacent fields—have used the two terms in ways that are often interchangeable.

Our chapter opens by laying out key understandings of narrative as these have emerged in journalism studies and adjacent disciplines. In doing so, we consider the role and purpose of narrative in journalistic accounts and embrace definitions of narrative that emphasize the mutual interdependence of story and information. This, in turn, raises vital questions around the ways in which different modes of storytelling shape audience engagement. Such issues have preoccupied a growing number of scholars who have studied how emotions circulate in journalistic texts. Finally, the chapter considers how progressive waves of technological change have contributed new narrative affordances, ranging from blogs to immersive and automated journalism. More than anything, the scholarly literature on journalism and narrative has contributed to challenging conceptions of journalism that foreground its status as a "facts-centered discursive practice" (Chalaby, 1998) and a conduit for information provision. Instead, what matters is telling stories that engage audience members. Determining *how* journalists do this—and what devices, myths, discursive strategies, and reporting practices it involves—is a monumental endeavor that lies at the heart of work in the area.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF NARRATIVE IN JOURNALISM STUDIES

For the following brief overview of how scholars have explored narrative and storytelling in journalism, we distinguish between three distinct dimensions: narrative as a form of *public discourse*, narrative as a *general* form of news and narrative as a *particular* form of news.

Narrative as Public Discourse

News narrative can refer to a collective body of news stories that gel into a master narrative, a story line that emerges when different news sources gravitate towards a dominant interpretation of events or processes. Bird and Dardenne (2009, p. 205) argue that "we must better understand the narrative construction and mythological function of news to fully comprehend the ideological way in which it operates in any culture." To that end, they suggest that we conceptualize news as storytelling, calling for more attention to the way in which stories create coherence and meaning while existing "within a cultural lexicon of understandable themes" (Bird & Dardenne, 2009, p. 207). Storytelling in this context constitutes a collective effort at constructing dominant interpretations of reality, a kind of framing, that results in news as a "moralizing" (Ettema & Glasser, 1988) form of discourse, privileging some story lines and concealing others (see also Benson, 2013a; Jacobs, 2000). "[T]he impulse to tell stories," Bird and Dardenne (2009, p. 208) write, "may lead journalists to frame the world in conventional ways that often reinforce existing ideologies." Stories are not just frames, however (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, Hanitzsch, & Nagar, 2016). Narratives are more accommodating in potentially allowing a wide range of voices and viewpoints. At the same time, they also provide a broader temporal perspective, effectively containing and connecting different frames (ibid.). Individual stories add up to meta-narratives, collective efforts that ultimately give shape to an emerging story line, the story behind the news that constructs, maintains, or undermines cultural understandings.

A particular strand of research in this area has pointed out the mythic qualities of news, "emphasizing the very human, enduring, and essentially inevitable ways that mythic stories help us understand the world, or worlds, in which we live" (Steiner, 2002, p. 271).[1] While some scholars sought to identify mythical archetypes in news coverage (Lule, 2001), others were more interested in the narrative capacity of journalists to create mythic figures in the context of public rituals and collective meaning-making (Kitch, 2000, 2003). However, as Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2009) argued, the mythological function of news not only derives from providing closure to the meaning-making process. Rather, keeping certain stories unresolved and thus newsworthy offers journalists the possibility to legitimize their role as storytellers in the public sphere. Moreover, the non-closure characteristics of journalistic storytelling also point to possibilities for audiences and other public actors to resist, reinterpret, and redefine dominant story lines.

Narrative as General Form of News

News narrative can also refer to the narrative characteristics of conventional newswriting, including the constructed character of seemingly natural and transparent news formats (Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001) such as the inverted pyramid (Pöttker, 2003). Narrative devices, as Bird and Dardenne (1997, p. 69) argue,

> are used in all news writing, maintaining the illusion that the structural devices used in hard news are merely neutral techniques that act as a conduit for events to become information, rather than ways in which a particular kind of narrative text is created.

In journalism research, this reflexive relationship between aesthetic conventions of representation and social practices of news gathering often meant emphasizing one side over the other. The newsroom ethnographers of the 1970s explored how professional practices and occupational routines shape aesthetic conventions. Many of them argued that news was "a depletable consumer product that must be made fresh daily" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 179; see also Fishman, 1980). They challenged the notion of news as a creative endeavor and instead emphasized the organizational pressures of a highly standardized manufacturing process. Research in the tradition of cultural analysis, on the other hand, was more concerned with "the constraining force of broad cultural traditions and symbolic systems, regardless of the structure of economic organization or the character of occupational routines" (Schudson, 2008, p. 59). Here, scholars examined aesthetic conventions and narrative strategies with regard to symbolic systems and their capacity to structure webs of meanings and how people perceive the world. Barkin (1984, p. 32), for example, argued that despite institutional constraints journalists mostly "define their activities—and thus their products—as they meet the storytelling imperative." Over time, a third strand of research emerged, combining the study of aesthetic conventions and occupational values (Broersma, 2007; Barnhurst & Nerone, 2001; Bird & Dardenne, 1997; Rupar, 2010; Zelizer, 2004). This tradition goes back to Carey's (1997) conceptualization of the news report as both a social form and a social practice, both aesthetic representation and social interaction. Carey (1997, p. 91) had encouraged journalism historians to examine in more detail why, how, and when people accepted the report as "a desirable form of rendering reality." Ultimately, as this line of research has elucidated, the form of news is as much an institutionalized expression of journalism as the organizational practice of journalism is defined by the constraints of symbolic forms (Schmidt, forthcoming).

Narrative as a Specific Form of News

Finally, narrative news can denote the characteristics of *narrative* news in contrast to the conventional news report. In this context, Nerone (2008) and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2009) offer similar definitions. Both emphasize that these stories begin with a scene-setting anecdote rather than a summary lead. It is then "organized in temporal sequence rather than either by inverted pyramid style or analytically" (Nerone, 2008, p. 397) or, put differently, proceeds "to describe events in sequential order rather than presenting information in a descending order of importance" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2009, p. 953). One of the most influential characterizations of news as stories comes from Schudson, who in *Discovering the News* identified two ideals in 19th century journalism: the ideal of "story" and the ideal of "information." Building on the work of George Herbert Mead, Schudson (1978, p. 89) writes that the story dimension of news "serves primarily to create, for readers, satisfying aesthetic experiences which help them to interpret their own lives and to relate them to the nation, town, or class to which they belong." To define the information ideal, on the other hand, he draws from Walter Benjamin and his claim that information was "a novel form of communication, a product of fully developed capitalism, whose distinguishing characteristic is that it "lays claim to prompt verifiability" (Schudson, 1978, p. 89). For Benjamin, information "proves incompatible with the spirit of storytelling" (Schudson, 1978, p. 90). In *Sociology of News*, Schudson (2003, p. 192) offers his own take:

> The classic hard news story operates more to convey useful information efficiently than to build a shared world with readers emotionally. At this end of journalistic writing, the reporter mimics a piece of machinery that conveys relevant information with accuracy. At the other end, the reporter resembles a literary or photographic artist, connecting worlds more than conveying data.

Some scholars have taken Schudson's analytical, historical point for a conceptual one, differentiating between news styles with regard to a story model or an information model (Broersma, 2007; see also Benson, 2013b). The resulting dichotomy, however, sometimes blends the story form with sensationalism, reifying a binary opposition between rational discourse and emotional storytelling. "Newspapers that stress their storytelling function," Broersma (2007, p. xvi) argued, "tend to use an emotionally-involving style, often characterized as sensationalism, that aims to appeal to the emotions of their readers." Instead of hardening the dichotomy between storytelling and news, however, it might make more sense to examine the institutional evolution of their relationship and deconstruct the meaning of narrative by drawing from other theoretical traditions.

Other disciplines have been more catholic in their definitions, emphasizing the mutual interdependence of story and information. Coming from literary studies, Wilson (no date) defines narrative journalism as "journalistic writing that puts its information in the form of a story—for example, with "characters," a plot line, and so on—and tells that story from a particular point of view." Thus, he adds "point of view" as a dimension, opening up an opportunity for critical analysis that journalism scholars rarely take into consideration. Also, especially for scholars in narrative theory, narrative and storytelling are intricately linked to emotional experience. Herman (2007, p. 9) emphasizes that narrative is characterized by "a structured time-course" and a "disruption or disequilibrium" which together convey "what it's like to live through that disruption, that is, the "qualia" (or felt, subjective awareness) of real or imagined consciousness undergoing the disruptive experience."

EMOTION IN JOURNALISTIC NARRATIVES

Linked to such insights, journalism scholars have, in recent years, turned to examining the role of emotion in journalistic narratives. This research agenda has in part been spurred on by a broader "affective turn" (Clough & Halley, 2007) across humanities and social sciences disciplines. In the context of the preoccupations of this chapter, scholarship on the role of emotion in journalism is particularly essential because it helps to explain *why* compelling storytelling matters in journalism.

As we will show here, emotionality serves a crucial role in journalistic narratives. Scholarship has established that journalists deliberately and strategically craft emotionally engaging narratives because they facilitate audience engagement and understanding (Peters, 2011). Audiences appear to connect with concrete stories of lived experience which dramatize the large and often abstract events of which news is made. Such connection can facilitate the cultivation of compassion—or feeling *with* others—and thereby cultivate cosmopolitan sensibilities. This is an essential insight in the context of understanding the relationship between news narratives and normative roles of journalism. If emotionally engaging stories help audiences better engage with the important social and political issues raised by journalism, such stories also help to foster informed citizens and facilitate accountability.

The role of emotion in journalistic narratives has tended to be obscured by the historical allegiance to the ideal of objectivity. For example, Dennis and Merrill (1984, p. 111) suggested that objectivity in journalism is tied to the aim of presenting "an emotionally detached view of the news," while Schudson argued that objectivity "guides journalists to separate facts from values and report only the facts" using a "cool, rather than emotional" tone (2001, p. 150). Along those lines, forms of journalism that fail to comply with these principles have often been derided in scholarly and public debate. As Pantti (2010, p. 169) pointed out,

> emotionality typically represents a decline in the standards of journalism and a deviance from journalism's proper social role; while 'quality' journalism informs and educates citizens by appealing to reason, other kinds of journalism focus on pleasing their audiences by appealing to the emotions.

For example, the narrative modes of tabloid or popular journalism have often been denounced as "sensationalist" because it appeals to our *sensations* and represents a preoccupation with the bodily and the emotional as opposed to our *reason* (Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004).

The complicated relationship between objectivity and storytelling has been of particular concern for scholars of literary journalism. The discussion about determining the border between fact and fiction led to animated discussions between journalism scholars and literary theorists. Scholars with a background in professional journalism or journalism education maintained that truth in literary journalism was a matter of accurate reporting (Sims, 2007). Literary-minded theorists, on the other hand, questioned the very possibility of a verifiable reality (Aucoin, 2001; Frus, 1994). They criticized journalism's fetishization of facts and its alleged realistic fallacy, or the belief that truth can be unequivocally established from facts. A third group of researchers examined these tensions between news and storytelling by focusing on literary journalism as a social practice (Forde, 2008; Schmidt, forthcoming). Pauly (1990, p. 123) argued that literary journalism challenged both journalism's "empire of facts" as well as literature's "garden of imagination." Wilson's (1985, p. xiv) work on the rise of Realism in literature and journalism in the late 19th century demonstrated how journalists served as "cultural mediators" whose "social practice [was] intimately tied to historical needs, options, and opportunities."

This kind of reappraisal, which has contributed to contextualizing the role of storytelling within the constraints of professional journalism culture, has continued in recent years, as journalism studies scholars have begun to look in more detail at the role of emotions in journalistic narratives. First, such research has established that emotion is, in fact, central to the most highly valued forms journalism—the winners of the Pulitzer Prize. Here, it is presented in carefully managed ways, and also appears in different forms across genres, signaling distinctions between narrative modes as forms of storytelling. Wahl-Jorgensen's (2013) research has demonstrated that there is a "strategic ritual of emotionality" in Pulitzer Prize-winning journalism, which operates alongside and in tandem with the strategic ritual of objectivity. This strategic ritual of emotionality involves the frequent use of anecdotal leads and personalized storytelling—or the inclusion of human interest stories. By narrating the emotions of sources, award-winning journalism effectively "outsources" emotional expression, thereby complying with the demands of objective journalism (see also Stenvall, 2008). At the same time, by telling the stories of individuals caught up in major news events of social and political importance, they ground these large and often abstract stories in the lived and relatable experience of ordinary people.

In a study comparing the use of the strategic ritual of emotionality in Australian and Chinese hard news reporting of risk-related events, including food safety, bush fires, and earthquakes, Huan (2017) showed that, although journalists in both countries draw on emotional storytelling as a way of establishing social order, there are significant differences in practices. While Australian stories focus on the emotions of ordinary people, Chinese journalism tends to align with power elites. Through engaging in these practices, journalists in both countries seek to build distinctive forms of solidarity. This demonstrates that, while the strategic ritual of emotionality may be at work in journalistic narratives across cultures, it articulates in ways informed by broader national political contexts.

While this work has tended to focus on the role of emotionality in "hard news" storytelling, a distinct emerging body of scholarship has examined the role of "intimacy" in journalism, understood as the inclusion of personal opinions and self-disclosures in journalistic narratives. Scholars examining "intimization" (Steensen, 2016) or the growth in "subjective and confessional journalism" (Coward, 2013) have observed that this shift has taken place largely, but not exclusively, outside "hard news" genres, often in the context of human interest or confessional forms of journalism. As Coward noted, personal "pieces and first-person real-life stories have become ever more abundant, either written by the protagonists themselves or 'as told to' journalists. Features have become more intimate and confessional while even news stories now include many personal stories" (2013, p. 6). Similarly, research on the rise of podcasting has attributed the genre's success to the intimacy of the medium of radio, describing it as "a perfect match for storytelling where first-person narratives are used to share personal experiences through the powerful intimacy of the voice" (Lindgren, 2014, p. 64). In the context of broader discussions around the role of intimacy in public discourse (e.g., Stanyer, 2013), scholars have noted that the use of such intimate storytelling has often worked to establish the *authenticity* of the storyteller, establishing journalists or their subjects as inherently trustworthy (Enli, 2015).

This body of research suggests that journalistic uses of emotion and intimacy constitute a kind of "tacit knowledge" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013)—a professional skill garnered through everyday practice but rarely explicitly discussed or acknowledged. Yet mastery of the strategic ritual of emotionality is a prerequisite for success in the profession. Along those lines, a growing body of work has examined journalists' reflections on their use of emotion. Here, the notion that journalists recognize the value of emotional storytelling because of its perceived ability to engage audiences has been a significant theme. Mervi Pantti (2010) was one of the first scholars to examine the role of emotion in journalistic practices, through her research on Finnish broadcast journalists' views on the appropriate use of emotion in reporting. While she identified highly critical views of "emotional news" amongst the journalists she interviewed, she also showed that journalists widely recognized the importance of emotional expression given its key role in facilitating audience understanding. The presentation of individual and collective emotions was seen as part of a journalistic responsibility to reveal the "whole truth" of a story and thus contributed to enhancing their understanding of the news. Journalists' awareness of the value of emotional engagement shapes their approaches to storytelling and presentation. For example, Gürsel's (2009) ethnographic work on photojournalism at an American newsmagazine demonstrated that to journalists, the anticipation of audience emotional reactions to stories informs deliberations over everything from photo selection to layout. She argued that the purpose of eliciting emotions in this way is to "bring the story closer" and educate the reader.

Journalists' perception that emotional storytelling is central to audience engagement is backed up by empirical research. Studies have shown that consumers of news media frequently question the detached and disembodied stance of conventional journalism and seek out more emotionally engaging content (Meijer, 2013). This work resonates with longer-standing research agendas in mass communication research, which have demonstrated the centrality of audience emotional engagement and shown that audience enjoyment is, in part, premised on narrative structure in ways that may challenge conventional journalistic genres (Levy, 1979; Levy & Windahl, 1984). For example, Sylvia Knobloch and her colleagues (2004) found that higher "reading enjoyment for discourse structures typical for entertainment content implies that the classic inverted-pyramid news format does not maximize pleasure for print news users." On that basis, they called for "the importance of understanding affective appeals of reporting" (Knobloch, Patzig, Mende, & Hastall, 2004, p. 282).

Recent research has highlighted that the use of emotion in journalistic storytelling not only engages audiences, but also has significant social and political consequences resulting from this engagement. Studies on the role of emotion in journalistic reports on disasters and crises has highlighted such events as moments of heightened drama that might contribute to creating and shaping local and global publics in particular ways (e.g., Yell, 2012). As Huan (2017) argued, emotions contribute to reaffirming shared values in the face of events that might otherwise disturb the social order. This argument sees journalists as playing an integrative role in strengthening communities. Such an approach is perhaps most prominently illustrated in the work of Mervi Pantti and her collaborators, who have carried out a number of studies of emotion and mediated rituals in the Netherlands and Finland. In a study of media coverage of the assassination of the populist right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn, Pantti and Wieten (2005), p. 6) demonstrated that a "nationwide bereaved community was created by focusing on expressions of mourning, and converting emotions like anger and hate into a unifying and less destructive depiction of grief" (see also Pantti, 2005; Pantti & van Zoonen, 2006). Similarly, in a study of a Finnish bus crash which killed a large group of young people, Pantti and Sumiala (2009) found that the public mourning ritual generated through media coverage focused on cultivating social inclusiveness. Such analyses have made major contributions in accounting for the role of journalism in restoring order and stability through the use of emotional storytelling. In doing so, it complicates dominant liberal accounts of the role of journalism as an independent "Fourth Estate" which holds the powerful to account. Instead, it makes explicit a shift in journalistic roles and obligations at times of crisis, suggesting the media organizations contribute to smoothing social relations and enhancing cohesiveness. This is an important insight which refines our understandings of journalism's role in society by recognizing that journalistic storytelling practices are not monolithic, but rather shift in relation to the normative and practical demands of particular stories and events, and the ways these interact with broader socio-political contexts.

Such questions are essential to the influential work of Lilie Chouliaraki, which has examined the ways in which journalistic coverage of "distant suffering" positions the spectator. Chouliaraki (2006) distinguished between three forms of news associated with the coverage of suffering. She identifies "ecstatic news" as a form which gives agency to sufferers—granting them the power to feel, reflect, and act on their fate. In her analysis, this opens up for audiences to both care for and act on lives outside their own communities. This facilitates cosmopolitanism—or the ability to understand ourselves as members of a global community with allegiances that go beyond the nation-state. Other scholars have built on this framework, insisting on the importance of carrying out audience research on the reception of storytelling around mediated suffering in a global context. This is a particularly important insight—methodologically and conceptually—given the emphasis in journalism studies and related fields on researching practices of production and journalistic texts, while paying less attention to what audiences actually *do* with journalism. As Kyriakidou (2009) has demonstrated through focus group research with audiences in Greece, discourses of cosmopolitanism, while salient, are usually framed within the context of the nation-state. In a later study, Kyriakidou (2015) developed a typology of forms of witnessing. First, she identifies affective witnessing, characterized by an intense emotional involvement with suffering; ecstatic witnessing shaped by the immediacy of the experience; politicized witnessing, informed by relations of political and social power; and detached witnessing, which describes "the experience of the suffering of others as something remote or ultimately irrelevant to the viewers' everyday life" (Kyriakidou, 2015, p. 226). Jonathan Corpus Ong (e.g., 2015) has carried out extensive research on audiences in the Philippines. As he argued, much of the literature on cosmopolitanism assumes a Western elite subject as the audience member. His work demonstrates that responses to suffering cannot be treated in such a generalized fashion. Instead, he argues, in the case of audiences in the "disaster-prone" Philippines, we must consider responses to both distant *and* proximal suffering. These studies highlight the fact that we cannot understand the role of emotion in journalistic narratives without studying how audiences engage with journalistic texts—an insight that applies more widely and provides promising avenues for future research (see also Chapters 10 and 25 in this book).

CHANGING TECHNOLOGIES, CHANGING FORMS OF STORYTELLING

Alongside recent shifts in scholarly approaches towards taking seriously the role of emotion in journalistic narrative, we have seen a growing body of literature which looks at how successive waves of technological change generate opportunities for new forms of storytelling. This is by no means a new phenomenon—the field of journalism history has contributed to enhancing our understanding of how technologies such as the typewriter and the telegraph have reshaped styles of newswriting (e.g., Stephens, 1988; see also Chapter 2 in this book). For example, as Pavlik (2000, p. 231) pointed out, the introduction of video in the 1970s "transformed the storytelling of network news once produced on film," facilitating the production of faster-paced narratives. Similarly, an early study of news organizations' use of online multimedia content found significant excitement among journalists and editors around the potential for new and more engaging forms of storytelling (Thurman & Lupton, 2008).

While some accounts of journalism history are tinged with technological determinism (see Steensen, 2011, for a critique), the field of journalism studies is now characterized by a more tempered engagement with the *affordances* of new technologies, representing an emphasis on technologies as tools that allow journalists to pursue new modes of storytelling. Here, we focus on a few recent—and, in some cases, still emerging—examples of scholarly work that takes an interest in how technological change has brought about innovations in narrative modes in a way that challenges conventional understandings of the journalists' role as storyteller. These including citizen journalism, blogging and live blogging, and immersive and automated journalism.

As this section shows, recent technological transformations have, on the one hand, facilitated the greater participation of audience members in the production of news. This shift has contributed to the emergence of new and more personal narrative modes, exemplified by citizen journalism, which have spilled over into the ways in which professional journalists tell their stories. On the other hand, these technological shifts have also occasioned the emergence of new forms of storytelling as part of the toolbox of professional journalism.

The ways in which technological change has challenged conventional hierarchies of journalistic news production and ushered in a greater role for "the people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006) is well documented in journalism studies (also see Chapter 28 in this book). While it can be viewed as the extension of a longer-standing "demotic turn" in media content which has emphasized the growing inclusion of the voices of ordinary people (Turner, 2010), scholarship has also documented its distinctive consequences for journalistic storytelling.

For example, the emergence of citizen journalism has enabled ordinary people to contribute news content. Citizen journalists are often amateurs who happen to be on the scene of breaking news events—or what some scholars have referred to as "accidental journalists" (Allan, 2013). Such accidental journalists have not been trained in objective reporting and their footage is shot and their stories told from a first-person, highly embodied point of view which challenges the objective reporting of professional journalists and is often far more emotional (Blaagaard, 2013). The storytelling of "ordinary people" through practices of citizen witnessing is shaped not by the routines and values of mainstream news, but rather by the vernacular of lived experience (see also Chapter 10 in this book). As some observers have argued, the blurring of conventional boundaries between "journalists" and "audiences" has therefore contributed to challenging narrative modes of journalism, away from ones which privilege objectivity and distancing, and towards a central place for emotionally inflected narratives of witnessing and personal experience (e.g., Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). As Chouliaraki has demonstrated, the "ordinary witnessing" of citizens decenters journalism, replacing them with the citizen "as a guarantee of the authenticity of witnessing" (2010, p. 307). This, in turn, hints at a range of broader questions around how technological change, in opening up for the development of new modes of storytelling, and new actors who can participate in its creation—might pose challenges to the journalistic authority embedded within conventional forms of news narrative.

Technological Affordances, Temporality, and Truth Claims in Journalistic Storytelling

Along those lines, scholarly work on shifting technological affordances and storytelling has frequently emphasized shifts in the *epistemologies* of journalism—or in how journalism produces knowledge through the stories it tells. As Matheson (2004, p. 445) described it, drawing on a Foucauldian analysis of the relationship between knowledge and power:

> Conventions of newswriting do not simply chronicle the world but . . . constitute certain claims to knowledge about such matters as the audiences for news texts, the position of journalists in that world and the relationship between audience and journalist. . . . Journalists adhere to these conventions in order to be able to make the kinds of authoritative statements about events and individuals which we are accustomed to hear from them. News discourse can be seen as a particular instance of the more general "will to truth" which motivates and constrains institutional forms of knowing in modern society.

In investigating the epistemology of blogging, Matheson (2004) took a closer look at how the British newspaper *The Guardian* responded to the introduction of the new form in its own hosted blogs. He demonstrated that they were characterized by a distinctive way of knowing premised on the "establishment of a different interpersonal relation, of a different authority and of a journalism focused upon connection rather than fact" (Matheson, 2004, p. 453). As a result, the writing represented a "more 'raw,' less 'cooked,' source of information, allowing users to participate more in constructing knowledge about events in the world" (Matheson, 2004, p. 455).

This shows that the affordances of technologies—in this case, the blog—enable new modes of storytelling which may also challenge conventional journalistic norms and practices, usually in the interest of opening up new avenues for audience engagement. In more recent work, Matheson and Wahl-Jorgensen (forthcoming) have picked up on this theme by investigating the epistemology of live blogging. Live blogs are composed through brief posts in reverse chronological order that may contain brief statements of news, comments curated from Twitter and other social media or online platforms, images, quotations from press conferences, and authorial observations. They are used on a growing number of Western news websites for the ongoing reporting of both sudden and planned major news events, from bombings to elections to awards ceremonies. In their emphasis on immediacy in storytelling, live blogs reconfigure temporality in journalistic narrative (see also Hemmingway & van Loon, 2011). More broadly, they reshape journalism's claims to truth and authority through distinctive modes of storytelling. In particular, they (1) produce a fragmentary narrative that (2) reflect particular moments in time, (3) curate an array of textual objects from a range of information sources to produce "networked balance," (4) gain coherence from an often informal authorial voice or voices, and (5) generate claims to knowledge of events which are simultaneously dynamic and fragile (Matheson & Wahl-Jorgensen, forthcoming). This suggests that new modes of storytelling have significant consequences for journalism's knowledge claims, and may apply more broadly in analyzing the proliferating number of genres and forms devoted to real-time coverage. These also include "twitter, breaking news, rolling news, push notifications, and news alerts" (Rom & Reich, 2017, p. 2). In news flash updates in situations characterized by crisis and immediacy, Rom and Reich (2017, p. 14) found that journalists "are willing to make substantially wider use of measures that lower their own voice, distance themselves from full responsibility for the published content, and minimize their knowledge claims." Such an emphasis on the destabilization of journalistic authority is reflective of a broader preoccupation in research on recent innovations, ranging from work on journalism that uses immersive technologies, to the rapid development of automated journalism.

The use of immersive technologies, including augmented and virtual reality, represents the latest frontier in attempts at findings new ways of engaging the audience through modes of storytelling. As defined in one of the earliest contributions on the topic, immersive journalism represents "the production of news in a form in which people can gain first-person experiences of the events or situation described in news stories" (de la Peña et al., 2010, p. 291):

> The idea underpinning immersive journalism is to allow the participant, typically represented as a digital avatar, to actually enter a virtually recreated scenario representing the news story. The sense of presence obtained through an immersive system . . . affords the participant unprecedented access to the sights and sounds, and possibly feelings and emotions, that accompany the news.

Immersive journalism continues to be at an experimental state almost a decade after de la Peña and her colleagues' early account of the practice. It remains underdeveloped due to the prohibitive cost of the required equipment, as well as a series of unresolved technical difficulties (Aronson-Rath, Milward, Owen, & Pitt, 2015). Nonetheless, the technology has been used to give audience members something resembling a "real-life" experience of events and stories ranging from visiting Chernobyl to waiting in a food line to life in a Syrian refugee camp (e.g., Kool, 2016). Some of the conventional elements of documentary storytelling are also central to immersive journalism—these including a clear narrative structure, as well as characters, actions, emotions, locations, and causality (Aronson-Rath et al., 2015, p. 45). Yet due to the technological challenges of creating a virtual reality environment in 360 degrees to give the user the experience of "being there," immersive journalism has had to develop new tools of storytelling to make the journalist, as well as any equipment they use, invisible. This raises significant questions about the role and position of the journalist as narrator (e.g., Kool, 2016). These are not merely theoretical questions reflecting shifts in narrative modes, but also raise fundamental ethical issues. As Kool (2016, p. 7) argued, when users are immersed in the realism of virtual reality, "it is easy to forget as the viewer that the story is being told and constructed with intention. As the viewer develops a personal stake within another reality through an empathy-engendering machine, the viewer becomes emotionally vulnerable." The journalist—the storyteller with an intention—is deliberately erased from the narrative and their vital role in constructing the reality of the viewer is therefore concealed (Kool, 2016). This has led to observers raising concerns about the resemblance between immersive journalism and forms of propaganda, and the potential manipulation of viewers (e.g., Kool, 2016).

In contrast to immersive technologies, automated journalism follows a very different logic. It is less concerned with emotionally engaging audiences and more geared towards increasing the speed and scale of journalistic storytelling. Automated journalism, defined by Carlson (2015, p. 417) as "algorithmic processes that convert data into narrative news texts with limited to no human intervention beyond the initial programming," has significantly expanded over the past few years, with major news organizations (e.g., the Associated Press) investing into research and development (Dörr, 2016; Linden, 2017a, 2017b). Machine-written news is complex to assemble but the actual narrative mode of automated news is quite simple; it consists of descriptive sentences that make comparisons. Processing data into narrative stories requires templates that assemble data points in a consistent manner, yet also offer predefined building blocks of what stories look like. Given these constraints, the current generation of automated stories mostly focuses on domains such as sports, finance, and weather. As Caswell and Dörr (2018, p. 478) argue, "the major barrier to the automation of more sophisticated journalism is not just the absence of data but also the absence of methods of encoding information ('data models') that are appropriate for capturing more sophisticated journalistic knowledge as data."

Against this backdrop, researchers have studied the discursive construction of automated journalism (Carlson, 2015, 2017; van Dalen, 2012; Montal & Reich, 2017) and examined specific prototypes or case studies (Young & Hermida, 2015; Caswell & Dörr, 2018). The findings from this collective endeavor point towards larger questions of how automated news disrupts and transforms the writing of news stories. In particular, it challenges traditional conceptualizations of authorship and authority (see Diakopoulos & Koliska, 2017). With regard to journalistic judgment, Carlson (2018, p. 1765) noted, "If the ideal of journalistic knowledge production is objectivity, then news algorithms are positioned as its apotheosis."

These few examples illustrate how debates over journalistic storytelling are powerfully tied to issues of journalistic authority and knowledge claims. The study of journalistic narrative modes, then, is inextricably linked to a broader set of questions around journalism's role in society.

CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this chapter, we have outlined how scholarship in journalism studies and adjacent disciplines has understood the relationship between news and storytelling. Opening with key definitions of narrative, we have pointed to the interdependence of story and information. We have argued that an emphasis on storytelling entails an interest in, and acknowledgment of the need for, audience engagement. Such an interest, in turn, has been a key theme in research on how emotions circulate in journalistic texts. This body of research has demonstrated that emotionality—as built into journalistic narratives and elicited in the audience—is a key factor in storytelling and one that carries with it opportunities for the cultivation of compassion and cosmopolitanism. As such, this body of work implies that journalistic authority, far from being linked solely to the production of "fact-centered" discourses (Chalaby, 1998), also derives from compelling and frequently emotional storytelling.

Such questions of the relationship between journalistic modes of storytelling and professional authority surface with renewed force in debates over how the affordances of emerging technologies shape the horizons of news narratives. In the final section of the chapter, we considered how developments ranging from citizen journalism, and blogging and live-blogging, to immersive or virtual reality journalism and automated journalism have contributed to challenging understandings of journalistic authorship, voice, and authority.

Here, it is important to note that research traditions around journalistic storytelling have focused on a relatively limited number of research questions and methodological approaches. Much of the research on journalistic narrative has focused on documenting the mechanics of journalistic texts, with rather less attention to how journalists craft their narratives. Textual analysis can tell us how one set of texts differs from another. But it is not capable of illuminating what practices, norms, and values led to these differences. Moreover, from an epistemological perspective, researchers have not sufficiently interrogated the knowledge claims of journalists. They have more or less accepted dichotomous distinctions like hard news versus soft news, human interest versus civic journalism, information versus entertainment, without examining the conditions for these distinctions. To gain a fuller understanding of the relationship between professional practice and narrative, future research could benefit from engaging with interview and ethnographic methods as well as from examining particular narrative strategies with regard to implicit knowledge claims.

A growing body of work has begun to document the role of emotion across journalistic practices, texts, and audiences, but remains underdeveloped in its investigation of exactly *how* journalists build emotion into their stories, *which* emotions and forms of emotional storytelling prevail, and *how* audiences respond to this. Suspicion of emotional techniques has at times inhibited a more holistic analysis of narrative modes and their specific role in building a relationship between journalists and their audiences. We need more research that explores how journalists embrace emotional involvement in reporting and writing. And we need more studies that examine how readers make sense of emotional signaling in narrative techniques.

Finally, while technological innovations, affordances, and their consequences for storytelling have received ample attention in recent years, this remains a swiftly evolving area which has so far raised more questions than it has answered. Here, immersive journalism represents the newest frontier, where emerging forms of storytelling raise crucial ethical questions about the positions of journalists, sources, and audience members. At the same time, the rise of automated journalism conjures the specter of formulaic storytelling and manufactured emotions. Novel approaches might illuminate how hybrid forms of humans and machine communication create meaning in this area.

The study of news and storytelling has helped journalism scholars develop new approaches to answering the fundamental questions of why and how journalism matters. As the object of journalism itself is undergoing constant and rapid change, so are the answers to these questions and the tools we need to find them.

NOTE

1. See a special selection in *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* (2002, Vol. 79, No. 2).

REFERENCES

Allan, S. (2013). *Citizen witnessing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Aronson-Rath, R., Milward, J., Owen, T., & Pitt, F. (2015). *Virtual reality journalism*. Tow Center Report. New York, NY: Tow Center for Digital Journalism.

Aucoin, J. L. (2001). Epistemic responsibility and narrative theory: The literary journalism of Ryszard Kapuscinski. *Journalism*, *2*(1), 5–21.

Barkin, S. M. (1984). The journalist as storyteller: An interdisciplinary perspective. *American Journalism*, *1*(2), 27–34.

Barnhurst, K. G., & Nerone, J. (2001). *The form of news: A history*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Benson, R. (2013a). *Shaping immigration news: A French-American comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, R. (2013b). On the explanatory and political uses of journalism history. *American Journalism*, *30*(1), 4–14.

Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (1997). Myth, chronicle and story. In D. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Social meanings of news: A text-reader* (pp. 333–350). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (2009). Rethinking news and myth in storytelling. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 218–236). New York, NY: Routledge.

Blaagaard, B. B. (2013). Shifting boundaries: Objectivity, citizen journalism and tomorrow's journalists. *Journalism*, *14*(8), 1076–1090.

Brockmeier, J., & Harré, R. (2001). Narrative: Problems and promises of an alternative paradigm. In J. Brockmeier & D. Carbaugh (Eds.), *Narrative identity: Studies in autobiography, self and culture* (pp. 39–58). Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.

Broersma, M. (2007). *Form and style in journalism: European newspapers and the presentation of news, 1880–2005*. Leuven and Dudley: Peeters.

Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical inquiry*, *18*(1), 1–21.

Carey, J. (1997). The problem of journalism history. In E. Stryker Munson & E. Warren (Eds.), *James Carey: A critical reader* (pp. 88–94). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Carlson, M. (2015). The robotic reporter. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 416–431.

Carlson, M. (2018). Automating judgment? Algorithmic judgment, news knowledge, and journalistic professionalism. *New Media & Society*, *20*(5), 1755–1772.

Caswell, D., & Dörr, K. N. (2018). Automated journalism 2.0.: Event-driven narratives. *Journalism Practice*, *12*(4), 477–496

Chalaby, J. (1998). *The invention of journalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chouliaraki, L. (2006). *The spectatorship of suffering*. London: Sage Publications.

Chouliaraki, L. (2010). Ordinary witnessing in post-television news: Towards a new moral imagination. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *7*(4), 305–319.

Clough, P. T., & Halley, J. (Eds.). (2007). *The affective turn*: *Theorizing the social*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Coward, R. (2013). *Speaking personally: The rise of subjective and confessional journalism*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

De la Peña, N., Weil, P., Llobera, J., Giannopoulos, E., Pomés, A., Spanlang, B., . . . Slater, M. (2010). Immersive journalism: Immersive virtual reality for the first-person experience of news. *Presence: Teleoperators and virtual environments*, *19*(4), 291–301.

Dennis, E. E., & Merrill, J. C. (1984). *Basic issues in mass communication: A debate*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Diakopoulos, N., & Koliska, M. (2017). Algorithmic transparency in the news media. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(7), 809–828.

Dörr, K. N. (2016). Mapping the field of algorithmic journalism. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(6), 700–722.

Enli, G. (2015). *Mediated authenticity. How the media constructs reality*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Ettema, J. S., & Glasser, T. L. (1988). Narrative form and moral force: The realization of innocence and guilt through investigative journalism. *Journal of Communication*, *38*(3), 8–26.

Fishman, M. (1980). *Manufacturing the news*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Forde, K. R. (2008). *Literary journalism on trial: Masson v. New Yorker and the first amendment*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.

Frus, P. (1994). *The politics and poetics of journalistic narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gürsel, Z. D. (2009). U. S. newsworld: The rule of text and everyday practices of editing the world. In S. E. Bird (Ed.), *The anthropology of news & journalism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hemmingway, E., & Van Loon, J. (2011). 'We'll always stay with a live, until we have something better to go to . . .': The chronograms of 24-hour television news. *Time & Society*, *20*(2), 149–170.
Herman, D. (2007). Introduction. In D. Herman (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to narrative* (pp. 93–21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Huan, C. (2017). The strategic ritual of emotionality in Chinese and Australian hard news: A corpus-based study. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *14*(5), 461–479.
Hyvärinen, M. (2006). Towards a conceptual history of narrative. In M. Hyvärinen, A. Korhonen, & J. Mykkänen (Eds.), *The travelling concept of narrative* (pp. 20–41). Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.
Jacobs, R. (2000). *Race, media, and the crisis of civil society: From Watts to Rodney King*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Kitch, C. (2000). 'A news of feeling as well as fact': Mourning and memorial in American newsmagazines. *Journalism*, *1*(2), 171–195.
Kitch, C. (2003). 'Mourning in America': Ritual, redemption, and recovery in news narrative after September 11. *Journalism Studies*, *4*(2), 213–224.
Knobloch, S., Patzig, G., Mende, A. M., & Hastall, M. (2004). Affective news: Effects of discourse structure in narratives on suspense, curiosity, and enjoyment while reading news and novels. *Communication Research*, *31*(3), 259–287.
Kool, H. (2016). The ethics of immersive journalism: A rhetorical analysis of news storytelling with virtual reality technology. *Intersect: The Stanford Journal of Science, Technology & Society*, *9*(3), 1–11.
Kreiswirth, M. (1992). Trusting the tale: The narrativist turn in the human sciences. *New Literary History*, *23*(3), 629–657.
Kyriakidou, M. (2009). Imagining ourselves beyond the nation? Exploring cosmopolitanism in relation to media coverage of distant suffering. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, *9*(3), 481–496.Kyriakidou, M. (2015). Media witnessing: Exploring the audience of distant suffering. *Media, Culture & Society*, *37*(2), 215–231.
Levy, M. R. (1979). Watching TV news as para-social interaction. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *23*(1), 69–80.
Levy, M. R., & Windahl, S. (1984). Audience activity and gratifications: A conceptual clarification and exploration. *Communication Research*, *11*(1), 51–78.
Linden, C-G. (2017a). Algorithms for journalism: The future of news work. *The Journal of Media Innovations*, *4*(1), 60–76.
Linden, C-G. (2017b). Decades of automation in the newsroom. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(2), 123–140.
Lindgren, M. (2014). 'This Australian life': The Americanisation of radio storytelling in Australia. *Australian Journalism Review*, *36*(2), 63–75.
Lule, J. (2001). *Daily news, eternal stories: The mythological role of journalism*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
Matheson, D. (2004). Weblogs and the epistemology of the news: Some trends in online journalism. *New Media & Society*, *6*(4), 443–468.
Matheson, D., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (forthcoming). The epistemology of live blogging. *New Media and Society*.
Meijer, I. C. (2013). Valuable journalism: A search for quality from the vantage point of the user. *Journalism*, *14*(6), 754–770.
Montal, T., & Reich, Z. (2017). I, robot. You, journalist. Who is the author? *Digital Journalism*, *5*(7), 829–849.
Nerone, J. (2008). Narrative news story. In W. Donsbach (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of communication*. Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing, Blackwell Reference Online. doi:10.1002/9781405186407.wbiecn002
Ong, J. C. (2015). *The poverty of television: The mediation of suffering in class-divided Philippines*. London: Anthem Press.
Örnebring, H., & Jönsson, A. M. (2004). Tabloid journalism and the public sphere: A historical perspective on tabloid journalism. *Journalism studies*, *5*(3), 283–295.

Pantti, M. (2005). Masculine tears, feminine tears-and crocodile tears: Mourning Olof Palme and Anna Lindh in Finnish newspapers. *Journalism*, *6*(3), 357–377.
Pantti, M. (2010). The value of emotion: An examination of television journalists' notions on emotionality. *European Journal of Communication*, *25*(2), 168–181.
Pantti, M., & Sumiala, J. (2009). Till death do us join: Media, mourning rituals and the sacred centre of the society. *Media, Culture & Society*, *31*(1), 119–135.
Pantti, M., & Van Zoonen, L. (2006). Do crying citizens make good citizens? *Social Semiotics*, *16*(2), 205–224.
Pantti, M., & Wieten, J. (2005). Mourning becomes the nation: Television coverage of the murder of Pim Fortuyn. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(3), 301–313.
Pauly, J. J. (1990). The politics of the new journalism. In N. Sims (Ed.), *Literary journalism in the twentieth century* (pp. 110–132). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Pavlik, J. (2000). The impact of technology on journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *1*(2), 229–237.
Peters, C. (2011). Emotion aside or emotional side? Crafting an 'experience of involvement' in the news. *Journalism*, *12*(3), 297–316.
Pöttker, H. (2003). News and its communicative quality: The inverted pyramid—when and why did it appear? *Journalism Studies*, *4*(4), 501–511.
Rom, S., & Reich, Z. (2017). Between the technological hare and the journalistic tortoise: Minimization of knowledge claims in online news flashes. *Journalism*. doi:1464884917740050
Rosen, J. (2006). The people formerly known as the audience. *PressThink*, Retrieved from http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html
Rupar, V. (2010). *Journalism and meaning-making: Reading the newspaper*. Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Schmidt, T. R. (forthcoming). *Rewriting the newspaper: The storytelling movement in American print journalism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Schudson, M. (2001). The objectivity norm in American journalism. *Journalism*, *2*(2), 149–170.
Schudson, M. (2003). *The sociology of news*. New York, NY: W. W Norton & Company.
Schudson, M. (2008). Four approaches to the sociology of news revisited. In H. Tumber (Ed.), *Journalism, Volume II* (pp. 57–84). New York, NY: Routledge.
Sims, N. (2007). *True stories: A century of literary journalism*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Stanyer, J. (2013). *Intimate politics: Publicity, privacy and the personal lives of politicians in media saturated democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Steensen, S. (2011). Online journalism and the promises of new technology: A critical review and look ahead. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 311–327.
Steensen, S. (2016). The intimization of journalism. In T. Witschge, C. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida, A. (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 113–127). London: Sage Publications.
Steiner, L. (2002). An editorial comment. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, *79*(2), 270–271.
Stenvall, M. (2008). On emotions and the journalistic ideals of factuality and objectivity—tools for analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *40*(9), 1569–1586.
Stephens, M. (1988). *A history of news*. New York, NY: Penguin.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2009). News as narrative. In C. H. Sterling (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of journalism* (pp. 954–957). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., Hanitzsch, T., & Nagar, R. (2016). Beyond peace journalism: Reclassifying conflict narratives in the Israeli news media. *Journal of Peace Research*, *53*(2), 151–165.
Thurman, N., & Lupton, B. (2008). Convergence calls: Multimedia storytelling at British news websites. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, *14*(4), 439–455.
Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
Turner, G. (2010). *Ordinary people and the media: The demotic turn*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.
Van Dalen, A. (2012). The algorithms behind the headlines. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(5–6), 648–658.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2013). The strategic ritual of emotionality: A case study of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles. *Journalism*, *14*(1), 129–145.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2016). Emotion and journalism. In T. Witschge, C. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 128–143). London: Sage Publications.

Wilson, C. P. (1985). *The labor of words: Literary professionalism in the progressive era*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Wilson, C. P. (n.d.). *Reading narrative journalism: An introduction for students* [web-based book]. Retrieved October 25, 2018, from https://mediakron.bc.edu/readingnarrativejournalism/home

Yell, S. (2012). Natural disaster news and communities of feeling: The affective interpellation of local and global publics. *Social Semiotics*, *22*(4), 409–428.

Young, M. L., & Hermida, A. (2015). From Mr. and Mrs. outlier to central tendencies. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(3), 381–397.

Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

18

Tabloidization of the News

Herman Wasserman

INTRODUCTION

While tabloid media has often been vilified as detrimental to the quality of political debate and citizen participation in the mediated public sphere, and as a result has not been at the center of journalism studies historically, there has been growing attention given to tabloid journalism over the past two decades. One of the reasons for this increased attention might be the spread of tabloid journalism, and tabloid culture more generally, around the world or that tabloid culture has become a pervasive feature across different media platforms. As normative concerns about journalism standards and trustworthiness have again arisen in the post-truth era, where debates about "fake" or misleading news have led to introspection about the relationship between news and its publics (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Bakir & McStay, 2017), a return to the literature on the debates around tabloid journalism standards, its reception by different audiences and responses from journalists as an interpretive community are again instructive. Tabloid journalism provides us with a productive entry point into wider debates about journalism culture, normative values, audience preferences, and the globalization of genres. Tabloid journalism also points us in the direction of wider cultural trends, such as the pervasiveness of a "tabloid culture" typical of late modernity, which includes increasing media and image saturation; a prioritization of images and representations over what is considered "the real"; instability of distinctions between public and private, and between reality and representation; a fragmentation of discourses; the commodification of culture; and an increase in cultural products characterized by eclecticism and skepticism of grand narratives such as universality and objectivity (Glynn, 2000). As it foregrounds questions that are applicable more widely to the field, tabloid journalism is increasingly recognized as an important point of focus in journalism studies. Approaches to the study of tabloid journalism differ widely, however, and even the conceptualization of the field of study itself may already indicate a certain normative orientation. As Biressi and Nunn (2008, p. 1) note: " 'Tabloidization' itself is a tabloid term, a media industry expression rather than a scholarly concept, denoting a dumbing down of media content and a weakening of the ideal functions of mass media in liberal democracies."

Much of this scholarly attention to tabloids has been directed at refuting moral panics (Cohen, 1973) about tabloids' perceived detrimental influence on democracy (Sparks, 2000) and what is seen as tabloids' depoliticization of the public as a result of its preference for sports, scandal, and entertainment and their "lowering of journalistic standards" (Curran, 2003, pp. 92–93). However, tabloid journalism does more than create alternative public spheres where alternative forms of political communication are practiced. Tabloids also assist their readers in making sense of their everyday lived experience, providing self-help information and lifestyle news.

As ritual forms of communication, tabloids manage to instill in members of their audience a sense of shared identity, values, and community (Gripsrud, 2008). Although often decried for their focus on what might be perceived from an elite perspective to be an obsession with celebrity news, sports, gossip, and lifestyle journalism, these forms of news can also serve as vehicles to allow tabloid audiences to orient themselves morally and existentially in a bewildering world marked by uncertainty and unpredictability (Gripsrud, 2008). In this sense, tabloids view their audiences as human beings first—not only as citizens with political needs and obligations, but as people who have existential needs arising from the shared human condition. The melodramatic approach to news associated with tabloid journalism can therefore provide a view on the world as it is experienced by ordinary people—fraught with emotion, intense experiences, and embodied identities. Such an approach might resonate much more with audiences that struggle to make sense of a world that often defies the cool, rational explanations of mainstream news, especially in media-saturated societies, where popular culture is increasingly central to political communication (Van Zoonen, 2000, p. 6). It is for these reasons that, despite their often far-fetched content, tabloid media are trusted by their readers to provide them with information and resources that benefit them in their daily lives. Popular culture in general, whether television series, film, soap operas, or popular music can therefore serve as an important resource for "cultural citizenship" (Van Zoonen, 2005, p. 8).

This interpretation of news events from the perspective of readers' everyday lives also means that tabloids can serve a function of creating sociability—if readers can relate to the news, they are also more likely to share it with others. Reading tabloids and speculating about their meaning becomes a participatory activity (Bird, 1992), thus creating an "imaginary relationship" with, and sense of community among, tabloid readers (Johansson, 2007, p. 96). Celebrity news, while frequently seen as detracting readers from more "worthy" political news, can in fact strengthen this sense of companionship and sociability, as gossip about celebrity love affairs, scandals, and lifestyles may provide readers not only with amusement but also with the agency to pass value judgements and participate in the social negotiation of moral norms (Johansson, 2007).

Due to their ability to highlight broader cultural trends relating to popular culture, media, and audiences, as well as the tendency to use "tabloidization" as an indicator of perceived erosion of journalistic standards and therefore preempting conclusions about the changes in journalistic practices and audience preferences that this term is taken to refer to, Biressi and Nunn (2008) argue for an interdisciplinary approach to tabloid media that combines journalism, media, and cultural studies, in which the term "tabloid" is used in conjunction with culture to denote newer formations of media culture and a changing media landscape of which tabloid media may serve as indicators, but also to indicate how tabloid culture is related to cultural, social, and public life in general. As tabloid journalism is a practice of popular culture, widely enjoyed by audiences but often loathed by elites—whether professional journalists, social influencers, or political powerbrokers (Glynn, 2000)—the field of study has seen a wide divergence of views, ranging from scholars who see tabloidization as indicative of the "dumbing down" of journalism to those who see tabloid culture as an opportunity for experiences of subordinated news subjects to be expressed. For the former, tabloid journalism represents "the sentimental and the sensational, and the prurient and the populist, often exploiting personal tragedy for public spectacle with scandal and sensationalism" (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, & Richardson, 2005, p. 259), or the globalization of particular forms of news merged with entertainment, i.e., infotainment (Thussu, 2007). These scholars are therefore inclined to approach the study of tabloids through the lenses of professional standards, genre characteristics, media industry studies, and global political economy. Scholars who emphasize the contested nature of tabloid culture and its location within relations of social power favor historical approaches that track the genesis of tabloid journalism from formations of popular culture (e.g., Conboy, 2002) or audience studies that investigate reception, perception, and tabloid news in specific locales and among particular news consumers (e.g., Bird, 1992).

Some of these approaches will be outlined in more detail below, but first a clarification of some terminological issues pertaining to tabloidization is in order. Thereafter different approaches, key thinkers, and texts will be examined in more detail.

TERMINOLOGY AND NORMATIVE ASSUMPTIONS

Originally, the term tabloid referred to the physical format of news delivery, i.e., a smaller size of paper (derived from an eponymous pharmaceutical tablet trademarked in the 1800s; see Franklin et al., 2005). These smaller papers, or "red tops," established a distinctive genre of journalism, "the human-interest, graphically told story, heavy on pictures and short, pithy, highly stereotyped prose" (Bird, 1992, p. 8). This description has taken on a wider meaning to denote a genre or style of news, a "particular kind of formulaic, colorful narrative related to, but usually perceived as distinct from standard, 'objective' styles of journalism," which is usually seen as "inferior, appealing to base instincts and public demand for sensationalism" (Bird, 2009, p. 40). There has therefore gradually been a conflation between the format, style, and notions of journalistic quality which the term tabloid can be taken to refer to.

The former use of the term, to denote a particular size and format of newspaper, is less common both in scholarship and in popular discourse than the latter (although, as will be pointed out later, historical studies of journalism make a clearer distinction between the two in order to track the genesis of popular journalism formats). Use of the term tabloid or tabloidization to refer to style, genre, or notions of quality, rather than physical format, has become even more widespread as a result of changing modes of news delivery, in particular the relatively diminished place of printed newspapers in the news media landscape. Tabloid journalism or tabloid culture has been used in association with television programming that could also be referred to by labels such as "reality-based," "actuality programming," and "infotainment" (Glynn, 2000, p. 2) and usually in the pejorative sense. The notion of tabloidization has therefore become associated in the first instance with normative debates and is often taken to refer to a process of decline.

Mostly, the term tabloidization is used by scholars to refer to a real or perceived deterioration of journalistic standards. Such scholarship is mostly approached from within a journalism ethics framework (decrying the "mix of clichéd sexuality and soccer scandal," Berger, 2005, p. 19) or media effects framework (establishing "the impact this type of pulp journalism has on society," Rabe, 2007, pp. 29–30) and is often directed at finding the causes for such tabloidization in an analysis of political economic conditions (such as heightened commercialism and commodification of journalism), shifts in journalistic practices, or inadequate journalism training and education. As tabloid culture "prefers heightened emotionality" and "resists 'objectivity,' detachment, and critical distance" (Glynn, 2000, p. 7), scholarship that proceeds from the assumption that tabloidization poses a threat to journalism is usually grounded in Habermasian understandings of journalism's role in facilitating rational deliberation. From this theoretical vantage point, the term tabloidization implies an appeal to popular preferences for emotion, sensation, or entertainment that erodes the truth claims and commitment to public education that lie at the heart of hegemonic understandings of journalism. (Some of this moral panic over journalism's standards can again be seen in the "boundary work" carried out by journalism practitioners and scholars in response to the rise of fake news; see Carlsson & Berkowitz, 2014.)

Despite the strong association between the term tabloidization and the popularization of journalism, not all scholars agree that popularization is necessarily detrimental to journalism or that the term, or the process, needs to be seen as pejorative. Cultural studies scholars in particular have seen the appeal to subaltern audiences as having the potential to amplify popular knowledge and experience and to disrupt dominant, imperializing epistemological power blocs. For them, the term tabloidization can be imbued with positive meaning.

Örnebring and Jönsson (2004), for instance, critique notions of a single Habermasian public sphere informed by elitist assumptions about how tabloidization poses a threat to rationality and objectivity and outline how tabloid journalism can provide alternative, subaltern public spheres. Gans (2009), following Bourdieu (1984), also sees how social stratification is supported by hierarchical distinctions between different cultural forms. The pejorative associations of tabloidization arise because the "dumbing down" of journalism undermines this hierarchy. Although he disagrees with the view that tabloid culture is detrimental to journalism, Gans (2009, p. 17) recognizes the class dimension encapsulated in the term itself:

> The term is meant to be pejorative and is used to blame all the usual suspects for what is viewed as a decline in the news media. Since moderate and low-income people are the main consumers of tabloid news, tabloidization is a particularly handy verbal weapon used by more educated people to disparage the culture of less educated ones. . . . [T]he term is useless and diverts attention from the actual problems of journalism.

Concerns about a process of tabloidization that has emerged in journalism are also linked to a postmodernist blurring of the line between high and low culture—the "collapse of cultural hierarchies" that has given rise to criticism of the press's perceived "erosion of the boundary between politics and entertainment" upon which much of journalism's self-defined role as defender of the public interest rests (Conboy, 2002, p. 139). The notion of tabloidization is therefore born out of ongoing bourgeois fears that control over particular sets of journalistic discourses, values, and identities are slipping as popular culture is "infecting" bourgeois journalistic forms (Conboy, 2002, p. 181). It has, however, also been argued that tabloidization should not be seen in dichotomous terms as the "liberation from highbrow repression" under the influence of postmodernism, but that the term also signals shifts within the field of popular journalism itself, with certain forms becoming more dominant than others, including certain tabloid forms that are not synonymous with trash (Gripsrud, 2008, p. 39).

For these reasons of definition and associations of tabloidization with normative decline, Gans (2009) prefers the term popularization, which can more easily take on a constructive meaning. He argues that popularization, as a result of the simplification of news content and increased relevance to people's everyday lives, may be used as a term to describe the enlargement of the news audience and their increased interest and attentiveness to news. Similarly, Bird (1992) points to the relative newness of the word tabloidization, which has become commonly used since the 1980s, and is concerned that the lament about the perceived downward spiral of journalistic standards as represented by tabloidization might distract from more urgent and tangible forces that negatively impact on journalism. Moreover, for Bird (2009, p. 40), the term lacks precision:

> The problem with the word is that, perhaps like "obscenity," everyone seems to recognize it when they see it, but no one really agrees what it is. Tabloids and their earlier precursors have

> long functioned as a convenient demon figure for "real" journalism, which has used them to draw boundaries between good and bad journalistic practices. These boundaries, however, have constantly shifted with changing tastes and media environments.

The term, Bird maintains, is not defined clearly enough, and there is a lack of agreement on whether it is a negative force. Empirical attempts to demonstrate the extent of tabloidization have been inconclusive and as changes such as trivialization, celebrity news, and human interest stories become part of the mainstream, the meaning of the term shifts to exclude developments that had once been seen as detrimental but have since been proven to be successful (Bird, 2009). In fact, the standards such as truth and objectivity that tabloidization is said to be undermining, have themselves "never been entirely clear" (Bird, 2009, p. 43). It would therefore seem that there is a consensus over the lack of consensus about the term tabloidization. It remains "something of a shapeshifter bugaboo; it means many things all at once and seems to threaten from equally many angles" (Serazio, 2009, p. 13).

Given the problems with the term tabloidization, it would be more meaningful to use the terms tabloid journalism or tabloid culture to refer to a particular style, genre, and format of journalism and the surrounding social and cultural context within which such journalism is produced and consumed. These contexts have varied greatly over the years, depending on geographical location. Understanding tabloid journalism as a field of study therefore requires a historical perspective and an international perspective. These perspectives will be outlined next, before turning to look at different theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of tabloid journalism.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Perhaps because tabloidization is often seen normatively as a process that develops over time and gradually undermines journalistic values, literature on tabloid journalism frequently adopts a historical perspective. The establishment of the physical format of the paper; the development of particular stylistic and genre elements; and the role that tabloids played over time in political contests, cultural formations, and normative debates have formed focal points in literature on tabloid journalism. Several authors use these historical overviews to argue against the notion of tabloidization as a recent occurrence or a force that is somehow separate from the historical evolution of journalism. Some even place tabloid culture at the heart of journalism's historical claims to popular appeal.

Bird (1992, p. 9) starts her landmark study on supermarket tabloids in the US by tracing the history of tabloid journalism back hundreds of years to show that "the history of tabloids is one strand in the broader history of journalism." She begins her overview of the "tabloid ancestors" of contemporary journalism in the 17th century in Europe and America, when only a "hazy" distinction could be drawn between early newspapers and the broadside ballads and newsbooks, "packed with tales of strange and wonderful happenings—murders, natural disasters, unusual births, and omens" (Bird, 1992, p. 9). The arrival of the printing press brought a technological advance that enabled the spread of these stories, which, similar to tabloids today, often took a moralizing tone and claimed to be based on reliable sources. Then, as now, these stories were criticized for their sensational and "unwholesome" content (Bird, 1992, p. 12).

Most journalism historians seem to agree, however, that the major impetus for what is considered the central elements of tabloid style, namely human interest stories and sensationalism, came about with the growth of the penny press in the 1830s, which created a mass market for human interest journalism by selling papers at a price that was within reach of the working class

(Bird, 1992). This orientation of tabloid journalism towards the working class not only pertains to its affordability but is also a stylistic feature that has developed over time. Apart from its "vivid, active language and colloquialisms" and accessible style, the penny press also expressed class tensions (Bird, 1992, p. 12). This class-conscious populist orientation continued through the 1880s with the development of the yellow press, exemplified by the *New York World* and *The Sun*, and has not changed much in the 20th century. Contemporary tabloids still draw on the "same stock of commonplace formulae as nineteenth-century ballads and mass circulation newspapers" (Bird, 1992, p. 20). Key to its populist orientation is tabloids' use of "class empathy" (Rhoufari, 2000, p. 169), which is achieved through a reflection of colloquial speech patterns, a melodramatic style, sympathy for the underdog in society, siding with the people against the powerful, and peddling sensational yellow journalism (Conboy, 2006). Largely because of this association with the working class, tabloid journalism has "consistently been seen by critics as inferior, appealing to base instincts and public demand for sensationalism" (Bird, 2009, p. 40).

Historical accounts of tabloid journalism therefore often focus on the relationship between tabloids and popular culture, and the alignment between the press in general and competing interests of ordinary people and elites (Conboy, 2002). Language is central to tabloid culture's orientation towards the popular, even when it fails because of its condescension and caricatured interpellation of its audiences (Rhoufari, 2000) or engages in what Conboy (2006, p. 14) refers to as a "vernacular ventriloquism." The "language of the common man" (Conboy, 2006, p. 6) has been a feature of tabloid journalism throughout its history, displaying continuity with its origins in the popular rhetoric of folk culture in older ballads and broadsheets and amplified by the introduction of typographical features that strengthened the populist tone. Although historians trace the roots of tabloid journalism to European folklore and the American populist journalism of the 19th century, a contemporary history of tabloids indicates a close association between the tabloid format and British journalism culture. British tabloids have not only provided their audiences with common sense narratives of national identity, but also policed the boundaries of such national identities and modes of belonging to the point of constructing insiders and outsiders through racist or xenophobic inferences (Conboy, 2006). The close association between tabloid journalism and populism that becomes clear in these historical overviews also underpins the dominant methodological approaches in this subfield of journalism studies, as will be pointed out below.

Historical overviews of tabloid journalism therefore bring to light that tabloidization is not a separate process impacting on journalism, but the evolution of certain features, formats, and orientations that have been present in journalism since its inception. Nevertheless, as Örnebring and Jönsson (2004) point out, tabloid journalism (also in its older forms of the penny press and yellow journalism) has throughout its history served as a foil for mainstream journalism, a journalistic Other against which established institutions could define themselves. At the same time, despite the pejorative connotations attached to tabloidization, a historical overview shows how tabloid journalism provided an alternative public sphere for counterpublics where sensation and emotion could be read as a critique against economic and political elites. Over time, some of these styles and practices first considered as alternative or inferior impact on mainstream journalism, so that the values and standards that define good journalism also undergo change (Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004).

Moreover, some of these overviews also suggest that the history of tabloidization continues today, even if this process unfolds in contemporary, new environments. For instance, Bird's (1992, p. 22) reference to the genesis of the tabloid penchant for "fabricated photos and retouched artwork," which started with the *New York Graphic*'s use of photographic staging techniques, resonates with contemporary panics about "fake news" in the online digital sphere. Research into the relationship between tabloids and their audiences also continues in the new online environment, for instance, the use of tabloid websites to engage their audiences (Richardson & Stanyer, 2011) or the use of social media as a source for tabloid news (Broersma & Graham, 2013).

While, historically, the tabloid format has been associated with Europe (particularly Britain) and the US, the globalization of media contributed to its spread to other contexts, where it has seen growth in recent years. This has given rise to scholarship on tabloids from other regions of the world and provided comparative perspectives on tabloidization.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXTS

Although historical overviews of tabloid journalism might create an impression that tabloidization (whether considered as a deterioration of journalistic standards or as a historical evolution of certain formats and stylistic features that also make their way into the mainstream) has played out a singular process across history, its adoption and adaptation in various settings around the world necessitate attention to contextual particularities.

While tabloid culture has spread internationally as a result of globalization, which in turn is linked to the increased commercialization of the press within global capitalism, some of its content has also been noted as "robustly national and even xenophobic" and can be read as an ethnic backlash against globalization (Conboy, 2002, p. 142). The consumption of the popular press can therefore be seen as a reconfiguration of tropes of nationhood within a postmodern, globalized society. Tabloid journalism therefore displays something of the push-and-pull of globalization and localization, as they play out in the popular press. Because these countervailing yet interconnected forces of globalization and localization occur at different times and in different ways in various global settings, cultural specificity is important when considering the relationship between processes of tabloidization and broader social, political, and economic relations in locales (Bird, 2009). Although, ostensibly, tabloid journalism in different countries may display similar features with regards to their content and approach, on closer examination tabloid culture takes different shapes and is differentially situated within social and political networks of power according to context.

A case in point is the South African tabloid newspapers, which have emerged about a decade after democracy. The British "red-top" format was exported to this country, and local newspapers brought in consultants from their counterparts in the UK to provide training in tabloid journalism (Wasserman, 2010). Consequently, there is a high degree of similarity in stylistic features such as headlines, layout, and color schemes. However, despite similarities, the South African tabloids became domesticated (to use the term Silverstone & Haddon, 1996, applied to the consumption of information technologies) and glocalized (Hafez, 2007; Robertson, 1997)—the format inherited from their British counterparts was appropriated, adapted to suit local tastes and needs, and imbued with local characteristics. Most important among these adaptations is the serious nature of much of the South African tabloid content in comparison to their more frivolous British counterparts and the incorporation of local cultural frames of reference, most notably references to purportedly supernatural events and witchcraft. Despite this localization, for South African media scholars, commentators, and journalists, tabloids have often expressed vehement criticism for what they have seen as a form of cultural imperialism and the importation of foreign journalism formats that perceivably undermine local journalistic values (Wasserman, 2010).

South African tabloid journalism, when studied within its local specificity, provides a clear example of the limits of the concept of tabloidization when defined as either the deterioration of journalistic quality or as the spread of a fixed set of stylistic features across different settings. As

South African tabloid newspapers are aimed at a mostly black working-class readership that had hitherto been neglected by the mainstream print media in the post-apartheid era, they served to broaden the mediated public sphere by providing space for subaltern publics to emerge, even if this space paradoxically remained a highly commodified, commercial one. In this context, dismissing their emergence as merely an example of the deterioration of standards would not only miss their social and political import in a specific context, but arguably also employ criteria for measuring "quality" that can be read as racist or ethnocentric. The South African tabloids illustrate that tabloid journalism must be understood from what Kraidy and Murphy (2008, p. 343) referred to as a "translocal" approach, one that sees particular examples of media within their "pervasive global-historical dynamics" and not merely as a local expression of a generic global format or genre.

Elsewhere in the Global South, tabloid journalism can also be seen as integrated with social changes, political transitions, and economic shifts that are the result of the interconnections between local and global forces. Hallin (2000, p. 268) shows how the processes of commercialization and democratization of the media have led to the tabloidization of the news media in Mexico, in many ways comparable to a similar connection between economic and political changes that have taken place more recently in the South African media landscape. In Mexico, however, tabloid news is "primarily a phenomenon of television" (Hallin, 2000, p. 268), but as in the case of South Africa, some tabloid news in Mexico has more traditional public affairs content than tabloid news in the US or UK (Hallin, 2000). Yet despite claiming to be a voice for the poor (as tabloids also do in European countries such as the UK and Germany, see Conboy, 2006), Mexican tabloids seem to report less on poverty than, for instance, their Brazilian counterparts (Hallin, 2000). When these two examples are considered against the South African tabloids' coverage of the frustrations and trepidation of the poor, it becomes clear that tabloids in the Global South demonstrate significant differences from their counterparts in the North. Despite similarities in style and format, they also differ among themselves. These differences prevent a monolithic picture of tabloidization in the South emerging from the literature in this area.

What becomes clear from examples in Mexico and South Africa is that tabloidization does not necessarily entail depoliticization, especially in countries undergoing, or having recently undergone, a transition to democracy. In these cases, the opening up of the media sphere, from one which had been controlled or owned by the state, has brought a liberalization of the media landscape which often included the emergence of tabloid media. This is also true of a shift from socialism to free-market democracy in post-socialist contexts: during the transition to democracy in Hungary in the 1990s, for instance, the popular press looked to the West to find media formats that could satisfy new consumer demands (Conboy, 2002).

Tabloidization in these contexts therefore signaled a turn towards ordinary citizens and away from elites (Hallin, 2000) and a reorientation away from elite political agendas towards the "politics of the everyday" (Wasserman, 2010, p. 98). Tabloidization can broaden or diversify a public sphere in places where democratic consolidation is taking place and citizen participation in politics is still emerging. Tabloids in these democratizing contexts are often assuming the role of a watchdog against powerful interests to an extent which had not previously been possible, although its demagoguery may contribute to further social polarization in societies marked by high degrees of conflict (Hallin, 2000).

This shift towards popular politics does not, however, mean that politics reported in tabloids in international contexts is more socially progressive than their Northern counterparts, which are often accused of encouraging cynical and apathetic views of politics (Conboy, 2006). As Hallin (2000) has noted, tabloidization in Mexico has developed in some problematic directions as a result of the confluence of commercial pressures and social inequalities, and in the African context the Ugandan tabloids the *Red Pepper* and *Hello! Uganda* have been particularly controversial for their practice of outing prominent gay Ugandans in a highly homophobic society where attempts have been made to criminalize homosexuality (Wasserman, 2010).

International comparisons in the literature point to the need to study the process of tabloidization within local specificities, rather than viewing it as a homogenous process occurring in the same way around the world. As Conboy (2006, p. 209) points out: "[T]he degree of 'tabloidization' in any given country depends on a complex of journalistic values, media cultures and economic and legal conditions, which are often highly specific to particular national communities."

Existing studies have indeed made clear that contexts outside of the West should not be considered in monolithic terms, but that a variety of tabloid cultures exist and are located in differential ways in relation to specific political, social, and commercial factors. Certain factors such as the commercialization of media, the globalization of media formats, and the rise of popular journalism can be noted around the world. Part of the popular appeal of tabloid journalism is, however, that it articulates a national culture in the local vernacular (Conboy, 2006). For this reason, tabloids can be expected to display national differences at least on the level of language and representation. Despite these various contextual differences, what tabloid cultures in various global locales seem to have in common is the panic they have elicited about tabloidization and its perceived detrimental influence on journalism.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Although the notion of tabloidization has taken on pejorative meanings in popular discourses as well as in the broad area of journalism studies, tabloid journalism has for some time now been a central concern for journalism studies. Given the pervasiveness of tabloid culture around the world, and its spread to different kinds of media beyond the traditional newspaper format, the topic has not only achieved global relevance but has also progressed beyond a niche interest and attained importance for mainstream journalism studies (Conboy, 2008, p. xv):

> Tabloid culture can no longer be conveniently quarantined in an annexe some distance away from the concerns of mainstream or even elite cultural activity. In some way, it touches the lives of all of us even if our engagement is limited to bemoaning that very influence. . . . [T]abloid values have come to permeate our general media culture. . . . The paradox of tabloid culture is that it demands attention and critical debate often precisely because of the many discomforting issues about contemporary media products and audiences that it raises.

This centrality of tabloid culture in journalism and media studies means that it raises a range of research questions pertaining to different aspects of journalism theory and practice, and, consequently, a variety of methodological approaches may be considered appropriate.

As normative questions around the perceived erosion of standards have been a central concern in research on tabloidization, tabloids have often been subjected to ethical analyses, mostly informed by conventional notions of journalism as a public good. These critical stances towards tabloid journalism have often also drawn on political economy analyses, which emphasize the spread of commercialization and commodification of journalism and the increased profit-seeking orientation of journalism, of which tabloidization is seen as a manifestation. These normative approaches to the process of tabloidization have been countered, or put in a wider context, in studies that have made use of historical methods. Historical approaches have been useful for tracing the antecedents of contemporary tabloid journalism, in an effort to dispel claims that tabloidization is a recent development.

The pervasive presence of tabloid journalism within everyday life, as described by Conboy above, does, however, suggest that the most appropriate methods to study tabloidization are those associated with cultural studies. Locating tabloid journalism within networks of culture means that tabloidization is studied as a social phenomenon (Steenveld, 2006), which requires a varied approach that encompasses the various points in the “circuit of culture” (Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997, p. 3), namely representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation. A combination of textual analyses to study representation, qualitative methods to explore the occupational identities of tabloid journalists, structural analyses of the political economic contexts of production, ethnography and audience reception studies to establish the actual contexts of consumption, and consumer attitudes and politico-legal analyses of the regulatory landscape that governs the production and consumption of tabloids therefore yields the richest data with which to understand tabloidization through a “multivariegated lens” that can help us see journalism in general—not only in its tabloid form—as a form of communication, culture, and critique (Zelizer, 2008, p. 90):

> Journalism as communication privileges the important role in information gathering and disseminating which journalism fulfils. Journalism as culture addresses the function of journalism in imparting value preferences and mediating meaning about how the world does and should work. Journalism as critique highlights the particular value of criticism and opinion as a modality through which journalism can make explicit its response to events and issues of the public sphere.

If Zelizer’s triptych of journalism as communication, culture, and critique is used to understand tabloid journalism, it implies a certain methodological eclecticism in order to answer questions such as the following:

- *Tabloid journalism as communication:* How does tabloid journalism communicate with its audiences? What information does tabloid journalism disseminate? How does tabloidization influence the nature of journalistic content? What implications do changing audience preferences and commercial pressures on journalism production have on the content that is produced? Under what circumstances can tabloid journalism produce alternative public spheres?
- *Tabloid journalism as culture:* What cultural values, meanings, and symbolic frameworks are imparted by tabloid journalism? How does tabloid journalism differ across different national contexts? How is tabloid culture related to broader journalistic cultures and occupational ideologies? How does the lived experience of audiences influence their consumption of tabloid journalism and the way in which they make meaning in this process?
- *Tabloid journalism as critique:* Do tabloids divert audiences away from political engagement, or assist them in articulating critiques of dominant power relations? Under what conditions can tabloid journalism be read as critiques of mainstream norms and practices? How successful is tabloid journalism in acting as “conduits for the circulation of popular (as opposed to elite or official) ways of knowing” (Glynn, 2000, p. 6)?

Existing research into tabloidization has approached these questions from a range of methodological vantage points, including quantitative content analysis, discourse analysis, historical methods, audience studies, and normative critiques. The multifaceted nature of tabloidization requires a combination of these approaches to provide a textured analysis appropriate to tabloidization’s complexity.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The term tabloidization has become pervasive in discussions about journalistic values, practices, and occupational ideologies. There is now, as has been outlined, an extensive literature on tabloid journalism and tabloid culture. Despite the scholarly attention that this topic has attracted, the central concept of tabloidization still lacks definitional clarity. Given the continued relevance of this term in scholarly and journalistic discourses, further work on matters of definition would be useful in order to more accurately describe the process of tabloidization as it unfolds over various platforms. Given the strong normative dimensions of the term, however, it is unlikely that agreement will be reached on the nature of its influence on journalism. Adherents of the Habermasian notion of a rational public sphere facilitated by journalism are likely to continue to imbue the term with pejorative meaning, despite the growing reach and extent of tabloid forms and tabloidization. Instead of posing a detrimental influence on journalism, tabloidization can in fact be harnessed to woo audiences back to journalism, as Gans (2009) and Kitch (2009) have argued.

As was mentioned briefly above, a new moral panic about the deterioration of the quality of information in the public sphere has arisen in recent years, namely concerns about the impact of "fake news." Underpinning this panic were concerns similar to those that have become familiar in tabloidization debates: about the quality of information given to the public, the ability of the media to provide audiences with information that would enable them to participate fully in democratic processes, and the erosion of journalistic standards such as accuracy and objectivity. As has been the case in tabloidization debates, the response from the journalistic community has largely been one of paradigm repair and reaffirmation of professional boundaries. To explore more fully the possibility of boundary work performed by the journalistic community in response to the rise of "fake news," insights could be drawn from research into these debates in the area of tabloid culture.

Although significant work in tabloidization research has used ethnographic methods to study audience reception of tabloids, more work could be done in this regard, especially among audiences outside of the Global North and in comparative studies. On the whole, research into tabloidization should, as has been argued at the outset of this chapter, be multifaceted. One of the key points of view in the scholarship on tabloid culture has been the assumption that tabloid journalism can provide a prism through which broader questions of importance to the field of journalism studies can be approached. Tabloidization raises questions about journalism cultures, occupational ideologies, normative values, audience preferences, and strategies of appropriation, adaptation, and domestication of genre in different global contexts. Its pervasive presence in media landscapes globally and its prominence as a mode of media presentation and consumption has made tabloid journalism not only impossible to ignore, but increasingly important as a field of study. Due to the wider applicability of the questions raised by tabloidization to the field as a whole, setting a future research agenda for the study of tabloid culture should be linked to broader research directions. Current debates in journalism studies frequently take place within a broader discourse of uncertainty and crisis. Scholarship in this field is replete with pessimistic studies containing "predictions of widespread doom," arising either from failing business models or the changing nature of audiences and disillusionment of the youth with traditional models and platforms of journalism (Zelizer, 2015, p. 890). Moral panics about the influence of social media on mainstream journalism, epistemic disruption caused by new media technologies and the implications for the future of journalism abound. Wherever these pessimistic debates are conducted, the notion of tabloidization is usually not very far away and is usually used as a thermometer for measuring the ill health of journalism.

Research agendas dealing with questions on the future of journalism, whether these relate to business models, shifting preferences of audiences, the globalization of journalism, or changing modes of delivery, could therefore all benefit from serious consideration of tabloidization—its modes, discourses, platforms, and reach. Future research into the area of tabloidization could therefore inform several other research agendas in journalism studies and would, of necessity, be multifaceted and multidimensional.

REFERENCES

Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *31*(2), 211–236.

Bakir, V., & McStay, A. (2017). Fake news and the economy of emotions. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(2), 154–175.

Berger, G. (2005). Current challenges. In A. Hadland (Ed.), *Changing the fourth estate: Essays on South African journalism* (pp. 19–26). Cape Town: HSRC Publishers.

Bird, S. E. (1992). *For enquiring minds: A cultural study of supermarket tabloids*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Bird, S. E. (2009). Tabloidization: What is it, and does it really matter? In B. Zelizer (Ed.), *The changing faces of journalism: Tabloidization, technology and truthiness* (pp. 40–50). New York, NY: Routledge.

Biressi, A., & Nunn, H. (2008). Introduction. In A. Biressi & H. Nunn (Eds.), *The tabloid culture reader* (pp. 1–4). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2013). Twitter as a news source: How Dutch and British newspapers used tweets in their news coverage, 2007–2011. *Journalism Practice*, *7*(4), 446–464.

Carlsson, M., & Berkowitz, D. (2014). 'The emperor lost his clothes': Rupert Murdoch, news of the world and journalistic boundary work in the UK and USA. *Journalism*, *15*(4), 389–406.

Cohen, S. (1973). *Folk devils and moral panics: The creation of the mods and rockers*. London: Paladin.

Conboy, M. (2002). *The press and popular culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Conboy, M. (2006). *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a community through language*. London: Routledge.

Conboy, M. (2008). Foreword. In A. Biressi & H. Nunn (Eds.), *The tabloid culture reader* (pp. xv–xvi). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Curran, J. (2003). The press in the age of globalization. In J. Curran & J. Seaton (Eds.), *Power without responsibility* (pp. 67–105). London: Routledge.

Du Gay, P., Hall, S., Janes, L., Mackay, H., & Negus, K. (1997). *Doing cultural studies: The story of the Sony Walkman*. Milton Keynes: Open University; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Franklin, B., Hamer, M., Hanna, M., Kinsey, M., & Richardson, J. E. (2005). *Key concepts in journalism studies*. London: Sage Publications.

Gans, H. (2009). Can popularization help the news media? In B. Zelizer (Ed.), *The changing faces of journalism: Tabloidization, technology and truthiness* (pp. 17–28). New York, NY: Routledge.

Glynn, K. (2000). *Tabloid culture: Trash taste, popular power and the transformation of American television*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Gripsrud, J. (2008). Tabloidization, popular journalism, and democracy. In A. Biressi & H. Nunn (Eds.), *The tabloid culture reader* (pp. 34–44). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Hafez, K. (2007). *The myth of media globalization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hallin, D. C. (2000). *La nota roja*: Popular journalism and the transition to democracy in Mexico. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. 267–284). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Johansson, S. (2007). *Reading tabloids: Tabloid newspapers and their readers*. Stockholm: Södertörns högskola.

Kitch, C. (2009). Tears and trauma in the news. In B. Zelizer (Ed.), *The changing faces of journalism: Tabloidization, technology and truthiness* (pp. 29–39). New York, NY: Routledge.

Kraidy, M. M., & Murphy, P. D. (2008). Shifting Geertz: Toward a theory of translocalism in global communication studies. *Communication Theory*, *18*(3), 316–339.
Örnebring, H., & Jönsson, A. M. (2004). Tabloid journalism and the public sphere: A historical perspective on tabloid journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *5*(3), 283–295.
Rabe, L. (2007). An analogy between tabloids and the Wild, Wild West: The good, the bad and the Ugly? *Gender and Media Diversity Journal*, *3*, 26–34.
Rhoufari, M. M. (2000). Talking about the tabloids. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. 163–176). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Richardson, J. E., & Stanyer, J. (2011). Reader opinion in the digital age: Tabloid and broadsheet newspaper websites and the exercise of political voice. *Journalism*, *12*(8), 983–1003.
Robertson, R. (1997). Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity-heterogeneity. In M. Featherstone, S. Lash, & R. Robertson (Eds.), *Global modernities* (pp. 25–43). London: Sage Publications.
Serazio, M. (2009). Rethinking a villain, redeeming a format: The crisis and cure in tabloidization. In B. Zelizer (Ed.), *The changing faces of journalism: Tabloidization, technology and truthiness* (pp. 13–16). New York, NY: Routledge.
Silverstone, R., & Haddon, L. (1996). Design and the domestication of information and communication technologies: Technical change and everyday life. In R. Silverstone & R. Mansell (Eds.), *Communication by design. The politics of information and communication technologies* (pp. 44–74). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Sparks, C. (2000). Introduction: The panic over tabloid news. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. 1–40). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Steenveld, L. (2006). Tabloids a social phenomenon. In S. Bulbulia (Ed.), *The tabloid challenge* (pp. 18–21). Johannesburg: Institute for the Advancement of Journalism.
Thussu, D. (2007). *News as entertainment: The rise of global infotainment*. London: Sage Publications.
Van Zoonen, L. (2000). Popular culture as political communication an introduction. *Javnost—The Public*, *7*(2), 5–18.
Van Zoonen, L. (2005). *Entertaining the citizen: When politics and popular culture converge*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Wasserman, H. (2010). *Tabloid journalism in South Africa: True story!* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Zelizer, B. (2008). How communication, culture, and critique intersect in the study of journalism. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, *1*(1), 86–91.
Zelizer, B. (2015). Terms of choice: Uncertainty, journalism and crisis. *Journal of Communication*, *65*(5), 888–908.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Part IV

JOURNALISM AND SOCIETY

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

19

Journalism and Democracy

David Ryfe

Discussion of journalism's contributions to democracy is older than the profession itself and much older than the earliest academic studies of the occupation (e.g., Keane, 1991; McNair, 2009). Enlightenment thinkers associated newspapers with reason, rationality, progress, and, ultimately, democracy (e.g., Habermas, 1989; Thompson, 1996; Tocqueville, 1835/2004). Just as journalism began to professionalize at the turn of the 20th century, sociologists like Tarde (1969/1901) and Tönnies (1971/1923) pondered its role in emerging modern societies. In the United States around the same time, public conversations about journalism mostly centered on its relation to democracy (e.g., Dewey, 1927; Lippmann, 1922). As journalism professionalized, journalists began to incorporate democratic commitments into their self-understanding (e.g., Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001).

Journalism studies also has been strongly shaped by these commitments. As the first studies of news production appeared in the 1950s (e.g., White, 1950), Western scholars—led by discussions in the United States—frequently framed their research in terms of whether and how well journalism performed its democratic responsibilities (e.g., Baxter, 1995; Blanchard, 1977; Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956). By the late-20th century, this association had become so entrenched that Carey (1996) could declare: "journalism is another name for democracy, or better, you cannot have journalism without democracy" and raise little objection. During that century, an American-inspired democracy-centered model of journalism migrated around the globe, becoming integral to journalism and journalism studies everywhere, even in societies organized along non-democratic lines (e.g., Chalaby, 1998; Ryfe, 2017).

Today, there are indications that the "shelf-life" of democracy, as Zelizer (2012) puts it, both in journalism and journalism studies, may be coming to an end. Scholars of digital journalism have taken to arguing that the term "democracy" is nearly irrelevant to their subject (e.g., Josephi, 2016). Other scholars seem to agree (e.g., Broersma & Peters, 2013; Deuze & Witschge, 2017; Josephi, 2012, 2016; Peters & Witschge, 2015). Indeed, in a survey of journal articles published in the past 15 years, Steensen and Ahva (2015) report that, where in 2000 the word "democracy" appeared as the fourth most common keyword in the literature, by 2013 "democracy" was ranked ninth, replaced by words like "public," "public sphere," and "community."

This move away from the concept of democracy, however, may be a mistake. For one thing, journalism's democratic commitments remain central to the self-conception of many, if not most, mainstream journalists. To the extent that they define themselves against these commitments, the same might be said of digital journalists, and perhaps even of audiences, who continue to demand that journalism play a democratic role. Even today, journalism's relationship to democracy serves as a constitutive background against which people make sense of the practice. When we ask what journalism and journalists are for, this is to say, we turn naturally to considerations of their democratic role. This point raises another. While it is true that the term "democracy" refers to a particular political system, and often the American version of that system—the term often serves as a synonym for politics generally. When we say that journalism has a special place in democracy, we are saying that it plays a crucial role in political life, and especially in governance. To the extent that they ignore journalism's contributions to democracy, scholars risk effacing the field's crucial relationship to politics and, by extension, the state.

Given its centrality to journalism, perhaps what is needed is not a move beyond democratic theory. Perhaps what is needed is a new theory, one less rooted in one particular political system (e.g., the United States). Ideally, this theory should retain an ethical framework for understanding journalism's crucial role in political life, but fit better with what we know of how journalism actually contributes to politics. For that matter, it should fit the evidence that is accumulating about digital journalism. Such a theory already exists. I will here refer to it as a group-centered account of political practice. A long-standing, if residual tradition, this group-centered theory places groups and group identities, and not, as in the liberal model, information, reason, and truth, at the center of democratic politics (e.g., Allport, 1954; Bentley, 1908; Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1948; Schaatschneider, 1960). It is groups, this tradition insists, that carry out democratic politics, and group identities from which citizens' political views spring. Citizens, this is to say, are not rational but social, people who make political choices not on the basis of self-interest but according to their understanding of how "people like me" think.

This tradition meets the needs of journalism studies for several reasons. It is more generalizable across multiple political systems. It provides for an ethical dimension to conversations about journalism and better fits the available data about how journalism actually contributes to political life. After all, according to many scholars a primary aspect of the digital disruption is precisely a rapid reconfiguration of how groups form and interact (e.g., Papacharissi, 2015; Rainie & Wellman, 2012). A group-based understanding of democratic politics may help scholars grapple with how the new digital environment changes journalistic practice and the place of journalism in the communities it serves. Along the way, it may also help us to revise our sense of what journalism is good for, thereby making its constitutive background more in tune with empirical research.

I begin with a brief account of the liberal theory of journalism and democracy. I then move to a review of digital journalism studies, with an eye to showing how the liberal model continues to overlay much scholarship in this area. After discussing an alternative group-based conception of democracy, I end the essay by showing how this theory might profitably inform journalism studies.

JOURNALISM AND DEMOCRACY

The conventional story of journalism and democracy is taken from classical liberal theory (e.g., Carey, 1989; Curran, 2002). Scholars today call it by various names, including the "informed citizen" model of democracy (Schudson, 1998, p. 182) and the "information model" of democracy (e.g., Bimber, 2003). For simplicity, I will refer to it as the liberal model, as it aligns closely with the political theory of liberalism.

The liberal story of journalism's contributions to democracy goes something like this: journalism is an occupation assigned the duty of producing fact-based, impartial political news. Democratic citizens require such news because it is their chore to develop preferences about the various policy issues under discussion. Should government tax citizens more or less? Adopt this or that climate change policy? Citizens are expected to develop preferential answers to such questions. They come to these answers in part from the news they consume. It is important that they do so unencumbered by their social identities, committed solely to, as Habermas (1989) puts it, the "public use of reason." Public opinion is merely an aggregation of Individual citizen preferences. Policymakers are supposed to craft policies that respond to public opinion, which is to say, the preferences of what a majority of citizens wish to be done about any particular issue. It is one of journalism's core jobs to ensure that policymakers are responsive to the public will. Put in the vernacular of journalism, it is reporters' job to "hold policymakers accountable" for their policies. This, in a nutshell, is a conventional understanding of how journalism is supposed to serve democracy. It has informed conceptions of the practice not only in the Western industrialized world, but everywhere that journalism is practiced.

One question we might ask is why this theory emerged first, and most strongly, in the United States, and why it became so central to American journalism. The answer is complicated. Part of the reason is that, compared to other Western societies, the United States was founded most firmly along abstract liberal values (e.g., Hartz, 1991/1955). It is also the case that the professional classes first emerged in the United States along with industrialization. Around the same time, the United States also experienced a general reorientation of government toward science and administration (e.g., Bryce, 1889; Skowronek, 1982). These changes in public life altered the economic needs of commercial news organizations (e.g., Baldasty, 1992; Schiller, 1981). Finally, in the midst of this environment, American journalists were some of the first to professionalize their field (e.g., Schudson, 1978; Waisbord, 2013). Among American scholars, the liberal theory was reinforced later by the introduction of modern survey techniques, into which was embedded the notion of the atomized, information-processing citizen (e.g., Herbst, 1993). None of these transitions was determinative, but together they produced an orientation toward journalism and democracy framed by a vocabulary of rationalism, self-interest, ideology, information, science, and administration.

For journalists, this vocabulary lent meaning to many of the mechanics of their practice, including sourcing practices, the use of attribution in quotes, the preference for balanced presentations of news, the inverted pyramid style, and the "just the facts" presentation of stories (e.g., Høyer & Pöttker, 2005; Schudson & Anderson, 2009). Journalists, this is to say, came to explain these practices largely in terms of the occupation's underlying democratic purpose of informing citizens: we offer balanced reporting *because* our role is to inform citizens. In this way, the liberal theory became central to journalism's self-conception. As just one example of its dominance, Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001, p. 20) report "every newspaper mission statement on file with the American Society of Newspaper Editors names advancing self-government as the primary goal of the news organization."

Though initially an American phenomenon, the liberal theory quickly dispersed across the industrialized West (e.g., Chalaby, 1998; Curran, Iyengar, Lund, & Salovaara-Moring, 2009). First entering the United Kingdom in the early 20th century (Hampton, 2001), the conception spread through France and Scandinavia next. After World War II, it made its way across Germany and Southern Europe. This process took the form of adaptation more than adoption (e.g., Broersma, 2017). In each society, the liberal theory was bent to local circumstances. From time to time, it met resistance. Yet, over time, the codes of American journalism, animated as they were by the liberal theory, came to serve as a rough normative guideline for journalism everywhere. If there is a "universal theory" of journalism culture (e.g., Hanitzsch, 2007), it is rooted in this broader liberal theory of journalism's place in democracy (e.g., George, 2013). Surveys of journalists globally support this conclusion (e.g., Wu & Weaver, 1998).

The same can be said of scholarship about news and journalism. If democracy requires that news organizations inform citizens, it is natural to ask whether and how this happens. The first empirical studies of news concerned themselves with precisely this question (e.g., Berelson, 1954; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955), as did the first empirical studies of news production (Breed, 1955; White, 1950). During the 1960s—a decade when the field began to build a set of enduring research questions—the centrality of democracy to journalism research became even clearer. As one example, McCombs and Shaw (1964) established the tradition of agenda-setting research with in an explicit interest in journalism's democratic responsibilities. Similarly, most authors of the "golden age" ethnographies of newsrooms produced in this period (e.g., Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) framed their research around the question of how journalists choose and produce the news and what this means for their democratic role.

The liberal model skewed journalism research in this way despite the fact that it was supported by very little empirical evidence. Anticipating studies conducted decades later, Walter Lippmann (1922) laid out the liberal model's principle flaws. Journalists, he argued, are ill-equipped to inform citizens with a steady stream of reliable, fact-based news; even if they were so-inclined, the news organizations for which they work have little interest in filling their papers with serious political news; even if journalists and their news organizations committed themselves to this task, policymakers would not cooperate; and finally, even if all of these actors worked together to create a vibrant stream of serious news, the average citizen is unable or unwilling to process such information. "If the newspapers are to be charged," Lippmann concludes at the end of his book, "with the duty of translating the whole public life of mankind . . . they fail, they are bound to fail, in any future one can conceive they will continue to fail" (p. 228).

Decades of subsequent research have largely supported Lippmann's conclusions. Scholars have found that, for a myriad of reasons, journalists and news organizations are generally unable to provide citizens with the kinds of news necessary for them to make informed decisions (e.g., Entman, 1990; Jamieson & Waldman, 2003). Journalists often have insufficient specialist knowledge of the issues they cover, and are too susceptible to the policymakers and experts who provide them with information (e.g., Ginsberg, 1986; Hess, 1981; Page, 1996; Seymour-Ure, 1974; Tiffen, 1990). This is to say, they are more often the "lap dogs" of political elites than their "watch dogs" (e.g., Sparrow, 1999). For their part, news organizations are often more concerned with matters of profit than with fulfilling journalism's democratic commitments (e.g., Jones, 2009; McChesney, 2015). Scholars have learned that, if anything, citizens are even less prepared to play their democratic role (Converse, 1964; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Grönlund & Milner, 2006; Iyengar et al., 2010; Milner, 2002). Due to a lack of motivation, opportunity, and/or ability, citizens generally are unable or unwilling to gain enough knowledge to have an informed opinion about most political issues. These findings may be of little consequence, as policymakers may not be inclined to respond to an informed public anyway (e.g., Althaus, 2003; Cohen Karol, Noel, & Zaller, 2008; Egan, 2013; Esaiasson & Holmberg, 1996; Grossman, 2012; Miller et al., 1999). Most political actors already know what they wish to do. Rather than abiding by the public will, they spend their time trying to convince the public that what they wish to have done is what should be done (e.g., Campbell, 2003; Jacobs & Shapiro, 2000). If responsiveness exists, it most often works exactly the opposite of the way the liberal theory imagines: individual citizens are more responsive to elite cues than the other way around.

To be fair, if it is not examined too closely, patterns of news production and consumption seem to work generally in the way the liberal model prescribes. Many studies have shown, for instance, that news agendas tend to track the issue agendas of political elites and that public opinion seems to follow news agendas. If an issue is in the news for a sufficient length of time, and is framed in a particular way, public opinion will typically move in that direction (e.g., McCombs, 2014). Generally, the more "hard news" citizens consume, the more knowledgeable about public affairs they become (e.g., Curran et al., 2009; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Newton, 1999; Eveland, 2004; Iyengar et al., 2010). However, few scholars argue that this process meets the democratic ideal of the liberal model.

Nevertheless, despite a paucity of empirical support, the liberal model has remained central to journalism and journalism studies for over a hundred years. It has come to be, as Achen and Bartels (2016) refer to it, the primary "folk theory" of public life: a relatively simple and simplified understanding of the way that democracy is supposed to work and that journalism is supposed to work on behalf of democracy.

JOURNALISM STUDIES AND LIBERAL THEORY

Among journalism studies scholars, however, the liberal theory has lost much of its luster. Josephi (2016), for instance, makes the case that democratic concerns are simply not germane to the study of digital journalism. It is not only that digital journalism fails to live up to its own democratic self-conception or that journalism is practiced in many non-democratic contexts, as others have pointed out (e.g., Curran & Park, 2000; Downing, 1996). For Josephi, it is that digital journalism is so unruly that it makes a democratic lens nearly irrelevant to the practice. The vocabulary emanating from this tradition emphasizes ideas of sharing and participation, community and trust, interactivity and ecosystems, collaboration and conversation. It is difficult to fit these terms into the conventional narrative of journalism's place in democracy, with its emphasis on terms like facts, information, objectivity, and gatekeeping. "With its possibilities for participation, multiple perspectives and emotional engagement," Josephi writes, digital journalism is too broad and unwieldy to be accurately captured by the term "democracy" (2016, p. 22).

Josephi's position is backed up by research in several areas, including research on business models in digital journalism. Scholars have argued for decades that commercialism is the greatest threat to journalism's ability to fulfill its democratic commitments (e.g., Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; McChesney, 2015). Yet, the situation in digital journalism has nearly flipped this narrative on its head. Simply put, there *is* no business model for digital journalism, meaning that digital news is very nearly impossible to commercialize (e.g., Nielsen & Levy, 2010). It is true that, overall, revenues for digital news continue to grow (e.g., World Association of Newspapers, 2017). However, nowhere have these revenues made up for the significant decline in print advertising revenues. This resulting profit slide has been particularly steep in Western societies (Cornia, Sehl, Simon, & Nielsen, 2016), where news systems have greatly retrenched. This is especially the case in the United States, where journalism has suffered massive layoffs (Chyi & Tenenboim, 2017). Local situations in particular countries differ in the details (e.g., Nielsen, 2015). However, it is generally true that across the West reduced audiences and increased competition, especially from digital platforms like Google and Facebook, have combined to create an austere economic environment for news. Thus, where once observers decried the commercialism of news, today they call for the commercialization of digital news. In some countries, the economic situation has become so dire that talk of journalism's democratic responsibilities seems almost quaint.

A similar disjuncture has occurred in studies of digital news production. In the liberal model, journalists are imagined to be principal gatekeepers of information that circulates in public life. Yet, online, information circulates in a more collaborative and participative manner (e.g., Singer, Domingo, Heinonen, & Hermida, 2011). In a highly cited paper, for instance, Hermida and colleagues (2014) analyze NPR reporter Andy Carvin's use of twitter to report on the Arab uprising. They find that Carvin's reporting indicates a more "direct and dialogical relationship with his audience" and that audiences "play[ed] a key role in enlarging and diversifying the range of source material" in Carvin's reporting (p. 494). This conclusion should not be surprising. Online, many people have ability to produce and distribute news, and only some of them are professional journalists (Benkler, 2006; Shirky, 2008). In fact, some of them are not even people. In a world in which news is distributed as much by algorithms and bots as by professional journalists, the notion of journalists as gatekeepers no longer makes much sense (e.g., Bruns, 2005; Wallace, 2017).

Given the discrepancy between the democratic tradition and what scholars are discovering about digital journalism, is it a wonder that they increasingly reject the vernacular of democratic theory? Deuze and Witschge (2017) are not alone when they call for a theory of journalism that "move(s) beyond the limitations framing [the conventional discussion] . . . beyond [journalism's] validation as uniquely necessary for democracy" (p. 4). Scholars of digital journalism are more apt to follow the lead of Carlson and Lewis (2015), who view any claim about what journalism is, or what it is for, as an instance of "boundary work," part of a political struggle to define the field and sort its insiders and outsiders (see also Chapter 8 in this volume). In this guise, journalism's relation to democracy has no greater ethical or empirical claim on the profession than any other.

This turn away from democracy, however, may be a mistake. For one thing, even today scholars consistently find that mainstream journalists define themselves and the profession in terms of their democratic commitments (e.g., Hanitzsch, 2007; Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2016). This is true of journalists around the globe, even among those who practice in non-democratic societies (e.g., de Burgh, 2006). It appears the same is true of digital journalists. It is not that they define themselves in terms of their contribution to democracy. Rather, it is that they tend to define themselves *against* these commitments (e.g., Annany & Crawford, 2015; Lewis & Usher, 2014; Ryfe, 2016). If only as a foil then, the journalism-democracy nexus still exercises a powerful gravitational force on the field of journalism. The vocabulary around journalism and democracy, which has grown up over a century, remains a constitutive background against which people understand the practice.

Moreover, there is a sense in which the argument that digital journalism studies should move beyond democracy misses the point. It is true that many journalists do not practice in democratic societies. It is also true that, even in democratic societies, many journalists practice a kind of journalism that is far afield from democratic politics. But the claim that journalism plays (or should play) a vital role in democracy is broader than its critics allow. Journalism is crucial not just for democracy; it is instrumental for politics writ large. It is, in other words, a quintessentially public institution, one that is necessarily entangled in political life regardless of the particular political system in which it is practiced (e.g., Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999).

What is needed, therefore, is not a move beyond democratic theory. What is needed is a new theory.

A GROUP-CENTERED CONCEPTION OF POLITICS

Since the early 20th century, a group-based conception of politics has existed as a residual theory alongside the dominant liberal model (e.g., Achen & Bartels, 2016). However, in recent years, it has experienced a renaissance, in part due to renewed interest in the relation of group membership to political attitudes/behaviors (e.g., Huddy, 2001; Huddy, Mason, & Aarøe, 2015). This interest stems from social identity theory, a tradition within the field of social psychology (e.g., Burke & Stets, 2009). Within this literature, a "social identity" is defined as a self-conception of more than two individuals that they belong to the same social category (e.g., Turner, 1982, p. 15). It is, in this sense, a psychological state of attachment that forms a significant aspect of self-definition. The exact mechanism of this identification is a matter of some dispute (e.g., Theodoridis, 2013). Some argue it is a matter of in-group emulation, others that it arises from self-categorization, and still others from in-group and out-group social comparison. Whatever the precise mechanism, all agree that social group identification leads individuals to take on the values, norms, and behaviors of their preferred groups (e.g., Turner, 1991). Their social identities, this is to say, shape their attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. This is true even when group membership is relatively thin. In a famous demonstration, Tajfel (1981) conducted a series of experiments in which he placed individuals in imaginary groups and did not allow the members of these groups to interact. Nevertheless, he found that simple affiliation with a named group was enough to trigger in-group and out-group attitudes and behaviors.

It is no great leap to suppose that political attitudes and behaviors may be rooted in social identity as well (e.g., Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012; Nelson & Kinder, 1996). Indeed, in the last few decades, scholars have discovered that a host of group identities, racial, ethnic, religious, and geographic identities among them—strongly shape attitudes and opinions toward issues, events, and other social groups. Just as one recent example, Cramer (2016) writes of the way in which rural Americans have developed an “us versus them” narrative that pits their social group and its values and preferences against those of urban voters.

Nowhere is the impact of social groups on political attitudes and behaviors more apparent than in party membership. A long line of work has shown that party identification is one of the most important explanations of political views (Gerber, Huber, & Washington, 2010; Goren, 2001, 2005; Greene, 1999, 2004; Keith et al., 1993; Lewis-Beck et al., 2008). In accordance with social identity theory, researchers argue that a person’s tie to a political party is less a matter of “formal membership or an active connection with a party apparatus,” as Campbell et al. (1960, p. 121) put it, than “a psychological identification . . . an affective orientation to an important group-object in [the] environment.” In other words, membership in a political party represents a kind of social identity.

Race and ethnicity is the other obvious example of the effect of social groups on political attitudes and behaviors (e.g., Carmines & Stimson, 1989). The impact of racial prejudice on the political judgments of white Americans has been studied for decades (e.g., Kinder & Kam, 2009). Scholars have also shown that the political views of African-Americans also are strongly shaped by their “linked fate” as a social group (e.g., Dawson, 1994). In recent years, this perspective has been stretched to consider the impact of social identity on, among others, Latinos (e.g., Vargas, Sanchez, & Valdez, 2017).

The recognition that social groups impact individual attitudes and behavior, and the process by which this occurs, are both of vital importance. Initially, scholars of social identity and politics interpreted the connection between groups and attitudes in terms of conventional theory. That is, they understood the relationship as a matter of cognition. Levendusky (2009), for instance, argues that the recent increase in the salience of party membership for people is due to cue taking from elite discourse. Specifically, as elites have grown more partisan, they have given ordinary people clearer information cues as to what their political parties stand for. This clarity causes the general public to sort more distinctly into ideological camps. Carmines and Stimson (1989) and Dawson (1994) make a similar argument with respect to race. On their account, elite discourse offers explicit racial cues on a host of political issues. In turn, this linkage of race and politics serves as a set of cues by which ordinary people make sense of politics. In this way, racial membership becomes a more powerful lens through which individuals view the political world.

However, recent scholarship has questioned this conventional view. It is unclear whether the average individual possesses the inclination, ability, and knowledge (however minimal) necessary to read elite political cues accurately (e.g., Arceneaux & Johnson, 2013; Cohen, 2003; Huddy et al., 2015). The evidence suggests that group membership is rooted less in information processing than in affect. Individuals' attachment to groups, this is to say, is social. The process by which group life impacts individual attitudes and behaviors is social as well. It is learned and reinforced over time through interaction with others. As this interaction ensues, the individual's personal identity becomes ever more wrapped up in his or her social membership. Over time, attitudes, views, and behaviors become instinctual, an expression of "who we are" and by extension "who I am." The upshot is that elites may "cue" such attitudes so easily in ordinary people because the response requires no thinking at all. When they encounter such cues, individuals are not "processing information" so much as accepting an invitation to express who they, at root, *are*.

Given the dominance of the liberal model, accepting as much is difficult. It contradicts our long-standing conception of how democracy ought to work and the decades of research informed by this theory. It also contradicts our own self-understanding. In a series of experiments, Cohen (2003) discovered that while individuals were perfectly happy to ascribe others' political attitudes to their group membership, they were reluctant to apply the same theory to their own thinking. "Participants in the present research realized the power of group influence in a general sense," Cohen writes, "but perceive[d] themselves to be immune [to this influence]" (p. 820). Socialized to believe that we *should* develop political preferences through individual rational judgment, we are reluctant to admit—to ourselves or to others—that this is not the case in practice. When asked to explain the genesis of our attitudes, we strive to give the appearance of rational thought (e.g., Achen & Bartels, 2016; Lodge & Taber, 2013). In reality, however, for most people most of the time, our political preferences involve very little thinking.

For decades, scholars have offered accounts of the relationship between journalism and democracy imbued with the assumptions of the liberal model. In so doing, they often use the language of a "social contract" (e.g., Kieran, 2000; McQuail, 1992). Democracy, the story goes, provides journalism with freedom, specifically, the freedoms of speech and of the press. For its part, journalism provides, as Strömback (2005, p. 332) writes, "citizens with the information they need in order to be free and self-governing [and] the government with the information it needs in order to make decisions in the common interest sensitive to public sentiments." It is out of this notion that journalism's primary vocabulary—knowledge, truth, objectivity, fairness, impartiality, bias, facts, and, freedom—emerges.

However, if we acknowledge that the "public" is not composed of individuals but of social groups, that social groups (and not individuals) prosecute democratic politics, that individuals generally take their political views from the groups to which they belong, and, that policy elites have less interest in being "sensitive to public sentiments" than in mass persuasion, then we must change our understanding of journalism and specifically digital journalism's role in public life.

CONCLUSION

A group-centered account of digital journalism's contributions to public life may help resuscitate the tradition of journalism and democracy studies. For one thing, this perspective closely aligns with central tendencies of digital networks. Here, I think especially of the way in which these networks allow for new configurations of group life and group identity. As Rainie and Wellman (2012) argue, digital networks afford new forms of what they call "networked individualism." In the past individuals may have been nested within tightly knit face-to-face groups (e.g., the family, the neighborhood, the church). Online, however, these same individuals now have the ability to meet their needs, these authors write, by "tapping into sparsely knit networks of diverse associates" (p. 12). Such networks are looser, less formal, and more peripatetic than in the past. As they confer greater freedom on individuals to enter and exit particular groups, these networks also provide individuals with a great deal more autonomy. The study of group formation and identity seems crucial for understanding these processes.

Bringing this perspective to bear on questions of digital journalism and public life seems especially pertinent. After all, it is often claimed that digital journalism is more "liquid" (e.g., Deuze, 2008) than in the past; that it blurs boundaries between news producers and consumers (e.g., Chadwick, 2013; Papacharissi, 2015); that it opens the way for new forms of journalism to be practiced by new kinds of journalists (e.g., Harcup, 2011); that it affords the creation of new kinds of public spaces in which news might circulate (e.g., Dickens, Couldry, & Fotopoulou, 2015); and that it offers new ways for political groups to form and impact the political process (Karpf, 2016; Kreiss, 2012; Tufekci, 2017). All of these claims and the scholarly vocabulary generated around them (e.g., sharing and participation, trust and transparency, collaboration and interaction) might profit from greater engagement with group-centered conceptions of public life. Questions of whether and how journalism contributes to democracy and public life might then appear as more relevant and resonant with the study of digital journalism.

A group-centered account also opens the way for the creation of a different ethical vocabulary for digital journalism. In the past, it was imagined that journalism should be and do a number of things: it should be factual; it should hold officials accountable, and so on. On a group-centered perspective, new terms like representation, voice, power, and, equality come to the fore. In a group-centered world, journalists may have less interest in providing impartial information (which members of different groups may interpret in vastly different ways) and more in ensuring that all relevant social groups are represented in the political process. Equality of access, this is to say, may be as vital as the free circulation of information. Journalists may also be less concerned with issues of bias in the news and more with those of voice. Most of the time, the issue is not whether the news is biased toward one perspective or another; rather, it is who has the power to speak, and on whose behalf? Relieved of the assumption that the policymaking process is (or should be) driven by abstract knowledge, journalists may consider issues of power as at least as vital to democratic politics as facts. In saying as much, we should recognize that concerns for representation, voice, power, and so on have always been part of journalism's ethical vocabulary. However, it is fair to say that these concerns have been recessive to the field, consigned to its margins, in areas like community journalism, public journalism, alternative journalism, and journalism that serves distinct ethnic and racial communities. Within a group-centered conception of political practice, these concerns become more central to the study of digital journalism.

James Carey (1989, p. 20) once famously declared that "reading the news" is a "situation in which nothing new is learned but in which a particular view of the world is portrayed and confirmed." A group-based conception of public life helps to make sense of this statement. The news, on this account, does less to inform than to reaffirm. This notion lies at the heart of group-based accounts of public life. Individuals enter public life as thoroughly social creatures. Perhaps if we start from this premise, we can begin to reconstruct journalism's contributions to democratic life in the digital age.

REFERENCES

Achen, C. H., & Bartels, L. (2016). *Democracy for realists: Why elections do not produce responsive governments*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Althaus, S. (2003). *Collective preferences in democratic politics: Opinion surveys and the will of the people*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Annany, M., & Crawford, K. (2015). A liminal press: Situating news app designers within a field of networked news production. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(2), 192–208.
Arceneaux, K., & Johnson, M. (2013). *Changing minds or changing channels? Partisan news in an age of choice*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Baldasty, G. (1992). *The commercialization of news in the nineteenth century*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
Baxter, M. (1995). *Realigning journalism with democracy: The Hutchins Commission, its times and ours*. Washington, DC: The Annenberg Washington Program in Communications Policy Studies.
Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social networks transform markets and freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Bentley, A. (1908). *The process of government: A study of social pressures*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Berelson, B., Lazarsfeld, P., & McPhee, W. (1954). *Voting: A study of opinion formation in a presidential campaign*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Bimber, B. (2003). *Information and American democracy: Technology in the evolution of political power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Blanchard, M. A. (1977). The Hutchins Commission, the press and the responsibility concept. *Journalism Monographs*, *49*, 1–59.
Breed, W. (1955). Social control in the newsroom. *Social Forces*, *33*(4), 326–335.
Broersma, M. (2017). *Americanization, or: The rhetoric of modernity. How European journalism adapted US norms, practices and conventions*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the international communication association, San Diego, CA.
Broersma, M., & Peters, C. (Eds.). (2013). *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed landscape*. London: Routledge.
Bruns, A. (2005). *Gatewatching: Collaborative online news production*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Bryce, J. (1889). *The American commonwealth*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Burke, P., & Stets, J. (2009). *Identity theory*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Campbell, A. (2003). *How policies make citizens: Senior political activism and the American welfare state*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Campbell, A., Converse, P., Miller, W., & Stokes, D. (1960). *The American voter*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
Carey, J. W. (1989). *Communication as culture: Essays on media and society*. London: Routledge.
Carey, J. W. (1996). *Where journalism education went wrong*. Presentation at the Siegenthaler Conference, Middle Tennessee State University.
Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. (Eds.). (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Carmines, E., & Stimson, J. (1989). *Issue evolution: Race and the transformation of American politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Chadwick, A. (2013). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chalaby, J. (1998). *The invention of journalism*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Chyi, I., & Tenenboim, O. (2017). Multiplatform newspaper readership in the United States, 2007–2015. *Journalism Practice*, *11*(7), 798–819.
Citrin, J., Reingold, B., & Green, D. (1990). American identity and the politics of ethnic change. *The Journal of Politics*, *52*(4), 1124–1154.
Cohen, G. L. (2003). Party over policy: The domination impact of group influence on political beliefs. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *85*(5), 808–822.
Cohen, M., Karol, D., Noel, H., & Zaller, J. (2008). *The party decides: Presidential nominations before and after reform*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Converse, P. (1964). The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In D. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and its discontents* (pp. 206–261). New York, NY: The Free Press.

Cook, T. (1998). *Governing with the news: The news media as a political institution*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Cornia, A., Sehl, A., Simon, F., & Nielsen, R. K. (2016). *Pay models in European news*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
Cramer, K. J. (2016). *The politics of resentment: Rural consciousness in Wisconsin and the rise of Scott Walker*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Curran, J. (2002). *Media and power*. London: Routledge.
Curran, J., Iyengar, S., Lund, A. B., & Salovaara-Moring, I. (2009). Media system, public knowledge and democracy: A comparative study. *European Journal of Communication*, *24*(1), 5–26.
Curran, J., & Park, M. J. (Eds.). (2000). *De-westernizing media studies*. London: Routledge.
Dawson, M. C. (1994). *Behind the mule: Race and class in African-American politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
De Burgh, H. (Ed.). (2006). *Making journalists: Diverse models, global issues*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Delli Carpini, M. X., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Deuze, M. (2008). The changing context of news work: Liquid journalism and monitorial citizenship. *International Journal of Communication*, *2*, 848–865.
Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2017). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 165–181.
Dewey, J. (1927). *The public and its problems*. New York, NY: Holt.
Dickens, L., Couldry, N., & Fotopoulou, A. (2015). News in the community? Investigating emerging inter-local spaces of news production/consumption. *Journalism Studies*, *16*(1), 97–114.
Downing, J. (1996). *Internationalizing media theory: Transition, power, culture*. London: Sage Publications.
Egan, P. (2013). *Partisan priorities: How issue ownership drives and distorts American politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Entman, R. (1990). *Democracy without citizens: Media and the decay of American politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Esaiasson, P., & Holmberg, S. (1996). *Representation from above: Members of parliament and representative democracy in Sweden*. Brookfield, MA: Dartmouth.
Eveland, W. (2004). The effect of political discussion in producing informed citizens: The roles of information, motivation, and elaboration. *Political Communication*, *21*(2), 177–193.
Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
George, C. (2013). Diversity around a democratic core: The universal and the particular in journalism. *Journalism*, *14*(4), 490–503.
Gerber, A., Huber, G., & Washington, E. (2010). Party affiliation, partisanship, and political beliefs: A field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, *104*(4), 720–744.
Ginsberg, B. (1986). *The captive public: How mass opinion promotes state power*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Goren, P. (2001). Core principles and policy reasoning in mass publics: A test of two theories. *British Journal of Political Science*, *31*(1), 159–177.
Goren, P. (2005). Party identification and core political values. *American Journal of Political Science*, *49*(4), 881–896.
Greene, S. (1999). Understanding party identification: A social identity approach. *Political Psychology*, *20*(2), 393–403.
Greene, S. (2004). Social identity theory and party identification. *Social Science Quarterly*, *85*(1), 136–153.
Grönlund, K., & Milner, H. (2006). The determinants of political knowledge in comparative perspective. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *29*(4), 386–406.
Grossman, M. (2012). *The not-so-special interests: Interest groups, public representation, and American governance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.

Hampton, M. (2001). Understanding media': Theories of the press in Britain, 1850–1914. *Media, Culture & Society*, *23*(2), 213–231.
Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Deconstructing journalism culture: Toward a universal theory. *Communication Theory*, *17*, 367–385.
Harcup, T. (2011). Alternative journalism as active citizenship. *Journalism*, *12*(1), 15–31.
Hartz, L. (1991/1955). *The liberal tradition in America: An interpretation of American political thought since the revolution*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & Co.
Herbst, S. (1993). *Numbered voices: How opinion polling has shaped American politics*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Hermida, A., Lewis, S. C., & Zamith, R. (2014). Sourcing the Arab spring: A case study of Andy Carvin's sources on twitter during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *19*(3), 479–499.
Hess, S. (1981). *The Washington reporters*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.
Høyer, S., & Pöttker, H. (Eds.). (2005). *Diffusion of the news paradigm, 1850–1900*. Gothenborg: Nordicom.
Huddy, L. (2001). From social to political identity: A critical examination of social identity theory. *Political Psychology*, *22*(1), 127–156.
Huddy, L., Mason, L., & Aarøe. (2015). Expressive partisanship: Campaign involvement, political emotion, and partisan identity. *American Political Science Review*, *109*(1), 1–17.
Iyengar, S., Curran, J., Lund, A. B., Salovaara-Moring, I., Kyu, H., & Coen, S. (2010). Cross national versus individual-level differences in political information: A media systems perspective. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, *20*(3), 291–309.
Iyengar, S., Sood, G., & Lelkes, Y. (2012). Affect, not ideology: A social identity perspective on polarization. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *76*(3), 405–431.
Jacobs, L., & Shapiro, R. (2000). *Politicians don't pander: Political manipulation and the loss of democratic responsiveness*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Jamieson, K., & Waldman, P. (Eds.). (2003). *The press effect: Politicians, journalists, and the stories that shape the political world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Jones, A. (2009). *Losing the news: The future of news that feeds democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Josephi, B. (2012). How much democracy does journalism need? *Journalism*, *14*(4), 474–489.
Josephi, B. (2016). Digital journalism and democracy. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 9–24). London: Sage Publications.
Karpf, D. (2016). *The internet and politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Katz, E., & Lazarsfeld, P. (1955). *Personal influence: The part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
Keane, J. (1991). *Mass media and democracy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Keith, B., Magleby, D., Nelson, C., Orr, E., Westlye, M., & Wolfinger, R. (1993). *The myth of the independent voter*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Kieran, M. (2000). The regulatory and ethical framework for investigative journalism. In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Investigative journalism: Context and practice* (pp. 151–168). London: Routledge.
Kinder, D. R., & Kam, C. D. (2009). *Us vs. them: Ethnocentric foundations of American opinion*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The elements of journalism: What newspeople should know and the public should expect*. New York, NY: Three Rivers Press.
Kreiss, D. (2012). *Taking our country back: The crafting of networked politics from Howard Dean to Barack Obama*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Lazarsfeld, P., Berelson, B., & Gaudet, H. (1948). *The people's choice: How the voter makes up his mind in a presidential campaign*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Levendusky, M. (2009). *The partisan sort: How liberals became Democrats and conservatives became Republicans*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Lewis-Beck, M., Jacoby, W., Norpoth, H., & Weisbert, H. (2008). *The American voter revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Lewis, S. C., & Usher, N. (2014). Open source and journalism: Toward new frameworks for imagining news innovation. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*(5), 602–619.
Lippmann, W. (1922). *Public opinion*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Lodge, M., & Taber, C. S. (2013). *The rationalizing voter*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
McChesney, R. (2015). *Rich media, poor democracy: Communication politics in dubious times*. New York, NY: The New Press.
McCombs, M. (2014). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
McCombs, M., & Shaw, D. (1964). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, *36*(2), 176–187.
McNair, B. (2009). Journalism and democracy. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 237–249). London: Routledge.
McQuail, D. (1992). *Media performance: Mass communication and the public interest*. London: Sage Publications.
Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., & Donsbach, W. (Eds.). (2016). *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, contexts, and methods*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Miller, W., Pierce, R., Thomassen, J., Herrera, R., Holmberg, S., Esaiasson, P., & Wessels, B. (1999). *Policy representation in Western democracies*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Milner, H. (2002). *Civic literacy: How informed citizens make democracy work*. Hanover, NH: Tufts University Press of New England.
Nelson, T., & Kinder, D. (1996). Issue frames and group-centrism in American public opinion. *Journal of Politics*, *58*(4), 1055–1078.
Newton, K. (1999). Mass media effects: Mobilization or media malaise? *British Journal of Political Science*, *29*(4), 577–599.
Nielsen, R. K. (Ed.). (2015). *Local journalism: The decline of newspaper and the rise of digital media*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
Nielsen, R. K., & Levy, D. (2010). *The changing business of journalism and its implications for democracy*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
Page, B. I. (1996). *Who deliberates? Mass media in American democracy*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Papacharissi, Z. (2015). *Affective publics: Sentiment, technology, and politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Peters, C., & Witschge, T. (2015). From grand narratives of democracy to small expectations of participation: Audiences, citizenship, and interactive tools in digital journalism. *Journalism Practice*, *9*(1), 19–345.
Rainie, L., & Wellman, B. (2012). *Networked: The new social operating system*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Ryfe, D. (2016). Journalism in American regional online news systems. In J. C. Alexander, E. B. Breese, & M. Luengo (Eds.), *The crisis of journalism reconsidered: Democratic culture, professional codes, digital future* (pp. 211–227). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Ryfe, D. (2017). *Journalism and the public*. London: Polity Press.
Schaatschneider, E. E. (1960). *The semi-sovereign people: A realist's view of democracy in America*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
Schiller, D. (1981). *Objectivity and the news: The public and the rise of commercial journalism*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Schudson, M. (1998). *The good citizen: A history of American civic life*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
Schudson, M., & Anderson, C. (2009). Objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking in journalism. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch, (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 88–101). London: Routledge.
Seymour-Ure, C. (1974). *The political impact of mass media*. London: Sage Publications.
Shirky, C. (2008). *Here comes everybody: The power of organizing without organizations*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Singer, J., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., & Hermida, A. (2011). *Participatory journalism: Guarding open gates at online newspapers*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Skowronek, S. (1982). *Building the new American state: The expansion of national administrative capacities, 1877–1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Sparrow, B. (1999). *Uncertain guardians: The news media as a political institution*. Baltimore, IL: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
Steensen, S., & Ahva, L. (2015). Theories of journalism in a digital age. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 1–18.
Strömback, J. (2005). In search of a standard: Four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(3), 331–345.
Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Tarde, G. (1901/1969). *Gabriel Tarde on communication and social influence* (T. Clark Ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Theodoridis, A. G. (2013, July). Implicit political identity. *PS: Political Science*, 545–549.
Thompson, J. (1996). *Media and modernity: A social theory of media*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
Tiffen, R. (1990). *News and power*. London: Pluto.
Tocqueville, A. (1835/2004). *Democracy in America* (A. Goldhammer, Trans.). Washington, DC: Library of America.
Tönnies, F. (1971/1923). The power and value of public opinion. In W. J. Cahnman & R. Heberle (Eds.), *Ferdinand Tönnies on sociology: Pure, applied and empirical* (pp. 251–265). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the social construction of reality*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
Turner, J. C. (1982). Toward a cognitive definition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations* (pp. 15–41). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Turner, J. C. (1991). *Social influence*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
Vargas, E. D., Sanchez, G. R., & Valdez, J. A. (2017). Immigration policies and group identity: How immigrant laws affect linked fate among US Latino populations. *Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Politics*, *2*(1), 35–62.
Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism*. London: Polity Press.
Wallace, J. (2017). Modelling contemporary gatekeeping. *Digital Journalism*, *6*(3), 274–293.
White, D. M. (1950). The ‘gate keeper’: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*(4), 383–390.
World Association of Newspapers. (2017). *World trends*, *2017*. Frankfurt: WAN.
Wu, W., & Weaver, D. W. (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. New York, NY: Hampton Press.
Zelizer, B. (2012). On the shelf life of democracy in journalism scholarship. *Journalism*, *14*(4), 459–473.

20

Journalism Ethics

Stephen J. A. Ward

Journalism ethics is the study and application of ethical norms that guide the social practice of journalism, in its many technological and organizational forms. The motivation is to use the freedom to publish responsibly, according to the aims of public journalism.

Journalists have duties to perform and norms to honor because, as human beings, they fall under general ethical principles such as to tell the truth and minimize harm and because, as professionals, they have social power to frame the political agenda and influence public opinion (Elliott, 1986). With power comes responsibility.

Journalism ethics is something we "do," a multidimensional activity for practitioner or scholar. We question principles, revise and invent norms for new practices, debate the application of traditional principles to concrete situations, and differ over the role of journalism in society. Ethicists and philosophically minded journalists reflect on how ethical and political thought—e.g., notions of justice, liberal democracy, or utilitarian thinking—intersects with the values of journalism ethics.

Today, amid a media revolution, the field of journalism ethics has never been more active, more debated, and more fragmented into different (and often rival) approaches to responsible journalism. Traditional forms of journalism, such as objective reporting, remain. But it is joined by online opinion journalism, fiercely partisan journalism, civic-minded engaged journalism, citizen-inclusive "participatory" journalism, and social media journalism. Practitioners attempt to adjust their norms and practices to a journalism that is participatory, digital, and global (Singer & Domingo, 2011). Journalists seek to define their roles relative to a global public sphere increasingly polluted by disinformation and manipulative, intolerant voices. As new practitioners flood the field of journalism, a prior professional consensus on the principles of journalism is weakened. We witness the end of a tidy, pre-digital journalism ethics for professionals, established a century ago, and the birth of an untidy digital media ethics for almost everyone. Rethinking journalism ethics become an essential part of doing journalism ethics.

This chapter examines journalism ethics by following its evolution, by reviewing traditional approaches, and by considering recent critical theories of practice. It considers the impact of the digital revolution on ethics. The chapter concludes by looking to the future: the challenge of constructing a journalism ethics that can apply across media platforms and across borders.

ETHICS AND JOURNALISM ETHICS

Ethics is inherently practical. It is the analysis, evaluation, and promotion of correct conduct and virtuous character in light of the best available principles (Ward, 2011). Ethics asks how we should live in goodness and in right relation with each other, a task that may require us to forego personal benefits, to carry out duties, or to endure persecution. This stress on the practical assures us that "the problems we have followed into the clouds are, even intellectually, genuine not spurious" (Dworkin, 2000, p. 4).

One ethical view, called realism, thinks ethical principles describe external ethical "facts" that can be objectively known, the way that true scientific statements describe the facts of nature. (Shafer-Landau, 2005). Another view, pragmatism (Putnam, 1995) thinks ethical principles are practical proposals on how to act. Ethics is about the rules we should agree to follow so as to promote fair social cooperation. Ethical reasoning evaluates proposals. Whether we subscribe to realism, pragmatism, or some other view, workers in the field of journalism ethics must constantly reinterpret and balance principles so as to respond to new technology and new social conditions. Even the boundaries of ethics change. In our time, ethics has come to include such issues as animal cruelty, violence against women, the environment, and the rights of gay and transgendered individuals. Ethical reflection is ever-evolving *normative reason in social practice*.

Ethics is typically divided into a theoretical and applied part, although in reality both parts are involved in ethical thinking. Theoretical ethics refers to philosophical meta-theories such as realism, anti-realism, relativism, emotivism, and contractualism (Ward, 2011). The theories ask about the meaning of "good" and "right" and debate the epistemic status of ethical statements. Are ethical statements objective? How do we justify ethical claims?

Applied ethics is less concerned about the meaning of what is good, right, or virtuous. It wants to know *what* things are good, right, or virtuous and what ethical principles should guide our actions. How do we promote these goods, rights, and virtues in concrete situations where there is uncertainty over the best course of action? Applied ethics debates the issues of life today, from abortion to ending the life of a terminally ill patient. Applied ethics is also the study of social practices, such as the principles of corporate governance, the ethics of scientific research, and the responsibilities of professional practice (Dimock & Tucker, 2004; LaFollette, 2007). Historically, applied ethics has been a debate between three dominant approaches: (1) the ethic of pursuing the best consequences overall (e.g., utilitarianism); (2) a "deontic" ethic that makes the protection of rights and the performance of duties prior to considerations of consequences and utility; and (3) an ethic of virtue that emphasizes the importance of moral character. Goods, rights, and virtues—these are the three great themes of ethics.

Journalism ethics is a species of applied ethics. It examines the norms specific to the practice. Put simply, journalism ethics asks what journalists and news organizations should do, given their role in society? The questions can be large or "macro" dealing with the media system as a whole. For example, we can ask how well media systems inform the public, who owns the media, and how the news media cover minorities or global issues? Are journalists helping citizens be an informed, self-governing public? The questions can be specific or "micro" dealing with what individual journalists should do in particular situations. For example, should journalists publish the name of a victim of sexual assault? Is it ethical to invade the privacy of a much-admired politician to investigate alleged misconduct?

Part of the study of journalism ethics is the study and application of frameworks of principles which constitute the codes of journalism ethics, worldwide. Much of journalism ethics is the balancing of a set of principles which conflict in a situation, e.g., the freedom to publish versus minimizing harm to vulnerable sources. Reasoning in journalism ethics challenges journalists to reach a “reflective equilibrium” among their intuitions and principles (Rawls, 1993, p. 8). The principles of journalism have included such familiar notions as impartiality (or objectivity), truth-telling, minimizing harm, promise-keeping, accuracy, verifying information, and serving a democratic public. Under these principles fall a large number of specific norms and protocols for dealing with recurring situations, such as the use of deceptive techniques to obtain information.

Traditionally, the problem areas have been:

- *Accuracy and verification*: How much verification and context is required to publish a story? How much editing and “gate-keeping” is necessary?
- *Independence and allegiances*: How can journalists be independent but maintain ethical relations with their employers, editors, advertisers, sources, police, and the public. When is a journalist too close to a source or in a conflict of interest?
- *Deception and fabrication*: Should journalists misrepresent themselves or use recording technology, such as hidden cameras, to get a story? Should literary journalists invent dialogue or create composite “characters”?
- *Graphic images and image manipulation*: When should journalists publish graphic or gruesome images? When do published images constitute sensationalism or exploitation? When and how should images be altered?
- *Sources and confidentiality*: Should journalists promise confidentiality to sources? How far does that protection extend? Should journalists go “off the record”?
- *Special situations*: How should journalists report hostage-takings, major breaking news, suicide attempts, and other events where coverage could exacerbate the problem? When should journalists violate privacy?

Therefore, a question about journalism is an *ethical* question, as opposed to a question of prudence, custom, or law, if it evaluates conduct in light of the fundamental public purposes and social responsibilities of journalism. A story that sensationalizes the personal life of a public figure may be legal—it may be legally “safe” to publish—but it may be unethical because it is inaccurate and unfair. What journalists regard as responsible journalism varies. Among media cultures globally, the aims and principles of responsible practice overlap and vary. Some principles are shared, such as truth-seeking, and others are not, such as objectivity. Some cultures value an aggressive watchdog journalism to expose official wrongdoing; other cultures stress the role of media in maintaining social solidarity.

FIVE STAGES OF JOURNALISM ETHICS

There is no such thing as journalism ethics in the abstract. What we regard as the best principles and best practices is relative to specific eras with specific types of journalism. Therefore, it is useful to look at journalism ethics historically, identifying how, in different eras, journalists understood their responsibilities.

The history of journalism ethics can be divided into five stages (Ward, 2015a). The first stage is the invention of an ethical discourse for journalism as it emerged in Western Europe during the 16th and 17th centuries. Gutenberg’s press in the mid-15th century gave birth to printer-editors who created a periodic news press of “newssheets” and “newsbooks” under state control. Despite the primitive nature of their newsgathering, and the partisan nature of their times, editors assured readers that they printed the impartial truth based on “matters of fact.” When the first newsbooks appeared on the streets of London between the 1620s and 1640s, they bore such titles as *A True* *and Perfect Informer*, the *Impartial Intelligencer*, the *Faithful Scout*, and *Impartially Communicating*. In 1643, Henry Walley, editor of the *True Informer*, noted that journalism *seeks* truth, but it is a gradual process: "Truth is the daughter of time . . . the truth doth not so conspicuously appear till a second or third relation." Compare Walley's view with a passage from a popular book by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007, p. 41–42) on today's journalism:

> The individual reporter may not be able to move much beyond a surface level of accuracy in a first story. But the first story builds to a second. . . . This practical truth is a protean thing that, like learning, grows like a stalactite in a cave, drop by drop, over time.

The second stage was the creation of a "public ethic" as the creed for the growing newspaper press of the Enlightenment public sphere. Journalists claimed to be tribunes of the public, protecting their liberty against government. They advocated reform and eventually revolution. By the end of the 18th century, the press was a socially recognized institution, a power to be praised or feared, with guarantees of freedom in the post-revolution constitutions of America and France. This public ethic was the basis for the idea of a fourth estate—the press as one of the governing institutions of society (Ward, 2015a, pp. 89–173).

The third stage was the evolution of the idea of a fourth estate into the liberal theory of the press, during the 19th century (Siebert, 1956). Liberal theory began with the premise that a free and independent press was necessary for the protection of the liberties of the public and the promotion of liberal reform.

The fourth stage was the simultaneous development *and* criticism of this liberal doctrine across the 20th century. Both the development and the criticism were responses to deficiencies in the liberal model. The "developers" were journalists and ethicists who constructed a professional ethics of objective journalism, bolstered by the social responsibility theory of the press. The "critics" were journalists who rejected the restraints of objective reporting and practiced more interpretive, perspectival forms of journalism such as investigative reporting and activist journalism (Applegate, 1997; Miraldi, 1990).

By the late 1900s, the liberal and objective professional model was under attack from many sources as journalism ethics entered its fifth revolution caused by digital, global media, to be discussed below.

HISTORICALLY IMPORTANT APPROACHES

Given this historical overview, we can delve deeper into several approaches which remain influential today. These approaches were, and remain, "practical" conceptions of what constituted good journalism. The conceptions appeal to philosophical conceptions of society, democracy, and liberalism for support. Some conceptions were put forward by philosophers. But these moral interpretations of journalism—interpretations of its functions and principles—are mid-theoretic ideas with a view to practice, not abstract theories. The approaches serve many purposes, e.g., to defend freedom of the press or to justify or criticize practices.

Liberal Theory of the Press

The liberal theory of the press continues to underpin current discussions, if only to act as a theory to be revised or criticized. Liberal press ideas, as espoused from John Milton and David Hume to J. S. Mill and Thomas Paine, were part of liberalism as a political reform movement for the surging middle classes.[1] Liberalism sought the expansion of individual liberties and an end to the privileges of birth and religion that marked non-liberal, hierarchical society. In economics, liberalism supported laissez-faire attitudes; in press theory, it supported a free marketplace of ideas. Mill's *On Liberty* appealed to the individual *and* social benefits of freedom, within specified limits (Mill, 1965). This ascendant liberalism supplied the ethical ideology for both the elite liberal papers, such as *The Times* of London, and the egalitarian popular press, from the penny press to the mass commercial press of the late 1800s (Schudson, 1978). For liberal theory, journalists should constitute an independent press that informs citizens and acts as a watchdog on government. Today, the liberal approach continues to be used to justify arguments for a free press against media restrictions, such as censorship of offensive views, and the abuse of libel laws to curtail publication.

Objectivity and Professionalism

By the turn of the 20th century, the liberal theory of the press was under critical scrutiny as an adequate philosophy for the emerging mass commercial press. There was disillusionment with the liberal hope that an unregulated press would be a responsible educator of citizens on matters of public interest. That hope flagged in the late 1800s and early 1900s as a mass commercial press turned into a business of news. Critics charged the press with being sensationalistic, occupied by the trivial, biased by its major advertisers, and directed by self-interested and powerful press barons (Baldasty, 1992; Campbell, 2001).

This press had come to enjoy a virtual monopoly on the provision of news, analysis, and advertising to the public. The public became passive consumers of information dependent on data provided by a professional class of journalists employed by large news organizations. In the early 1900s, and beyond, this dependency raised public concerns about the reliability of this mediating class of news workers. Did the press really serve the public, or did it advance its own interests? Did it tell the truth, or was it biased?

Journalists responded by creating the field of modern journalism ethics, as a practical set of rules for newsrooms. An explicit, craft-wide journalism ethics began to appear as journalists in the US and elsewhere established professional associations. The associations constructed codes of ethics with principles that are still familiar to us, such as the principles of objectivity, truth-telling, and editorial independence. Journalists should make sure their stories were accurate, and they should verify claims. They should be impartial of mind, independent in spirit, and objective in reporting. News should be separated from opinion. The principles would be developed into an elaborate set of newsroom rules to ensure that journalists reported "just the facts" (Schudson, 1978; Mindich, 1998). This was the core of professional objective ethics, or "objectivism" (see Ward, 2015b, pp. 28–29, 96–97). This self-imposed ethics, supported by accountability structures such as press councils and readers' ombudsmen, would constitute the self-regulation of journalism.

In the final analysis, professionalism and objectivity were meant to assure a skeptical public that journalists would use their power to publish responsibly and to ward off government regulation. From the early 1900s to the middle of the 20th century, professional objectivity was a dominant ethical ideal for mainstream news media in the United States, Canada, and beyond, although it was less popular in Europe.

Social Responsibility Theory of the Press

Another response to worries about the mass news media was the social responsibility theory of the press (Peterson, 1956), developed by scholars and journalists in the United States. While liberal theory stressed the freedom of the press, social responsibility theory joined objectivism in emphasizing the press's responsibilities and its neglect of these responsibilities. Social responsibility theory employed the idea of a social contract (Darwall, 2003; Scanlon, 1982). Society should allow professional journalists to report freely in return for responsible coverage of essential public issues (Klaidman & Beauchamp, 1987; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001).

In the United States, the Hutchins Commission into the Freedom of the Press in the late 1940s gave the theory a clear and popular formulation.[2] In its report, *A Free and Responsible Press*, the commission stressed that the main functions of the press was to provide "a truthful, comprehensive, and intelligent account" of the news and events and "a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism." The press should provide a "representative picture of the constituent groups in society," assist in the "presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society," and "provide full access to the day's intelligence" (Commission on Freedom of the Press, 1947, pp. 21–28). If journalistic self-regulation failed, social responsibility proponents warned that government regulators might intervene.

Today, the ideas of social responsibility theory have "won global recognition over the last 50 years," such as in European public broadcasting (Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004, p. 4) and as far afield as Japan (Tsukamoto, 2006). Moreover, the theory continues to provide a basic vocabulary for new ethical approaches, such as feminist and communitarian theories, while providing standards by which press councils and the public can evaluate media performance.

Interpretation and Advocacy

While some people felt the liberal theory had too much confidence in an unrestrained free press, others believed that objectivity had too much confidence in the neutral reporting of facts. An interpretive journalism arose in the early and mid-1900s to explain the complex facts of modern life, while an investigative and advocatory journalism abandoned neutrality.

For instance, Henry Luce's interpretive journalism was the model for *Time* magazine in the 1920s (Baughman, 1987). In the 1930s and beyond, scholars, foreign reporters, and journalism associations acknowledged the need to supplement objective reporting with an informed interpretation of world events, wars, and economic disasters like the Great Depression (MacDougall, 1957). Newspapers in the 1930s and 1940s introduced weekend interpretations of the past week's events, beat reporters, and interpretive columnists with bylines.

Meanwhile, from the 1960s onward, activist (or advocacy) journalists defined "informing the public" as challenging the status quo and promoting social causes. Neutrality was regarded as too weak a stance at a time when civil and human rights were being repressed, wars raged in Vietnam and elsewhere, and governments secretly abused their power. Activist journalists sought to organize public opinion against government and private-sector misconduct. They shared many values with the muckraking magazine journalists in America during the first two decades of the 1900s (Filler, 1968; Applegate, 1997). The latter exposed wrongdoing by large corporations and government. Even the most vocal muckraker or activist journalist insisted that their reports were true and factually accurate. What they rejected was neutrality (Miraldi, 1990). Muckrakers were the forefathers of the investigative journalists of the 1970s and 1980s. In America, investigative journalists became famous for revealing the extent of the Watergate crisis that brought down President Richard Nixon. Later, in the 1990s, American journalists advocated a moderate reform journalism called "civic journalism" that saw the journalist as a catalyst for civic engagement (Rosen, 1996).

Community and Care

In the second half of the 1900s, liberalism or objectivism in press theory would be challenged by two movements—a communitarian ethics of media (Christians, Ferre, & Fackler, 1993) and a feminist ethics of care. Both movements pointed to questionable media practices caused by adopting a liberal and objectivist approach to journalism, with its emphasis on detachment, neutrality, and its praise of reason over emotion. Both the communitarian and care perspectives asked journalists to use their freedom responsibly, to consider the impact of journalism on communal values and caring relationships.

Communitarianism in journalism ethics reflects a revival in communitarian ethical, legal, and political theory over several decades (Peden & Hudson, 1991; Seters, 2006). Communitarians stress the communal good and the social nature of humans. Journalists should support their community's substantive values and conceptions of the good life. Communitarian media ethicists, such as Clifford Christians, use the primacy of "humans-in-relation" to argue that the main function of the press is not a "thin" liberal informing of citizens about facts and events. The main function is the provision of a rich, interpretive dialogue with and among citizens that aims at "civic transformation" (Christians, 2006, pp. 65–66).

Feminists promoted what might be called a "dissenting" ethic "founded on notions of community rather than in the rights-based tradition" (Patterson & Wilkins, 2002, p. 292). Feminist ethics, with its stress on care and emotion over and against impersonal objectivity, provided new perspectives on the aims of journalism (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984; Koehn, 1998). The promotion of caring human relationships, as an essential part of human flourishing, is a primary principle (Card, 1999; Pierce, 2000). Hawkesworth (1994) and Code (1994) argued that the scientific construct of objectivity led to objectification. Women were treated as objects, not as persons.

Applied to journalism, feminists noted male bias in news coverage, especially when covering issues of women and gender. But their thinking went deeper. Feminist media scholars argued that the epistemology of news objectivity supported macho notions of individualism that privileged individual rights over communal values. Journalism epistemology supported an uncaring, socially divisive journalism that reflected the male-centric cultures of the West and of the newsroom. Theorists studied formulaic coverage of murders in Canada and the United States (Fullerton & Patterson, 2006), which blamed the individual, not the macho society in which it occurred. Steiner and Okrusch (2006) argued that the idea of professional responsibility in journalism could be reinterpreted in terms of caring.

CRITICAL THEORIES OF JOURNALISM-IN-SOCIETY

The emergence of communitarian and feminist critiques of journalism pointed to an important trend in the study of journalism. Increasingly, academic and theoretical perspectives outside professional newsrooms were beginning to inform discussions of journalism ethics. The conceptual space within which journalism ethics was discussed expanded, enhanced by the formal study of communication and the application of theories from cultural studies, political science, economics, sociology, and other disciplines. These disciplines turned their critical eye on journalism as a social phenomenon.

The growth of new theory was prompted, in large part, by the creation of journalism and communication schools, supplemented by media institutes. Together, they provided new channels for public discussion and education about media. Today, scholars pursue vigorous lines of research such as the agenda-setting role of media (McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997); audience theory (McQuail, 1997); media economics and sociology (Picard, 1989; Albarran & Chan-Olmsted, 1998; McQuail, 1969); moral development among journalists (Wilkins & Coleman, 2005); and the history of journalism ethics (Spencer, 2007; Ward, 2015a). Journals and magazines publish ever new case studies and surveys using the quantitative and qualitative methods of social science.

The theorizing has clustered around several alternate perspectives in epistemology, philosophy of science, sociology, and cultural studies—alternate to the once dominant liberal and objectivist views of inquiry and knowledge.

Relativism, Historicism, and Social Constructionism

Three epistemologies—or three "isms"—provided a philosophical background to the new critical theories. Relativism (Wong, 2006) undergirded a postmodern (and postcolonial) movement of thought that gathered critical mass in the mid- to late 1900s (Connor, 1989; Young, 2003). The movement challenged Enlightenment ideas that Western science were superior because it followed universal and non-historical standards of reason and objectivity. The Frankfurt School of sociology decried the influence of both Enlightenment ideas and mass culture (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1992). Postmodernists such as Lyotard (2013) questioned the ideas of detached truth and philosophical "metanarratives"—large historical narratives that make sense of human experience. Historicism in science—viewing theories as historically evolving systems of thought—challenged the idea of absolute scientific truths. Historian of science Thomas Kuhn argued, controversially, that scientific change was a non-rational "conversion" to a new set of beliefs (Kuhn, 1962). In sociology, theorists put forward a relativistic sociology of knowledge that explained claims to knowledge by reference to social causes (Barnes & Bloor, 1982). In philosophy, Richard Rorty (1979) attacked a Platonism that believed in absolute, transcendent truth and saw objective knowledge as a "mirror" of nature. What was rationally acceptable was what we, as a culture, said was rationally acceptable.

By the 1980s, social constructionism emerged as a significant epistemology and method of analysis. It treated ideas as fallible, human constructions, the product of disciplines, and other social processes. The realist idea that humans can come to know the world as it is, apart from interpretation and perspective is false. Social constructionism's view of knowledge as a value-laden human construction was not far from relativism and historicism.

One attraction of social constructionism was that it provided a way to undermine dubious beliefs and promote social reform. Too often, ideas are treated as facts of nature and reinforce discriminatory social views. Calling something a construct allowed people to question prevailing ideas and to suggest a better conception (Hacking, 1999). In epistemology, questions about logic and evidence gave way to political questions about who controls science and who defines truth, rationality, and objectivity.

If constructionism is valid, then the traditional objectivism of journalism is an epistemology in trouble. It is untenable to think that journalists (or humans) come to know truths apart from some perspective shaped by systems of belief and value. For social constructionism, reporting "just the facts" neutrally is a myth, another dubious construct. Reports are as much a human construction as any other narrative or explanation. Constructionism entails that, when we study journalism, a primary question is how the cultural and institutional arrangements of journalism lead journalists to *claim* they have achieved knowledge. This is, in fact, what happened to epistemology in the social sciences, under the influence of social constructionism. Social scientists studied the psychological and sociological processes by which people construct and defend beliefs. Their unit of analysis was the psycho-sociological category of "claims to knowledge" as affirmed by a group or practice. For example, Ekstrom (2002) sketched a constructionist framework for the study of television news. He said epistemology, in his writing, did not refer to philosophical inquiries into the nature of true knowledge but to the study of knowledge-producing practices and the communication of knowledge claims. Others would employ this approach.

Political Economy Theories

Political thought and inquiry also add to the growing theories of media. In particular, political economy theories explain how journalists' claims to knowledge are shaped (and sometimes discredited or biased) by the political and economic forces that control mainstream news media. Among the chief concerns are the influence of media ownership on what journalists report and how they report, bias in reporting due to commercial pressures to attract large audiences, and the editorial influence of advertisers and political elites. Much of the theorizing came from the left-wing of the political spectrum. Noted linguist Noam Chomsky (1997) argued that mainstream news coverage, especially in the United States, is not objective and independent but propaganda for the political agendas and interests of large corporations and government. The notion that the press is objective and fact-based is an illusion. In a similar vein, media scholar Robert McChesney (2004) has argued that democracy is being undermined by a global concentration of media corporations.

Conceptual Scheme Theories

Other perspectives on journalism were not motivated by social reform or political causes. The aim was to develop a more self-conscious approach to constructing news stories. Here, the construct of a conceptual scheme was employed. A conceptual scheme is a set of concepts we use to understand the world we live in, or some part of it. We make sense of any particular fact by interpreting it though a conceptual scheme, e.g., a conceptual scheme for interpreting political events, for understanding crime, and so on (Lynch, 1998). The philosophical basis for conceptual scheme theorizing is, in large part, found in the writings of pragmatic philosophers, such as W. V. Quine and Hilary Putnam. The latter developed a theory of conceptual relativism which asserted that our very judgment of what is a fact is based on our mediating conceptual schemes and our norms of good inquiry (Putnam, 1981).

Theorists studied the influence of our conceptual schemes and perspectives on our factual beliefs, our observations, and our values. They came to the same conclusion as the social constructivists: the common sense notion, evident in traditional objectivism, that humans (or journalists) can construct "just the facts" stories by observing facts somehow "scrubbed clean" of perspectives and conceptual schemes, was psychologically false. The reporter's mind is not a passive blank slate or *tabula rasa* upon which objects in the world imprint their image. Rather the mind is an active, organizing entity that tries to fit what it experiences into a coherent grid of concepts (Pinker, 2003).

In journalism studies, the conceptual scheme perspective was used by "frame theory," an exploration of how journalists frame stories, where a frame is an organizing perspective on some topic. Journalists may frame a drug addiction as a criminal story rather than a health issue, or frame a war is as a noble fight for freedom rather than a war for economic supremacy in a region (Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009). Other studies showed that how journalists define news—and their news values—influences story selection (O'Neill & Harcup, 2009).

The overall lesson from this research is that journalists need to be aware of, and sensitive to, conceptual and interpretive factors in their inquiries, as they attempt to construct justified and reasonably complete stories.

Global Ethics Theories

Globalization of news media has also influenced thinking about journalism ethics.

Scholars and journalists have begun to construct a global media ethics (Ward, 2013). This global movement regards existing journalism standards and aims as too parochial for a global media world. Journalism ethics should become more cosmopolitan in theory and practice (Gerbner, Mowlana, & Nordenstreng, 1993). A globally responsible journalism in needed to help citizens understand the daunting global problems of poverty and environmental degradation (Price & Thompson, 2002).

Historically, codes of ethics considered journalistic duties to be owed to citizens within the boundary of a nation. However, in a global, internet world, any story can cross borders and spark violence. How should journalists assess these transnational effects? With global impact comes global responsibilities (Cooper, Christians, Plude, White, & Thomas, 1989; Morris & Waisbord, 2001).

For many globalists, the first step is to make global values the foundational principles of journalism. Globalists typically take universal principles as their starting point, e.g., human rights principles. They make a cosmopolitan commitment to a global humanity their moral priority and then seek to incorporate parochial values, such as patriotism, into their global system. Their theories have implications for how journalists should cover global issues and important areas of journalism. Of special note is the development of comparative studies of journalism, and the similarities and differences in values across media cultures (Weaver, 1998; Seib, 2002).

The global approach has concrete implications for practice. For example, Tumber (2013) has argued that the basic norm for war reporters today is not a neutral objectivity but a "responsible engagement" with events and issues. Dunwoody and Konieczna (2013) recommended that journalists covering climate change and other scientific issues should use the "weight of evidence" principle to decide how much emphasis sources should be given in stories. The news objectivity notion of an equal balancing of viewpoints is incorrect or of limited value.

Also, the global approach has led scholars, especially from the Global South, to call for a "de-Westernization" of journalism studies and ethics. Breit, Obijiofor, and Fitzgerald (2013), for example, call for the inclusion of non-Western ideas into teaching. The approach also stimulates thought on how journalism covers issues of race, immigration, and foreigners. In his influential book, *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1979) critiqued Western culture's representation of the East by studying 19th century French and British writers, travelers, and colonial administrators. Geographer Derek Gregory (2004) used Said's work to analyze how media misrepresented the Iraq War.

The global paradigm is not without its challenges. Among them is how to understand the contentious idea that there are universal values in journalism. This has prompted work on how to understand basic values as both global and local, how to do justice to both the particular and the universal (Ronning, 1994; Christians & Traber, 1997).[3] Rao (2007), for example, that integrates "local" or "indigenous epistemologies" within global media ethics.

The cumulative impact of these many critical perspectives is that journalism ethics is increasingly a field where rigorous thinking occurs, deepened by our best theories about humans, communication, history, and society. These studies not only provide ethicists with data, they also enlarge the conceptual base of journalism ethics by placing talk of principles and practices in a larger critical and theoretical framework.

MEDIA REVOLUTION AND JOURNALISM ETHICS

The influence of media analysis on journalism ethics is significant. However, it could be claimed that the most important development occurred not in the realm of theory but in the area of practice, especially the technology of practice.

As noted at the start, a digital media revolution has transformed journalism from a parochial, pre-digital practice of professionals concentrated in major mainstream corporations to a digital, global practice of citizens and professionals. The publication of information, views, and persuasive rhetoric is increasingly accessible and attractive to nonprofessional writers, citizens, social groups, government, NGOs, and corporations.

Yet, whether digital global media is, overall, a positive or negative influence on journalism and ethics is a contentious issue. Global, digital media emerged in the second half of the 1990s but only today are we appreciating its full social and political significance. In the early days of the late 1900s and early 2000s, digital media was praised as populist, as ending the information control of elite mainstream news media. Prevailing journalistic ideals of neutrality, strict verification, and "just the facts" gave way to values of immediacy, sharing, and opining. Initially, the many voices online was described as a "democratization" of media, leading to "we the media" (Gilmor, 2006) and the creation of "digital citizens" (Mossberger, Tolbert, & McNeal, 2008). More information, more voices online, more "sharing"—is this not the ideal of participatory democracy?

However, in recent years, this naïve enthusiasm has waned. The negative, and often ugly side, of digital media dominate the daily headlines. It became clear that "sharing" could be undemocratic, used by elites in government, public relations, or the military. Media technology turned the public sphere into a raucous, sometimes dangerous, global space of trolls, hackers, conspiracy theorists, racists, unwarranted surveillance, and robotic manipulation of social media by governments. Moreover, the digital public sphere has tended to underline the economic, ethnic, and ideological divisions among us, encouraging a hostile approach to online discourse. The voice of the fact-stating, fair journalist diminished, lost in a roiling sea of opinion and "fake news" (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2018; Ghosh & Scott, 2018).

Problems of the digital public sphere go beyond journalism. The problems call for society-wide collaboration, such as the teaching media literacy in schools, and passing laws against the misuse of social media data. However, there is still a vital need to ask about the ethics of journalism per se. Here are the new issues that dominate journalism ethics:

- *Questions of identity*: If citizens and non-professional journalists report and analyze events around the world, who is a journalist?
- *Questions about scope*: If everyone is potentially a publisher, does journalism ethics apply to everyone? If so, how does that change the nature and teaching of journalism ethics?
- *Questions about content*: What are the most appropriate principles, approaches, and purposes for digital journalism ethics? For example, is news objectivity still a valid ideal?
- *Questions about new journalism*: How can new forms of journalism, e.g., nonprofit journalism or entrepreneurial journalism, maintain standards such as editorial independence?
- *Questions about community engagement*: What ethical norms should guide the use of citizen content and newsroom partnerships with external groups?
- *Questions about global impact*: Should journalists see themselves as global communicators? How do journalists reconcile their patriotic values with their duty to humanity and to address global issues from multiple perspectives?
- *Questions about amplification of intolerant voices and fake news:* How should journalists cover the actions of intolerant groups and avoid being the purveyors of false facts and fake news?

Compare this list with the earlier description of typical, or traditional, issues in journalism ethics. The difference is not that traditional concerns, e.g., editorial independence or anonymous sources, have disappeared. They have not. The difference is otherwise and threefold: (1) the discussion of traditional concerns presumed relatively wide agreement on the framework of journalism principles that would adjudicate any specific issue or situation. No such consensus exists today. (2)

Even where the issue is the same, e.g., verifying stories, the context and problems are different. Verification in a digital world of instant "sharing" of information is vastly more difficult and complex than the traditional and, by comparison, "leisurely" pace of verifying stories for tomorrow's newspaper. (3) The current list goes deeper and asks questions about the nature and aims of journalism.

Applied Digital Ethics

To respond to problems in the digital public sphere, journalists, and many others are reconstructing journalism ethics. The work is empirical and practice-oriented. The scope of this applied digital ethics is large. It extends from works on digital ethics in general (Ess, 2009) and the role of journalism amid fake news to the invention of guidelines for problem areas of practice such as verifying images provided by citizens to newsrooms (Craig, 2011; Pavlik 2001; Hermida, 2015; Zion and Craig, 2015).

One active area is ethical analysis stimulated by new digital tools for journalism. Large "handbooks" have appeared that review the many issues.[4] Journalists and ethicists articulate guidelines for the use of social media, virtual reality, drones, artificial intelligence, and "big data" methods. The new tools have led to revisions of codes of ethics, from the BBC to the Society of Professional Journalists in the US. The Canadian Association of Journalists has develop guidelines for issues such as picking up stories from social media.

New forms of journalism also stir ethical thinking. For example, there is entrepreneurial journalism, where journalists create media websites and seek funding from citizens, civic societies, and philanthropists (Briggs, 2012). There is "engaged journalism" which sets aside traditional norms of journalistic neutrality, immerses the journalist in communities, and makes citizens part of the story-making process. It could be a radio series on Spaniards who suffer from hunger, or an in-depth look at a homeless camp in Honolulu.[5] Engagement with community is the defining concept of the new Agora Center for Journalism at the University of Oregon in the US. In Canada, *Discourse Media*, a Vancouver newsroom, creates engaged, public journalism funded by citizens, not the state.

Journalists increasingly collaborate with other journalists on big stories. The best-known example is the Panama Papers project where hundreds of journalists from many countries worked on exposing shady offshore financing practices by politicians and officials from Canada to Russia. Another example of collaboration comes from Canada where an investigation into the harmful effects of hydrogen sulphide, leaking from shale oil wells across Saskatchewan. The investigation discovered oil company violations and dangerous air quality levels kept secret by government. It was conducted by three rival news outlets, such as the *Toronto Star*, and four journalism schools.[6] Also, investigative journalists and nonprofit news sites are forming global networks to share knowledge of how to mount investigations and to share resources to look at an issue in several countries.[7]

With collaboration and partnerships come ethical issues. How do journalists report independently while immersing themselves in community? How do nonprofit investigative newsrooms report independently if their funding comes from one or two philanthropic groups? Ethical concerns surround the decision by governments and media organizations, such as Google and Facebook, to fund journalism schools and media literacy education. For example, the Ryerson Journalism School in Toronto recently accepted Facebook funds to launch an "incubator" for new ideas on digital journalism and engaging audiences. Meanwhile, Google Canada is working with civic and government partners to invest $500,000 to teach 5 million elementary and high school students to be news literate. While the partnerships appear benevolent and the funding is needed badly, the ethical concern is the independence of journalism instruction and publication.

Intense ethical debate about mainstream news media has been sparked by misinformation and extremism in the global public sphere. One trend is the pervasive allegation that media reports are "fake news"—defined as the intentional reporting of false information for political reasons (McNair, 2017; Ward, 2018a). Another trend is the intolerant "populism" of extreme or far-right groups that use journalism and media to undermine democratic processes and attack vulnerable groups, such as immigrants. How should journalists respond to these trends? Many media organizations seek to reveal false reports by strengthening their fact-checking procedures, letting citizens know if a statement is a fact, almost a fact, or a "pants on fire" lie. Fact-checking is becoming a major "industry" as dozens of newsrooms and civic groups fact-check election campaigns, statements by presidents, and so on. For example, at Harvard University, the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy announced that First Draft, a coalition against fake news, is moving into the center. First Draft has helped coalitions fact-check elections in France and elsewhere.[8]

Meanwhile, applied journalism ethics has begun to rethink journalism's basic aims and concepts. For example, alternate notions of journalism independence and objectivity are developed, moving beyond a traditional stress on strict neutrality, so that ethical guidelines can apply to the more perspectival and engaged journalism online.[9] Other work redefines bedrock notions such as the meaning of verification in an era of almost "instantaneous" media and the role of emotions in responsible journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016).[10] Still others apply theories from applied ethics. For example, scholars employ Aristotelian virtue ethics to redefine the practice of journalism in terms of moral character and moral psychology (Borden, 2007; Pleasance, 2015). Applied thinking is developing the aforementioned movement of global media ethics. The Ethical Journalists Network (EJN) in London is developing norms for covering terrorism, hate speech, and immigrants.[11] Researchers also study the values and practices of different media cultures.[12]

CONCLUSION: INTO THE FUTURE

Given this turmoil, and pluralism of viewpoints, whither journalism ethics? On this matter, there is no agreed-upon view, only conjectures about the future, and calls for journalism ethics to move in one direction rather than another. Therefore, I conclude by offering my best estimate, given current trends, of what journalism ethics needs to do.

First, consider the virtues required of a journalist ethicist today and tomorrow. A journalism ethicist should be part visionary and part pragmatic inventor. With one eye on the horizon, she should trace the contours of a new and future ethics. With one eye on actual practice and changing conditions, she should propose new aims, reinterpreted principles, and practical guidelines for emerging forms of journalism. Objectivism, the framework of journalism ethics inherited from an era of pre-digital, non-global media, needs to be overcome as an obstacle to new thinking or, at least, redefined and reoriented toward the future.

The aim, some years ahead, is a rich, multileveled, inclusive ethics that weaves old and new into a framework for journalists, whether they practice journalism as a professional or citizen, whether they practice journalism locally or globally, online or offline. The new framework should be integrative, uniting diverse practitioners under common values. There should be integration in two domains: digital integration—norms applying across media platforms—and global integration—norms applying across borders.

This approach will involve conceptual reform, consisting in the abandonment of outdated notions and epistemology, while creating a new ethical lexicon meaningful to a journalism increasingly interpretive, personal in voice, and engaged with society. While we philosophize about fundamentals, we also must get busy with concrete guidelines for new methods and developments, far beyond what traditional ethics could imagine. As noted above, work on both the theoretical and practical levels has begun.

Bringing these strands together will require an overarching political philosophy of journalism that is plural and global: plural because it recognizes the importance of a diversity of forms of journalism, legacy and non-legacy, as crucial to democracy and global because it incorporates global principles and the promotion of human flourishing everywhere.

Finally, the future ethics should be an "ethics for everyone" in two senses: (1) the norms are intended to guide anyone who uses or practices journalism, and they will be part of a larger communication ethic on how all of us should use the powerful new media. (2) The new ethics will seek to ensure that everyone—that is, the public—will participate in the articulation of new principles and practices for journalism. Press self-regulation should become society-wide regulation. News organizations and media accountability agencies need to give citizens a meaningful role in defining the future of journalism. In a global media world, ethical discussion has burst through the walls of professional newsrooms. Everyone has a right to a voice in the debate.

The key question for journalism ethics is not "How do we protect a journalism ethics inherited from another media era?" The key question is "What new journalism ethics can we construct?"

NOTES

1. See Milton (1951), Hume (1987), and Mill (1965).
2. The core ideas of social responsibility theory were discussed years in advance of the Hutchins Commission. See Cronin and McPherson (1992).
3. See "In search of a global media ethics," special edition, *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 2002, 17(4).
4. For example, Witschge, Anderson, Domingo, and Hermida (2017) and Franklin and Eldridge (2017).
5. For an example of engaged online journalism, see www.civilbeat.org, supported by Pierre Omidyar, founder of eBay. See also Batsell (2015).
6. At www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/10/01/that-rotten-stench-in-the-air-its-the-smell-of-deadly-gas-and-secrecy.html.
7. See, for instance, The International Consortium of Investigative Journalists at www.icij.org/about/.
8. See https://shorensteincenter.org/first-draft-joins-shorenstein-center/.
9. On journalism independence, see McBride and Rosenstiel (2014). On new theories of objectivity, see Ward (2018b).
10. See, for example, Wahl-Jorgensen (2016).
11. At http://ethicaljournalismnetwork.org/en.
12. For example, see the research of the Worlds of Journalism Study at www.worldsofjournalism.org.

REFERENCES

Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1992). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. London: Verso.

Albarran, A., & Chan-Olmsted, S. (1998). *Global media economics: Commercialization, concentration and integration of world media markets*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Applegate, E. (1997). *Journalistic advocates and muckrakers*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company.

Baldasty, G. (1992). *The commercialization of the news in the nineteenth century*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

Barnes, B., & D. Bloor. (1982). Relativism, rationalism and the sociology of knowledge. In M. Hollis & S. Luke (Eds.), *Rationality and relativism* (pp. 21–47). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Batsell, J. (2015). *Engaged journalism: Connecting with digitally empowered news audiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Baughman, J. (1987). *Henry R. Luce and the rise of the American news media*. Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers.
Borden, S. (2007). *Journalism as practice*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.
Breit, R., Obijiofor, L., & Fitzgerald, R. (2013). Internationalization as de-westernization of the curriculum: The case of journalism at an Australian university. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *17*(2), 119–135.
Briggs, M. (2012). *Entrepreneurial journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Campbell, W. (2001). *Yellow journalism: Puncturing the myths, defining the legacies*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Card, C. (1999). *On feminist ethics and politics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
Chomsky, N. (1997). *Media control: The spectacular achievements of propaganda*. New York, NY: Seven Stories Press.
Christians, C. (2006). The case for communitarian ethics. In M. Land & B. Hornaday (Eds.), *Contemporary media ethic* (pp. 57–69). Spokane, WA: Marquette.
Christians, C., Ferre, J., & Fackler, P. (1993). *Good news: Social ethics and the press*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Christians, C., & Nordenstreng, K. (2004). Social responsibility worldwide. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *19*(1), 3–28.
Christians, C., & Traber, M. (1997). *Communication ethics and universal values*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Code, L. (1994). Who cares? The poverty of objectivism for a moral epistemology. In A. Megill (Ed.), *Re-thinking objectivity* (pp. 179–195). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Commission on Freedom of the Press. (1947). *A free and responsible press*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Connor, S. (1989). *Postmodernist culture*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Cooper, T., Christians, C., Plude, F., White, R., & Thomas, R. A. (Eds.). (1989). *Communication ethics and global change*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
Craig, D. (2011). *Excellence in online journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Cronin, M., & McPherson, J. (1992). *Reaching for professionalism and respectability: The development of ethics codes in the 1920s*. A paper presented at the annual conference of the American Journalism Historian's Association, October, at Lawrence, KS.
Darwall, S. (2003). *Contractarianism/contractualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Dimock, S., & Tucker, C. (2004). *Applied ethics: Reflective moral reasoning*. Toronto: Thomson.
Dunwoody, S., & Konieczna, M. (2013). The role of global media in telling the climate change story. In S. J. A. Ward (Ed.), *Global media ethics* (pp. 171–190). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Dworkin, R. (2000). *Sovereign virtue: The theory and practice of equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Ekstrom, M. (2002). Epistemologies of TV journalism. *Journalism*, *3*(3), 259–282.
Elliott, D. (1986). *Responsible journalism*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
Entman, R., Matthes, J., & Pellicano, L. (2009). Nature, sources, and effects of news framing. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 175–190). New York, NY: Routledge.
Ess, C. (2009). *Digital media ethics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Filler, L. (1968). *The muckrakers*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Franklin, B., & Eldridge II, S. (2017). *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Fullerton, R., & Patterson, M. (2006). Murder in our midst: Expanding coverage to include care and responsibility. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *21*(4), 304–321.
Gerbner, G., Mowlana, H., & Nordenstreng, K. (Eds.). (1993). *The global media debate*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
Ghosh, D., & Scott, B. (2018). *Digital deceit*. New America Report. www.newamerica.org/public-interest-technology/policy-papers/digitaldeceit Accessed Feb. 5, 2018.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development*: Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Gilmor, D. (2006). *We the media: Grassroots journalism by the people, for the people*. New York, NY: O'Reilly Media.
Gregory, D. (2004). *The colonial present*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Hacking, I. (1999). *The social construction of what?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Hawkesworth, M. (1994). From objectivity to objectification. In A. Megill (Ed.), *Rethinking objectivity* (pp. 151–177). London: Duke University Press.
Hermida, A. (2015). Nothing but the truth: Redrafting the journalistic boundary of verification. In M. Carleson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism* (pp. 37–50). London: Routledge.
Hume, D. (1987). Of the liberty of the press. In E. Miller (Ed.), *Essays: Moral, political and literary* (pp. 9–13). Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
Klaidman, S., & Beauchamp, T. (1987). *The virtuous journalist*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Koehn, D. (1998). *Rethinking feminist ethics: Care, trust and empathy*. London: Routledge.
Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T. (2001). *The elements of journalism: What newspeople should know and what the public should expect*. New York, NY: Crown.
Kuhn, T. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
LaFollette, H. (2007). *Ethics in practice* (3rd ed.). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Publishing.
Lynch, M. (1998). *Truth in context*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Lyotard, J. (2013). *Why philosophize?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
MacDougall, C. (1957). *Interpretive reporting* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
McBride, K., & Rosenstiel, T. (2014). *The new ethics of journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
McChesney, R. W. (2004). *The problem of the media: US communication politics in the 21st century*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.
McCombs, M., Shaw, D., & Weaver, D. (1997). *Communication and democracy*: *Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
McNair, B. (2017). *Fake news: Falsehood, fabrication and fantasy in journalism*. London: Routledge.
McQuail, D. (1969). *Towards a sociology of mass communications*. London: Collier-Macmillan.
McQuail, D. (1997). *Audience analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Mill, J. S. (1965). On liberty. In M. Lerner (Ed.), *Essential works of John Stuart Mill* (Seventh printing, pp. 255–360). New York, NY: Bantam Books.
Milton, J. (1951). *Areopagitica* (George H. Sabine ed.). New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Mindich, D. (1998). *Just the facts: How "objectivity" came to define American journalism*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
Miraldi, R. (1990). *Muckraking and objectivity*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
Morris, N., & Waisbord, S. (2001). *Media and globalization*: *Why the state matters*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Mossberger, K., Tolbert, C. J., & McNeal, R. S. (2008). *Digital citizenship: The internet, society and participation*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Noddings, N. (1984). *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
O'Neill, D., & Harcup, T. (2009). News values and selectivity. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 173–186). New York, NY: Routledge.
Patterson, P., & Wilkins, L. (2002). *Media ethics: Issues and cases* (4th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw Hill.
Pavlik, J. V. (2001). *Journalism and the new media*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Peden, C., & Hudson, Y. (1991). *Communitarianism, liberalism and social responsibility*. Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press.
Peterson, T. (1956). The social responsibility theory of the press. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press* (pp. 73–103). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Picard, R. (1989). *Media economics: Concepts and issues*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
Pierce, C. (2000). *Immovable laws, irresistible rights: Natural law, moral rights, and feminist ethics*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
Pinker, S. (2003). *The blank slate: The modern denial of human nature*. New York, NY: Penguin.

Pleasance, P. L. (2015). *Virtue in media*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Price, M., & Thompson, M. (2002). *Forging peace: Intervention, human rights and the management of media space*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Putnam, H. (1981). Two philosophical perspectives. In H. Putnam (Ed.), *Reason, truth and history* (pp. 49–74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Putnam, H. (1995). *Pragmatism*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
Rao, S. (2007, March). *Postcolonial theory and global media ethics: A theoretical intervention*. Paper presented to the international roundtable on global media ethics, Stellenbosch, South Africa.
Rawls, J. (1993). *Political liberalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Ronning, H. (1994). *Media and democracy: Theories and principles with reference to an African context*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Sapes.
Rorty, R. (1979). *Philosophy and the mirror of nature*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Rosen, J. (1996). *Getting the connections straight: Public journalism and the troubles in the press*. New York, NY: Twentieth Century Fund Press.
Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
Scanlon, T. M. (1982). Contractualism and utilitarianism. In A. Sen & B. Williams (Eds.), *Utilitarianism and beyond* (pp. 103–128). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Schudson, M. (1978). *Discovering of news: A social history of American newspapers*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Seib, P. (2002). *The global journalist: News and conscience in a world of conflict*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Seters, P. (2006). *Communitarianism in law and society*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Shafer-Landau, R. (2005). *Moral realism: A defence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Siebert, F. (1956). The libertarian theory of the press. In F. Siebert, T. Peterson, & W. Schramm (Eds.), *Four theories of the press* (pp. 39–71). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Singer, J., & Domingo, D. (2011). *Participatory journalism*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Spencer, D. (2007). *The yellow journalism: The press and America's emergence as a world power*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
Steiner, L., & Okrusch, C. (2006). Care as a virtue for journalists. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *21*(2–3), 102–122.
Tsukamoto, S. (2006). Social responsibility theory and the study of journalism ethics in Japan. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *21*(1), 54–68.
Tumber, H. (2013). The role of the journalist in reporting international conflicts. In S. J. A. Ward (Ed.), *Global media ethics* (pp. 50–68). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2016). Emotion and Journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 128–143). London: Sage Publications.
Ward, S. J. A. (2011). *Ethics and the media: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ward, S. J. A. (2013). *Global media ethics: Problems and perspectives*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Ward, S. J. A. (2015a). *The invention of journalism ethics: The long path to objectivity and beyond*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Ward, S. J. A. (2015b). *Radical media ethics*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Ward, S. J. A. (2018a). *Ethical journalism in a populist age*. Boston, MA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Ward, S. J. A. (2018b). *Disrupting journalism ethics*. London: Routledge.
Wardle, C., & Derakhshan, H. (2017, October). *Information disorder*. Council of Europe Report. Retrieved February 5, 2018, from https://rm.coe.int/information-disorder-report-november-2017/1680764666
Weaver, D. H. (Ed.). (1998). *The global journalist*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Wilkins, L., & Coleman, R. (2005). *The moral media: How journalists reason about ethics*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Witschge, T., Anderson, C. W., Domingo, D., & Hermida, A. (2017). *The sage handbook of digital journalism*. London: Sage Publications.
Wong, D. (2006). *Natural moralities: A defence of pluralistic relativism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Young, R. (2003). *Post-colonialism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Zion, L., & Craig, D. (2015). *Ethics for digital journalists: Emerging best practices*. London: Routledge.

21

Economic Contexts of Journalism

Rasmus Kleis Nielsen

INTRODUCTION

Professional journalism is expensive to produce. It has historically been funded in a variety of different ways—through subsidies from political actors and media proprietors interested in power to pursue their own ends, by for-profit businesses based on selling content to audiences and selling audiences to advertisers, and through various forms of nonprofit models, backed by private philanthropists or politically mandated investment of public resources. These different forms of funding provide the economic context of journalism. They vary from country to country and evolve over time, intertwined with changes in audience behavior, media technologies, the wider economy, and political frameworks. They enable professional journalism by providing resources but also constrain it by influencing how it is practiced.

The private, for-profit business of news is particularly central to investment in journalism. Political actors, proprietors, philanthropists, and public service media have provided important support for journalism, but in free societies, the bulk of investment has for more than a century come from for-profit media. Even in a country like the United Kingdom, home to the license-fee funded BBC, an estimated 79 percent of investments in news production comes from for-profit private-sector media companies—69 percent from print publishers, 10 percent from broadcasters and cable/satellite channels, and less than 1 percent from digital-born news media (Mediatique, 2012). Judging by Bureau of Labor statistics, print publishers still accounted for the majority reporters employed in the United States in 2016, and broadcasters for another quarter, with online media and "information services" at just 10 percent.[1]

The business of news is thus central to enabling, shaping, and sometimes constraining professional journalism as we know it. The purpose of this chapter is to (1) summarize key insights into the economic context of journalism from research, (2) briefly sketch the historical evolution from a situation in the 19th century where much of journalism was produced by niche media heavily dependent on subsidies from political actors and proprietors to a situation in the 20th century where for-profit mass media dominated many media systems around the world, and then (3) turn to how the economic contexts of journalism are changing in different countries in the 21st century as digital media evolve and audiences increasingly embrace them. I focus on more or less-democratic countries, leaving aside the business of news in authoritarian and totalitarian societies. Drawing on examples from Europe, India, and the United States, the chapter identifies both differences and similarities in how the economic context of journalism is changing, assesses what we know about the likely implications, and suggests directions for future research.

BASIC ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF JOURNALISM

The business of news is a small part of a much larger set of media and entertainment industries including broadcasters and newspapers but also book publishers, consumer magazines, film, music, and various kinds of online services like search and social media (Vogel, 2011). All of these companies compete for media users' attention, most of them compete for media users' money, and many of them compete for advertising.

To succeed in this increasingly competitive "attention economy" where media users have to allocate scarce time amongst an abundant and growing range of media options (Neuman, Park, & Panek, 2012; Taylor, 2014), news providers need to balance three concerns—what will people pay attention to, what might they pay for, and what will advertisers pay for? News can be seen as a particular kind of information good within this wider market for media and entertainment content. How central news is varying by company and by sector. In the UK, for example, one study estimated that newspaper publishers invest on average 23 percent of their revenues in news production, compared to 4 percent for television broadcasters and just 2 percent for online media (Mediatique, 2012). Similar patterns can be seen in other countries (Picard, 2011; Nielsen, 2012).

The limited share of overall revenues invested specifically in news reflect the particular economics of news production but also the fact that news is a small part of most people's overall media use. It is estimated that people in the US spend about 12 percent of the time they watch television watching news specifically.[2] The share of attention that goes to news is even smaller when it comes to digital media, estimated at between 1 and 3 percent.[3] News is widely used, often valuable, and important in many ways. But as Robert Picard (2011) has pointed out, we should not overestimate how much time, money, and effort people will invest in it.

As media users, we generally make two very different kinds of investments in media content (Vogel, 2011). First, we pay for content with attention, with time that we could have spent differently. Media organizations in turn monetize our attention by selling it to advertisers. Second, we pay for content with money (unless it is offered free at the point of consumption as with much of broadcast and digital media). The mix of time and money invested is important both for individual users and for media organizations.[4]

Even if we may not see it that way, the opportunity cost of the time we spend with media—what we could have been doing instead of consuming, for example, news—often outweighs the monetary cost, the price we pay. As empirical analysis suggests, "most people are a lot more willing to waste time than money" (Okada & Hoch, 2004, p. 313), and many gravitate towards options that are free at the point of consumption rather than pay a few dollars for a specific source. Thus free at the point of consumption sources like radio, television, and later many online media have often built larger audiences than paid print newspapers.

Behavioral economists have studied the special effect of free as a price in a variety of experimental settings. Sometimes these experiments have limited external validity, but the results are interesting nonetheless. Kristina Shampanier, Nina Mazar, and Dan Ariely ran an experiment where, given the choice between a quality chocolate for 15 cents and a cheap cholate for 1 cent, 73 percent of participants chose the quality option over the cheap one, but when both prices were reduced by 1 cent—keeping the price differential the same and thus theoretically leaving the utility of each choice unchanged—only 31 percent chose quality, with a clear majority opting for the free chocolate (Shampanier, Mazar, & Ariely, 2007). Such experiments illustrate the challenges that come with competing with free, a central feature of the media marketplace.

The mix of vying for audiences' attention (and money) as well as for advertising means that news organizations operate in what economists call "two-sided markets" where they are simultaneously catering to both audiences and advertisers and where their ability to reach one group of users will influence their ability to serve the other (Anderson & Gabszewicz, 2005). Audience reach and composition determines how attractive a news organization is to advertisers (Napoli, 2003). And advertising in turn enable news organizations to invest more in the quality of the product and/or reduce the price for audiences. These kinds of cross-network effects have funded free-to-air broadcasting, freesheet newspapers, and free online news and have helped keep the cover and subscription price for many newspapers well below the marginal cost of printing and distributing each copy. The mix varies by sector and country. For free-to-air broadcasters, virtually all revenues come from advertising. In contrast, cable and satellite channels have often relied also on subscription payments. In some countries, like India and the United States, newspapers have relied on advertising for 80 to 90 percent of their revenues, whereas newspapers in many European countries have often had a 50–50 split. Online, the dominant business model for news across both legacy and digital-born media has been free-at-the-point-of-consumption supported by advertising revenues, though increasingly, as I discuss below, many newspapers and some digital-born news media are moving to subscription and membership-based models (Cornia, Sehl, & Nielsen, 2016; Nicholls, Shabbir, & Nielsen, 2016).

The inflow of advertising has clearly helped fund journalism and built wide audiences for some kinds of news. But economists also highlight that reliance on advertising can have negative consequences, including both a tendency towards competitive waste where a number of outlets all seeking to maximize their audience reach all cater to the lowest common denominator, leading to content duplication and lack of diversity and quality (Anderson & Gabszewicz, 2005) as well as the risk that news organizations that primarily rely on their advertisers have strong incentives to under-report or bias news that might reduce advertising profits (Ellman & Germano, 2009). In contrast, some economists suggest that media companies based on audience payment rather than advertising will build smaller audiences and invest less in content but may produce more diverse output at a higher quality (Anderson & Jullien, 2015). The risk, however, is that they cater to the interests, preferences, and prejudices of their paying audience.

Whether funded by advertising, sales, or some mix, news as an information good has several important characteristics across sector differences between broadcasters, newspapers, and online media (Hamilton, 2004; Shapiro & Varian, 1999; Vogel, 2011). These have to do with (1) news production, (2) news as a good, and (3) the market for news. It is worth dwelling briefly on each, because they shape news organizations across countries, across audience-orientation, and across platforms.

First, *news production* is characterized by high fixed costs and low variable costs. It is expensive to produce but cheap to reproduce (Doyle, 2013a; Hamilton, 2004; Picard, 2011). Once all the work of reporting is done, and the administrative, commercial, and distribution infrastructure paid for, serving one additional reader, listener, viewer, or user comes at a very low cost. The combination of high fixed costs and low variable costs means that news production is characterized by considerable economies of scale and economies of scope (Doyle, 2013a; Shapiro & Varian, 1999). This means that large media companies often have an advantage over smaller competitors, as their average cost per user are lower, an advantage that can come through sheer reach (more users of a specific product) or through a portfolio model where a number of brands share back-end costs including distribution, management, and sales. It also means that news organizations need to reach a critical mass of revenues to cover their fixed costs, which is harder in smaller markets, including locally, in smaller languages, and in poorer countries.

Second, *news as a good* is both (1) non-rivalrous and (2) an experience good. *Non-rivalrous goods* are goods where one person consuming the good does not prevent others from doing so and where one person consuming the good does not diminish its value for others (Hamilton, 2004; Shapiro & Varian, 1999). This is similar to many other forms of media content, whether books or broadcast programs but in contrast to most tangible goods (private goods like clothes and food or collective goods like drinking water) and rivalrous information goods like market intelligence that can provide a competitive advantage. It is important to note that non-rivalrous goods are not necessarily non-exclusive. Print (paid) newspapers, many cable and satellite channels, and some online news sources are only accessible for those who pay. The news they offer may be in the public interest and have public value, but it is thus not a public good in the strict sense of goods that are both non-rivalrous and non-exclusive. Free-to-air broadcast news and some forms of digital news are public goods in this narrow sense, but other forms of news are what economists call "club goods"—access can be controlled (they are exclusive), but the number of people accessing the good does not diminish its value for other users (they are non-rivalrous).

In addition to being non-rivalrous, news is an *experience good* (Hamilton, 2004; Shapiro & Varian, 1999). Experience goods are products where value and quality can only be ascertained by actually using the good. This is in contrast to "search goods," like a new car, where value and quality are easily assessed in advance, and "credence goods," like many forms of medical treatment, which are consumed on trust. When choosing between different competing experience goods, consumers often navigate by reputation. Especially in very competitive markets, news organizations therefore have to pay great attention to product differentiation along a whole range of dimensions, including choices about presentational styles, topics covered, a partisan or more impartial approach, and the balance between factual reporting versus analysis and commentary (Hamilton, 2016), as well as of course the target market (presenting oneself as a local or national brand, for example, or one oriented towards a young audience or a specific cultural, ethnic, or political group). If a news organization does not effectively convince audiences that they are different from all the many, many other news sources out there (often available for free), they are effectively reduced to competing in a commoditized market overflowing with near-indistinguishable substitutes, where people tend to pick based on habit, convenience, and price point.

Third, the *market for news* is often characterized by (1) market concentration and (2) susceptibility to market failure. *Market concentration* tends to follow from the combination of characteristics of news production and news as a good outlined above (Hamilton, 2004; Picard, 2011). The high fixed/low variable cost of news production favor the largest players in a given market, who can spread the high fixed costs of producing content across many users and therefore offer low prices. The cross-side network effects of two-sided markets in turn means that the largest players are often the most attractive for advertisers, enabling them to reduce prices for consumers even more and invest more in quality content. Empirically, media markets therefore tend to be dominated by a few large companies with many smaller firms occupying niche positions (Noam, 2009). One global study of 30 countries across the world found that the concentration indices for the media industry in most cases is considerably above the threshold of a "highly concentrated" industry by antitrust enforcement standards, that news media concentration is even higher than industry averages in most countries, and that concentration is increasing (Noam, 2016). These dynamics favor incumbents and result in barriers to entry leading to limited competition, especially in local news media markets (Picard, 2011).

Market failure, in turn, a situation where the allocation of goods and services is not efficient, leading to a net welfare loss, can result from both the public good/non-rivalrous character of much news production, and from the way in which the value of news is never fully captured by the economic exchange of money between audiences, publishers, and advertisers, because it has an impact beyond those directly engaged. News has what economists call "externalities," costs or benefits that affect people who did not chose to incur that cost or benefit. They can be negative, the classic example being pollution, which impacts not only a producer and a consumer, but also everybody else around them. They can also be positive, like for example, getting a vaccine, which protects not only the individual but also those around her.

The full value of news, both the individual, private value to the users and producers as well as the social, public value to the surrounding society, is hard to calculate and will vary from case to case and country to country. Some research has suggested that professionally produced news as we know it has a range of negative externalities, for example, alienating people from the political process (see e.g., Capella & Jamieson, 1997). But many other scholars have suggested that consuming professionally produced news, with all its many imperfections, is systematically correlated with broadly speaking beneficial outcomes, including people being more informed about public affairs, participating more in politics and civil associations, and being more engaged in their communities (see e.g., Snyder & Strömberg, 2008; Norris, 2001; Aalberg & Curran, 2012). Especially public affairs reporting and some small and specialized subgenres like accountability journalism and investigative reporting often deliver public spillover effects that benefit everyone, not just those paying for or paying attention to it (Hamilton, 2016). The risk of market failure is particularly problematic for the specific kinds of goods that have demonstrable positive externalities that provide public benefits not captured by individual transactions on the marketplace (Baker, 2002).

The problem of market failure in news production has several roots (beyond the basic fact that the market alone is clearly rarely able to provide everything a society needs in appropriate amounts, distributions, and ways). First, public goods are vulnerable to free-riding, where people enjoy the benefits of the good without necessarily paying for it. Second, this is then further exacerbated by spillover effects, in that news can create value for me as a citizen even without me paying attention to it. (An investigative story can bring down a prominent politician whether or not I actually read the story, let alone pay for it.) Third, competitive markets for commoditized products with a marginal cost close to zero are unlikely to generate the profit needed to cover the high fixed costs of professional news production, further undermining the market production of news, unless significant resources are brought in from elsewhere to cover the cost—historically from political actors, media proprietors and other patrons underwriting loss-making publications, in some countries through public support for news and media, and in most contemporary media companies through advertising revenues that make the difference between profit and loss when the content itself is offered for free or for less than the cost of production and distribution.

FROM POWER TO PROFIT: THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF JOURNALISM

The frequent reliance on various forms of direct or indirect subsidies highlights the importance of positioning our understanding of the present and potential future economic contexts of journalism in a historical perspective. Journalism is intertwined with the market, but not only with the market. Beyond the personal and professional ambitions of journalists themselves, there are three basic motivations for investing in news production: power, public service, and profit (Nielsen, 2017). Philanthropic support, while important in specific instances, has always been a small part overall. In the US, combined public and philanthropic support accounts for less than 1 percent of total investment in journalism. Significant commitments of public resources to relatively independent public service media are confined to a small number of countries in Western Europe and a few other places like Australia, Canada, and New Zealand as well as Japan and South Korea. What goes under the name of public service media elsewhere is all too often effectively state media with limited editorial autonomy (Djankov, McLiesh, Nenova, & Shleifer, 2003). The majority of news production has thus been funded on the basis of the power motive (historically and in much of the world today) or the profit motive (increasingly, though unevenly, from the 19th century onwards).

The need to make money has been a central consideration for journalists and news media from the very beginning of modern journalism. This is not some nefarious plot. People need to make a living. Organizations need to cover their costs. Investors expect a return on their investment. So someone has to pay. The titles of many of early newspapers are useful reminders of their commercial orientation. London had the *Daily Advertiser*, and the *Bengal Gazette* was subtitled "The Original Calcutta General Advertiser." Most 18th and 19th century newspapers, often political in orientation, had limited circulation and primarily targeted a small affluent, educated, and exclusive (often white) male elite, but by the early 20th century, for-profit newspapers in the UK and the US reached a large part of the adult population. In India, the move from power to profit-orientation initially primarily expanded readership to a still small and privileged English-speaking elite. But since the 1970s, the combination of growing advertising expenditures, the evolution of printing technologies that work with multiple local scripts, and increased political focus on Hindi and regional language communities has helped fuel a newspaper revolution in India that has seen daily circulation grow by more than 500 percent (Jeffrey, 2000), a vast if imperfect for-profit democratization of the public sphere to include previously excluded groups (Ninan, 2007).

The development of these genuinely mass media was enabled by growing literacy and the expansion of civil and political rights, as well as by economic growth and growth in advertising. With the industrial revolution, urbanization, and the rise of mass production in the 19th and 20th century came the beginnings of modern marketing and the consumer society, and advertising expenditures grew rapidly (McDonald & Scott, 2007). Newspapers were early beneficiaries, later on increasingly competing with radio and then television and now digital media (newspapers' share of total advertising has, like per capita circulation, been on the decline for decades in many high-income democracies—see Figure 21.1).

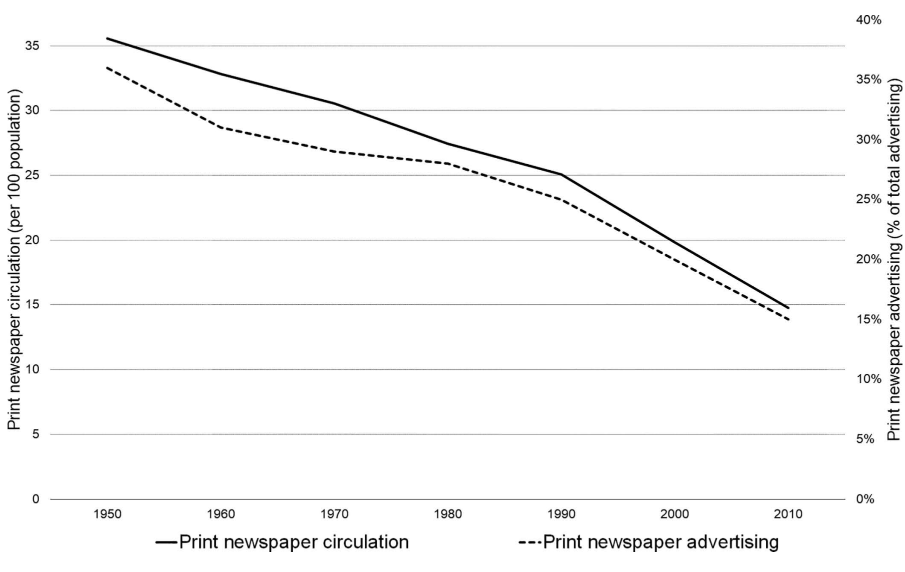

Figure 21.1 US Newspaper Circulation and Advertising Share (1950–2010)

Source: 2012 US Census and Historical Statistics of the United States: From Colonial Times to 1970. Douglas Galbi (on advertising). Note, last data point on advertising is 2007. Additional information provided by Robert G. Picard.

Advertising increased the incentives for more profit-oriented publishing. James Hamilton (2004) for example, had studied the development of the US press from 1870, when 13 percent of newspapers claimed to be politically independent, to 1900, when 47 percent did so. In his analysis, this dramatic increase in the number of newspapers who proclaimed themselves independent was driven by the development of the daily newspaper as a commercially viable product. Gentzkow, Glaeser, and Goldin (2006) similarly suggest that the marked shift from publications as instruments of political power to profit-oriented businesses was due to economic and technological changes that increased the optimal scale of newspapers and increased competition, leading US newspaper to focus on audiences and advertisers and the profits they could bring, rather than on pleasing their proprietors or political patrons. Similarly, the larger and more financially robust Indian newspapers have also been able to assert more independence from politicians and proprietors than smaller and more financially precarious titles (Jeffrey, 2000).

Journalism studies scholars rightly insist that commercial developments alone cannot explain changes in the profession and the industry. But there is strong evidence to suggest that financial sustainability is a necessary (even if not sufficient) precondition for editorial autonomy. Economists differ in their views on what the consequences are of the move from politically motivated media to profit-motivated media. Strömberg (2004) has argued that profit-maximizing media choose to cover news of interest to the largest, most valuable group of customers, normally the middle class and upper-middle class. Dyck, Moss, and Zingales (2013) in contrast argue that profit-oriented media will tend to have a "populist" slant by appealing to a broad set of possible consumers (including the less-affluent portion of the income spectrum) to since this is its way to maximize demand. Mullainathan and Shleifer (2005) argue that in a competitive market, the critical question is audience preferences—if these are diverse, profit-oriented media will provide a range of different perspectives.

In more socially, politically, and economically unequal societies, and in places where journalism remained oriented towards elite politics and culture more than popular audiences, newspapers never build the same audience reach, commercial success, and resources to invest in news production that they did in the UK and the US. In cases where the profit motive did not crowd out political considerations out to the same extent, many news media remained dependent on political patronage and/or proprietors with politically sensitive business interests. Media scholars primarily approach this phenomenon through the lens of "instrumentalization," situations where media are not controlled by journalists and executives, but by outside actors such as parties, politicians, social groups, movements, or business conglomerates who seek political influence and use the media they control for this purpose (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 37). This kind of political instrumentalization is not simply about partisanship as an editorial identity and form of product differentiation in the marketplace, but about how news production is funded and what it is funded for—power. It applies both to a feminist group subsidizing a website to influence public debate and to an authoritarian state controlling major media companies to keep the population docile. Economists uses the narrower term "media capture" to describe a situation where media are run not to create value and thus generate commercial profits, but are instruments for rent-seeking behavior that extract profit from collusion with political authorities through preferential treatment and/or public contracts (Besley & Prat, 2006). Their focus has traditionally been government media capture, where advertising, ownership, regulation, or other means are used to reduce news media's ability to ensure some degree of accountability and increase political elites' ability to plunder public resources with impunity. (In the early 2000s, Djankov et al. (2003) found that, globally, only 4 percent of newspapers and 5 percent of television stations were publicly traded companies. Most were privately held by powerful local families (often with other business interests and political connections), and 29 percent of newspapers and 60 percent of television broadcasters were state owned.) Of course, media can just as well be captured by proprietors who use them to further and protect their interests in part by exercising political influence. Such captured or instrumentalized media are common around the world, perhaps even the majority of news media (Djankov et al., 2003). They are unlikely to hold private or public power effectively to account and more likely to be used as instruments by proprietors and political patrons.

THE RISE OF DIGITAL AND HOW IT CHANGES THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF JOURNALISM

The move from power to profit as the central motivation behind many investments in journalism was premised on the expectation that it would, in fact, be lucrative to operate news media. Throughout much of the 20th century, this was so. In a low-choice environment where media companies had high market power over both audiences and advertisers, established media in mature markets were often regarded as close to a license to print money (Picard, 2011). Advertising economists took it for granted that individual media outlets had an effective monopoly on "their" audience (Bagwell, 2007). Commercial broadcasters generated huge revenues and could hence make significant investments in journalism to demonstrate their civic-mindedness and keep politicians and regulators happy, and though print readership per capita has been declining in many high-income democracies throughout the postwar years, newspapers that dominated their local markets could still deliver double-digit profit margins. The rapid move to a more digital, mobile, and platform-dominated media environment in the 21st century has left many aspects of media economics discussed above unchanged—the high fixed/low variable cost combination, the fact that most media companies operate in two-sided markets, that news is an information good, and that it is often funded not simply for profit, but also in pursuit of other motives like power. But it has drastically and rapidly changed the economic context of news in other ways. The most important aspects of this change are (1) vastly increased choice and competition, (2) the rise of platform companies that have won a large share of audiences' attention and advertisers' budgets, and (3) an evolving transformation in how news organizations make money as advertising revenues dwindle and more and more news organizations focus on pay models and on various auxiliary sources of revenue like sponsored content, e-commerce, and live events.

First, the rise of digital media has vastly increased choice. The combination of legacy media investing in digital media, new digital-born entrants, the ability of all sorts of individuals (celebrities, sports stars, politicians) and organizations (whether private companies, political actors, or civil society associations) to publish online, as well as the explosion of user-generated content, both on the open web in the forms of blogs and personal websites and (especially and increasingly) on social media sites (Facebook) and through microblogs (Twitter) and messaging applications (WhatsApp) means most people have far more content to choose from today than in the past. As the demand for media (measured by time spent) has grown only incrementally even as the supply (measured by content available) has grown exponentially (Neuman et al., 2012), the competition for attention, for media users' money, and for advertising has become far more intense. For most news organizations, the overall implication is clear. They have moved from a low-choice environment in which they had high market power over both audiences and advertisers to a far less lucrative high choice environment where they have very low market power. In the 1990s, advertising agencies and media companies imagined that digital display advertising—which was in some ways clearly superior to print and broadcast in terms of being, for example, interactive—might reach a CPM of $80 (cost per mille, the cost per thousand views) (Turow, 2011, p. 44). But as the growth in supply outstripped the growth in demand, this is not how things have evolved. CPMs vary widely by demographic, topic, timing, and medium, so direct comparisons are hard. But figures from the US in 2011 still give a sense of how different the rates for digital advertising are from offline advertising. That year, industry observers estimated a \$60 average CPMs for print newspapers, \$23 for primetime network television, between \$3.50 and \$2.50 for generic online advertising, \$0.75 for mobile display advertising, and just \$0.56 per thousand impressions on social networking sites. The industry saying that analogue dollars (100 cents) turn into digital dimes (10 cents) and mobile pennies (1 cent) capture the stark differences in advertising rates between different platforms.

These pressures on publishers will further intensify if advertisers continue to move towards programmatic advertising that automate the buying and selling of impressions across wide advertising networks selling ads across thousands or even millions of sites, networks which help publishers sell their inventory, but also further reduce their market power, increase competition, and introduce new actors in the value chain (Busch, 2015). In this market, attention sold in bulk is only profitable for those who have truly enormous reach and a very lean cost base. One critical challenge here for news organizations is to stand out and deliver a clearly distinct and valuable product or service to users—the alternative, of just being one of the countless content providers audiences and advertisers could turn to, is not sustainable. Information commodity markets do not work (Shapiro & Varian, 1999, p. 23). Companies cannot cover the fixed costs of content production if competition drives prices down to the marginal cost and the marginal cost is effectively zero. (There is still money to be made elsewhere in media of course. Even as content producers see their revenues decline, people spend more and more on the hardware and connectivity that gives them access to digital content.)

Second, faced with abundant amounts of content, the way in which people navigate news is changing. As the economist Herbert Simon put it, “a wealth of information creates a poverty of attention” (1971, pp. 40–41). Faced with countless options, people still rely on brand reputation (often benefiting established brands over new entrants) but also increasingly on search and social recommendations (Shapiro & Varian, 1999). The strongest and most widely known media brands still tend to dominate weaker brands and newer entrants in terms of reach and recognition (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, & Nielsen, 2017). But one survey found that two-thirds of online news users identify distributed forms of discovery like search engines or social media as their main way of accessing news online, twice the figure for going direct to the websites or apps of news organizations (Newman et al., 2017). These new forms of discovery are also contributing to the unbundling of previously bundled products (a newspaper or broadcast bulletin offered a collection of stories) as articles are increasingly read individually. This is convenient and efficient for users but reduces the cross-subsidies that were central to how news media operated their businesses in the past.

The technology firms who enable such search and social recommendations at scale have in a few years grown to dominate much of the digital media environment, both in terms of attention and advertising. In much of the world, the most successful examples of this are platform companies like Google and Facebook. They have built digital platforms that enable interaction between at least two different kinds of actors (typically users and advertisers) and in the process come to host public information, organize access to it, and create new formats for it, and changes the incentives (or disincentives) for investing in public information about public affairs. Whereas product companies (like publishers) profit by creating something and selling it for more than it cost to produce, platform companies profit by creating markets and benefiting from the transactions they enable, what economists call “gains from trade” (Moazed & Johnson, 2016). They grow quickly by ensuring more or less frictionless entry for the individual users and various third parties (like advertisers and publishers) that they want to enroll, and benefit from network effects as each additional user or third party increases the value of the network as a whole and increase the opportunity cost of opting out (Parker, Van Alstyne, & Choudary, 2016). Collecting detailed behavioral data on users across and sometimes beyond their networks, they can offer far more precisely targeted advertising than traditional publishers, something that, with the reach and low cost they offer, makes them very attractive to advertisers (Busch, 2015). By essentially "inverting" the traditional firm structure and relying heavily on users and third parties to populate and enrich their services, they maintain very low marginal costs and focus their efforts on two critical tasks—first, maintaining the specialized, complex, and extensive technical infrastructure that enables automated action, advertising, and data collection at scale and, second, trying to manage the externalities of the large and complex networks they enable (Parker et al., 2016). (As persistent problems of disinformation, hate speech, trolling, etc. illustrates, these network effects are not always positive.)

The most successful platforms have built extraordinary reach and capture a large share of media users' attention. In 2016, according to comScore, US media users spend on average about eight and a half minutes per day on the websites of all US news media combined. By comparison, they spend 16 minutes on sites owned by Google (Google Search, YouTube, Gmail, etc.) and 34 minutes on sites owned by Facebook. The dominant platform companies are involved in an asymmetrical but in some ways mutually beneficial relationship with thousands of news publishers, who are amongst the actors who have sought to make use of their products and services. Both search engines and social media increase news media's reach and drive traffic to their sites (Athey, Mobius, & Pal, 2012; Newman et al., 2017), and many publishers have aggressively invested in pursuing these opportunities, sometimes collaborating closely with the platform companies themselves (Nielsen & Ganter, 2018). They also increasingly offer various forms of business-to-business collaborations that more and more publishers are also embracing, including analytics, advertising services like AdSense, DoubleClick, and Facebook Audience Network, marketplaces for paid content like Apple's Appstore and Google Play, as well as revenue sharing agreements around content posted to platforms like YouTube and platform-native formats like Facebook Instant Articles. (In 2016, company reports suggest that Facebook channeled $3 billion back to their various partners across the world through revenue sharing agreements, and Google $11 billion.) At the same time, however, publishers and platforms also compete directly for attention and advertising. A minute spent on Facebook will not be spent on a news app or website. And because the overall amount of money spent on advertising as a share of GDP tends to be broadly stable over time, the combination of the structural shift from analogue to digital media and the simultaneous move from traditional forms of display advertising (which publishers offer) to search advertising and social media advertising puts additional pressure on publishers. The most successful platform companies have leveraged classical economies of scale, network effects where user growth enhance the value of products and services for all users, and data network effects, where information gathered from one area of activity (like messaging) can enhance the value of another (like advertising). They can offer advertisers low prices, individual-level data-based targeting, and high unduplicated reach that publishers cannot match, and have quickly come to dominate the market for digital advertising (see Figure 21.2).

Third, faced with these competitive pressures, more and more publishers are concluding that the hitherto dominant model of offering digital news for free at the point of consumption with the aim of monetizing audiences' attention through advertising is unlikely to work for all but a few large players and some much smaller players. (The middle, traditionally occupied by smaller national newspapers, regional papers, and local papers, is a difficult place to be (Grueskin Seave, & Graves, 2011).) In North America and Western Europe, most legacy and digital-born news media are still not returning a profit on their digital news operations even after more

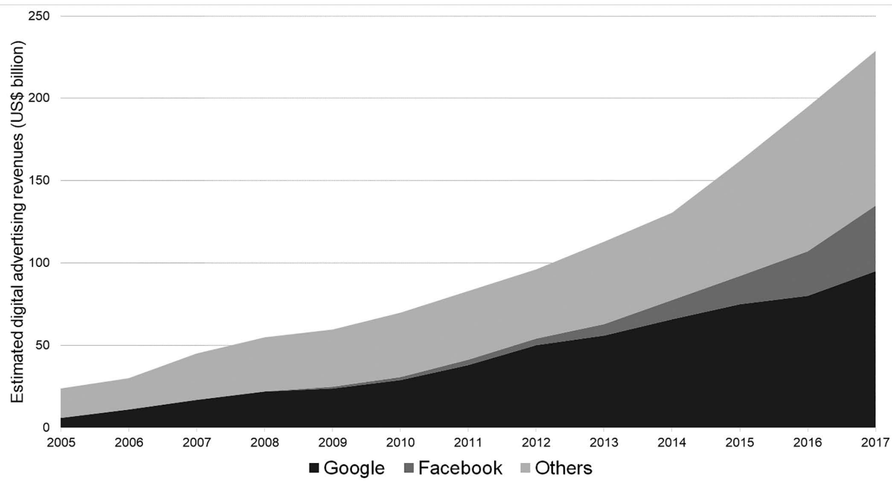

Figure 21.2 Estimated Global Digital Advertising Revenues (2005–2017)

Note: Both Google and Facebook share some of their advertising with partners through various revenue sharing arrangements.

Source: Ian Maude, Be Heard Group, data from Google, Facebook, and estimates from Enders Analysis and eMarketer.

than 20 years of investment and significant audience growth (Cornia et al., 2016; Nicholls et al., 2016). Legacy media investment in online news are thus subsidized by profits from offline operations. Digital-born media investments in online news are often fueled by investors who hope for profitability and high returns over time (or are supported by owners who are investing their life savings, or by foundations and others committed to their mission). Even the biggest international digital-born news media, like BuzzFeed, the HuffPost, and Vice, have struggled to meet their revenue projections and return a profit (Nicholls, Shabbir, & Nielsen, 2017). As a consequence, news organizations are increasingly looking at other sources of revenue to supplement or perhaps replace advertising, including sponsored content, e-commerce, and offline activities like events (Cornia et al., 2016; Doyle, 2013b).

Perhaps most importantly, as the advertising market grows more challenging, newspapers in North America and Western Europe are increasingly adopting pay models. Shortly after Arianna Huffington proclaimed that "the paywall is history" in 2009, a number of general interest newspapers began to launch new pay models first in Europe (*Hamburger Abendblatt* in Germany, *Le Figaro* in France, and the *Times* in the UK all introduced paywalls in 2010) and later in America (the *New York Times* followed suit in 2011) (Myllylathi, 2014). As of 2017, one study found that 66 percent of major newspapers across six European markets operated some form of pay system for online news, up from close to zero ten years before (Cornia, Sehl, Simon, & Nielsen, 2017). There are clear examples of success both from business newspapers like the *Financial Times* and high-profile general interest newspapers like the *New York Times*. Perhaps more broadly relevant than these unusual titles, a number of other newspapers have also built significant digital subscriber bases, including upmarket general interest newspapers like the *Helsingin Sanomat* in Finland and *The Times* in the UK, tabloid titles like *Bild* in Germany and *EkstraBladet* in Denmark and the portfolio of local titles owned by Amedia in Norway. A number of digital-born news media have also build significant numbers of paying subscribers (or "members," as some call them), including the pioneering French site MediaPart as well as sites like *De Correspondent* in the Netherlands and *El Diario* in Spain. But paywalls have failed for others. The British tabloid *The Sun*, for example, introduced a paywall in 2013 only to dismantle it again in 2015 to return to a focus on building high reach based on free content.

Publishers introducing pay models face several challenges. First of all, they compete with a large number of free alternatives. The same research that found 66 percent of European newspapers operating pay models found that all major broadcasters and almost all digital-born news media still operated free models (Cornia et al., 2017). Second, in this context, where news is abundant and often offered for free, including by many prominent brands, only a minority of news users are paying, and a relatively limited number say they might be willing to pay in the future. Of those who are not paying, by far the most common reason offered in one survey was, simply, "I can get online news for free" (Newman et al., 2017). Third, this suggests the challenge of introducing pay models in a context where people may have come to expect that content is generally freely available. Economists call such expectations "reference prices," the price that people consider reasonable to pay for specific types of goods (Kalyanaram & Winer, 1995). Here, product differentiation in an increasingly commoditized content market is crucial, standing out from the many freely available alternatives, as is the way in which other media habits (including paying for print news or subscribing to on-demand services like Netflix or Spotify) may influence reference prices and increase them to above zero. Indeed, one recent study found that people who subscribe to a print newspaper and younger people (who are more likely to being accustomed to paying for digital content and services like apps, games, music, or video) are significantly more likely to pay for online news (Fletcher & Nielsen, 2017). The role of reference prices is particularly important in a market like India, where news media face many of the same challenges as elsewhere in terms of breaking even on the basis of digital advertising, but where pay models are complicated by a long tradition of very low print cover prices heavily subsidized by advertising. Some titles, including both legacy media like the *Business Standard* and digital-born news media like *The Ken* have introduced pay models, but pricing strategies will be complicated in a context where even English-language upmarket newspapers like *The Hindu* or the *Indian Express* are sold for just a few rupees in print.

As a consequence of the move to digital, audiences and advertisers are empowered in a number of ways, and some technology companies have grown very profitable and powerful, but news is a far less lucrative business than it was in the past. Many news organizations are struggling to adapt cost structures and organizational forms developed for offline mass media environment in the 20th century to the realities of a digital, mobile, and increasingly platform-dominated media environment in the 21st century, the value of many media companies has declined even as their new competitors grew, and it has consequentially become cheaper for those interested in investing in news to exercise power (or pursue public service) to do so (Nielsen, 2017).

FUTURE RESEARCH ON THE ECONOMIC CONTEXTS OF JOURNALISM

"Technology changes. Economic laws do not" (Shapiro & Varian, 1999, pp. 1–2). That is how one pair of media economists confidently put it at the beginning of the rise of digital media. This chapter has summarized some central and still defining aspects of the business of news based on insight from media economics (the "laws") but also provided a brief historical perspective and a closer look at the move to a more digital, mobile, and platform-dominated media environment to present an overview over the changing economic contexts of journalism (the "changes").

The implications of this "unfinished digital media revolution" (Nielsen, 2016) are highly context dependent. In mature markets with historically strong news media industries, like the

Nordic countries, the German-speaking countries, and the UK and the US, digital disruption has been keenly felt, and publishers' revenues, market value, and investment in news production have dropped markedly. But the drop has been from a high point in the 1990s and major news organizations continue to have considerable resources and are often profitable and valuable, though less so than when they occupied the commanding heights of the media environment. In mature markets with historically weak news media industries, like much of Southern Europe, the impact has been much the same but has hit a much weaker industry where more and more titles are now unprofitable and increasingly reliant on proprietors subsidizing them or in danger of closing altogether. In emerging markets like India, many news media still see growth in their offline audiences and advertising revenues as economic growth and increased literacy means more and more people join the formal economy. But with the spread of smartphones and mobile web access, young people are abandoning broadcast and print in favor of digital media, and the growth rates, especially in print but also in television, are far lower than the overall economic growth and population growth alone would suggest (KPMG-FICCI, 2017). Here too, news media increasingly have to ask themselves what the business of news looks like in a predominantly digital media environment.

In all three contexts, the overall media economy is likely to expand but will increasingly be dominated by those who provide the connectivity, products, and services that people rely on to access and navigate digital media, and these sectors invest far less in journalism than legacy media like print newspapers. In the most general terms, the likely consequences are that people have access to more content and more media but that we will see less investment in professionally produced original journalistic content. News media organizations who benefited from low choice and high market power in the 1990s will have to come to terms with high choice and low market power in this environment. A few will chase scale and try to expand their reach and activities. Others will, voluntarily or involuntarily, become small niche media. Many will fail to find a sustainable model in a much more competitive environment. The challenges of clear differentiation in a commoditized market, reaching the critical mass necessary to cover fixed costs, and operating a lean enough organization to remain sustainable are fundamentally the same for both legacy and digital-born news media, though they of course come at these challenges from very different starting points. The years ahead will demonstrate both sides of Joseph Schumpeter's famous phrase "creative destruction" as some organizations reinvent themselves, new ones emerge, and many disappear or survive only in much reduced form.

This is not a comfortable outlook for journalists, or for that matter for journalism studies researchers. But it is one that we need to confront and that raises many important questions. These are in part about what we research, but also about how we do it—as Talia Stroud (2017) has pointed out, scholars can choose to engage far more directly with the profession and the industry to try to help the people we study navigate an uncertain and rapidly changing environment. Some of the most pressing issues are:

- A more empirically grounded and differentiated understanding, both within and across countries and between organizations, of the details of the move to digital media. Most available analysis of the economic context of journalism is either based on historical data from a different, earlier environment or operates at an aggregate level that risk obscuring important variation. We particularly need more analysis of digital-born news media, of local news media, and of changes in the news media outside North America and Western Europe.
- Advertising has been the dominant source of revenue for many news organizations for more than a century. In recent years, the sector has changed at a breakneck pace (Turow,

2011), in ways that have produced significant challenges for news organizations, as outlined above. But many news organizations continue to rely on advertising, including new forms of advertising including programmatic advertising, advertising revenues generated through revenue sharing with platform companies, data extraction (Turow & Couldry, 2018), and various forms of "native advertising." There is very little original research on these developments and their implications specifically for journalism.
- How does journalism create value, and when might people be willing to pay for news? Economists caution that news organizations must price their goods according to consumer value, not according to production cost (Shapiro & Varian, 1999). But we know very little about how journalism creates value for audiences, and when, where, and for what people might be willing to pay. As advertising revenues decline and more and more news organizations turn to pay models, it is becoming ever more important to understand pay behavior, as well as the wider implications of the turn from advertising to pay. More broadly, the value of different kinds of journalism (accountability reporting versus routine coverage, politics versus culture, etc.) at both the level of individual users and at the societal level, including both potential for positive and negative externalities, is under-researched.
- Beyond advertising and pay models, how else do and can news organizations make money that may help fund investments in professional journalism? And how can and will journalism respond to changes in the business that enable and constrain the profession? Can we learn from other studies of the "experience economy" about how entities as different as sports franchises, mega churches, and celebrities create and capture value and use these insights to understand the evolution of journalism and the business behind it?
- In light of how the rise of the profit motive gradually and partially marginalized news media operated on the basis of the desire to exercise political power, how can we understand instrumentalization and media capture in an environment where most news media are likely to become far less profitable and commercially valuable, but will remain politically and socially influential and thus attractive assets for self-interested actors who want to pursue their own narrow interest?
- Given the risk of market failure in news, and given how the changing media environment leave existing forms of political and regulatory intervention at risk of significant "policy drift" (Nielsen, 2014), what are the implications of such drift, of proposed and possible policy reforms, and what other forms of funding, including nonprofit or foundation funding, might be found to address market failures (Benson, Powers, & Neff, 2017; Cagé, 2016)?

These are not questions we can outsource to economists, who have few reasons to care about the business of news specifically and who, because of their core interests may lose sight of wider social and political implications of current changes, implications that journalism studies are committed to understanding. These questions are questions about business, about economics, about the commercial realities that have always been part and parcel of news. They focus on issues that both journalists and journalism studies researchers sometimes shy away from. Journalism in many countries makes its claim on professional autonomy and occupational authority in part by distancing itself from business considerations. Similarly, though the changing economic contexts of journalism is one of the single most important factors reshaping the profession and news institutions today, journalism studies as an academic field is often curiously shy about actually empirically studying these changes. This professional and scholarly ignorance is deeply detrimental to our understanding of one of the most important forces reshaping journalism and the news today. Perhaps it is time that both journalists and academics keen to understand how news is changing take inspiration from one of the most famous tips in the trade: follow the money.

NOTES

1. www.bls.gov/emp/ind-occ-matrix/occ_xlsx/occ_27-3022.xlsx
2. www.people-press.org/2010/09/12/americans-spending-more-time-following-the-news/
3. See for example, www.poynter.org/latest-news/mediawire/145736/americans-spend-just-a-fraction-of-online-time-with-news-compared-to-social-media/.
4. In digital media more broadly, there are some services we pay for primarily with data, data that service providers in turn monetize elsewhere. This type of exchange is not yet a central part of the business of news specifically, even though news organizations are intertwined with the various forms of data collection going on online (see, e.g., Libert, 2015).

REFERENCES

Aalberg, T., & Curran, J. (Eds.). (2012). *How media inform democracy*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Anderson, S. P., & Gabszewicz, J. J. (2005). The Media and Advertising: A Tale of Two-Sided Markets. *CEPR Discussion Papers*, *5223*.

Anderson, S. P., & Jullien, B. (2015). The advertising-financed business model in two-sided media markets. In M. Feldstein & A. J. Auerbach (Eds.), *Handbook of media economics* (Vol. 1, pp. 41–90). Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Athey, S., Mobius, M., & Pal, J. (2012). The impact of news aggregators on internet news consumption: The case of localization. In *Workshop on the economics of web search and social network. Sixth ACM international conference on web search and data mining 2013* (p. 2). New York: ACM.

Bagwell, K. (2007). The economic analysis of advertising. In M. Armstrong & R. Porter (Eds.), *Handbook of industrial organization* (Vol. 3, pp. 1701–1844). Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Baker, C. 2002. *Media, markets, and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, R., Powers, M., & Neff, T. (2017). Public media autonomy and accountability: Best and worst policy practices in 12 leading democracies. *International Journal of Communication*, *11*, 22.

Besley, T., & Prat, A. (2006). Handcuffs for the grabbing hand? Media capture and government accountability. *The American Economic Review*, *96*(3), 720–736.

Busch, O. (2015). *Programmatic advertising*. Wiesbaden: Springer.

Cagé, J. (2016). *Saving the media*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Capella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cornia, A., Sehl, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2016). *Private sector media and digital news*. Retrieved form http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Cornia%20-%20Private%20Sector%20Media%20and%20Digital%20News%20FINAL.pdf

Cornia, A., Sehl, A., Simon, F., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). *Pay models in European news*. Retrieved from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Pay%20Models%20in%20European%20News%20Factsheet.pdf

Djankov, S., McLiesh, C., Nenova, T., & Shleifer, A. (2003). Who owns the media? *The Journal of Law and Economics*, *46*(2), 341–382.

Doyle, G. (2013a). *Understanding media economics* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Doyle, G. (2013b). Re-invention and survival: Newspapers in the era of digital multiplatform delivery. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *10*(4), 1–20.

Dyck, A., Moss, D., & Zingales, L. (2013). Media versus special interests. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, *56*(3), 521–553.

Ellman, M., & Germano, F. (2009). What do the papers sell? A model of advertising and media bias. *The Economic Journal*, *119*(537), 680–704.

Fletcher, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Paying for online news: A comparative analysis of six countries. *Digital Journalism*, *5*(9), 1173–1191.

Gentzkow, M., Glaeser, E. L., & Goldin, C. (2006). The rise of the fourth estate. How newspapers became informative and why it mattered. In E. L. Glaeser & C. Goldin (Eds.), *Corruption and reform: Lessons from America's economic history* (pp. 187–230). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Grueskin, B., Seave, A., & Graves, L. (2011). *The story so far: What we know about the business of digital journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamilton, J. (2004). *All the news that's fit to sell*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Hamilton, J. (2016). *Democracy's detectives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Jeffrey, R. (2000). *India's newspaper revolution*. London: Hurst.

Kalyanaram, G., & Winer, R. S. (1995). Empirical generalizations from reference price research. *Marketing Science*, *14*(Suppl 3), G161–G169.

KPMG-FICCI. (2017). *Indian media and entertainment industry report*. Retrieved from https://assets.kpmg.com/content/dam/kpmg/in/pdf/2017/04/FICCI-Frames-2017.pdf

Libert, T. (2015). Exposing the invisible web: An analysis of third-party HTTP requests on 1 million websites. *International Journal of Communication*, *9*, 18.

McDonald, C., & Scott, J. (2007). A brief history of advertising. In G. J. Tellis & T. Ambler (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of advertising* (pp. 17–34). London: Sage Publications.

Mediatique. (2012). *The provision of news in the UK. A report for ofcom*. Retrieved from www.ofcom.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0030/54597/annex6.pdf.pdf

Moazed, A., & Johnson, N. L. (2016). *Modern monopolies: What it takes to dominate the 21st century economy*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Mullainathan, S., & Shleifer, A. (2005). The market for news. *American Economic Review*, *95*(4), 1031–1053.

Myllylahti, M. (2014). Newspaper paywalls—the hype and the reality: A study of how paid news content impacts on media corporation revenues. *Digital Journalism*, *2*(2), 179–194.

Napoli, P. M. (2003). *Audience economics*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Neuman, W. R., Park, Y. J., & Panek, E. (2012). Info capacity. Tracking the flow of information into the home: An empirical assessment of the digital revolution in the US from 1960–2005. *International Journal of Communication*, *6*, 1022–1041.

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., Levy, D. A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). *Reuters institute digital news report 2017*. Retrieved from www.digitalnewsreport.org/

Nicholls, T., Shabbir, N., & Nielsen, R. K. (2016). *Digital-born news media in Europe*. Retrieved from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-Born%20News%20Media%20in%20Europe.pdf

Nicholls, T., Shabbir, N., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). *The global expansion of digital-born news media*. Retrieved from http://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2017-12/The%20Global%20Expansion%20of%20Digital-Born%20News%20Media_0.pdf.

Nielsen, R. K. (2012). *Ten years that shook the media world*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Nielsen, R. K. (2014). Frozen' media subsidies during a time of media change: A comparative analysis of media policy drift in six Western democracies. *Global Media and Communication*, *10*(2), 121–138.

Nielsen, R. K. (2016). The business of news. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 51–67). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Nielsen, R. K. (2017). Media capture in the digital age. In A. Schiffrin (Ed.), *In the service of power: Media capture and the threat to democracy* (pp. 33–41). Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

Nielsen, R. K., & Ganter, S. A. (2018). Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms. *New Media & Society*, *20*(4), 1600–1617.

Ninan, S. (2007). *Headlines from the heartland*. New Delhi and London: Sage.

Noam, E. M. (2009). *Media ownership and concentration in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Noam, E. M. (2016). *Who owns the world's media?* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norris, P. (2001). *A virtuous circle*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Okada, E. M., & Hoch, S. J. (2004). Spending time versus spending money. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *31*(2), 313–323.

Parker, G. G., Van Alstyne, M. W., & Choudary, S. P. (2016). *Platform revolution*. New York, NY: W. W Norton & Company.

Picard, R. G. (2011). *The economics and financing of media companies* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Fordham University Press.

Shampanier, K., Mazar, N., & Ariely, D. (2007). Zero as a special price: The true value of free products. *Marketing Science*, *26*(6), 742–757.

Shapiro, C., & Varian, H. R. (1999). *Information rules*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Simon, H. A. (1971). Designing organizations for an information-rich world. In M. Greenberger, *Computers, communication, and the public interest*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Snyder, J. M., & Strömberg, D. (2008). *Press coverage and political accountability*. Working Paper 13878. National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from www.nber.org/papers/w13878

Strömberg, D. (2004). Mass media competition, political competition, and public policy. *The Review of Economic Studies*, *71*(1), 265–284.

Stroud, N. (2017). Helping newsrooms work toward their democratic and business objectives. In P. J. Boczkowski & C. W. Anderson (Eds.), *Remaking the news* (pp. 157–176). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Taylor, G. (2014). Scarcity of attention for a medium of abundance: An economic perspective. In M. Graham & W. H. Dutton (Eds.), *Society and the internet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Turow, J. (2011). *The daily you*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Turow, J., & Couldry, N. (2018). Media as data extraction: Towards a new map of a transformed communications field. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(2), 415–423.

Vogel, H. L. (2011). *Entertainment industry economics* (8th ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

22

Journalism, Public Relations, and Spin

Jim Macnamara

The efficacy of journalism in performing its role in society, particularly the important role of independent journalism in a democracy discussed in Chapter 19, is impacted by a number of social interactions that influence what can be called the "social construction of journalism." Beyond internal values, rituals, routines, and practices and beyond the economic, political, and technological contexts of journalism, which are all important as shown in this handbook, journalism is fundamentally shaped and influenced by who journalists talk to—their sources of information and influence (Manning, 2001; Sigal, 1986), as discussed in Chapter 11.

In addition to primary sources, an increasing collective source of information and influence is the growing field of public relations and its related and largely synonymous practices. Here, the term public relations—PR for short—is used to include practices referred to as corporate communication, communication management, public affairs, and government and political communication. All of these organizational functions fit the parsimonious definition of PR as "the management of communication between an organization and its publics" (Grunig & Hunt, 1984, p. 6).

Journalism and PR have long coexisted and undergone what Schönhagen and Meißner (2016) call "co-evolution." As identified by Dinan and Miller (2009) in the first edition of this handbook, there have been a number of studies of this interrelationship over the past 100 years. However, major economic and technological changes in the mediascape over the past decade and continuing tensions and even controversy because of association of PR with "spin" warrant ongoing critical examination of this triumvirate.

THE "DECLINE" OF JOURNALISM AND THE RISE OF PR

While print and broadcast journalism are still primary channels for news and information in some countries such as India and parts of southeast Asia and China, the media environment in many countries is characterized by decreasing numbers of journalists caused by collapsing media business models and proliferating channels for public communication due to the internet and related technologies of content production—what Western scholars refer to as the "crisis in journalism" (Curran, 2010; Jones, 2011). For example, despite growth in the total circulation of newspapers worldwide, total newspaper revenue globally fell by 2.1 percent in 2016 and was down by 7.8 percent over the previous five years. Print advertising revenue declined by 8 percent in 2016 and, while digital advertising grew, its 5 percent increase did not offset overall media losses (WAN-IFRA, 2017, p. 7). Notwithstanding alternative revenue streams such as audience revenue through subscriptions and investment in publicly funded media in some countries, this trend is undermining journalism.

In this depleted public sphere, the potential influence of PR has escalated over the past few decades far beyond what the press agents of the early 20th century would have ever imagined or dreamed. Even in countries where journalism enjoys public and financial support PR is growing. Industry tracking studies report that expenditure on PR by corporations, governments, nongovernment organizations (NGOs), and nonprofit entities is growing by 10 percent a year on average and by up to 20 percent a year in fast-developing countries (ICCO, 2013). In 2016, the *Global Communications Report* produced by the University of Southern California (USC) Annenberg in conjunction with The Holmes Report estimated the value of the PR industry globally at US$14 billion (USC Annenberg & Holmes Report, 2016). However, this is conservative and even misleading, as the UK PR Consultants Association estimated that spending on PR in the UK grew by 34 percent between 2013 and 2016 to almost £13 billion a year (US$17 billion) (PRCA, 2016). As PR expenditure is mainly tracked through the annual financial reports and rankings of agencies, with government and corporations not revealing their expenditure on PR, it is likely that global spending on PR is more than US$50 billion a year.

Media and communication schools in universities in the US, UK, Europe, and many other countries have burgeoning PR courses that have become "cash cows," often propping up struggling journalism programs (Bovet, 1992). These developments have caused concern among scholars and industry leaders in journalism as well as political scientists and sociologists concerned about maintaining a viable public sphere in democratic societies and emerging democracies.[1]

Even though the deliberative public sphere envisaged by Habermas (1989, 2006) as a mediated environment in which citizens can be become informed and engage in rational critical debate is seen by many as idealistic (Curran, 2002; Dahlgren, 2009), the central concept continues to be viewed as fundamental for the operation of democracy and civil society. "Promotional culture" (Wernick, 1991) and persuasion on behalf of vested interests and elites, in which PR practitioners are identified as key actors (Miller, 1989; Negus, 2002), are seen by critical scholars as undermining and contaminating the public sphere.

Early theories and models of PR such as *press agentry* and one-way informational and persuasion approaches (Grunig & Hunt, 1984) contributed to this concern. More recently, PR has been theorized as *two-way* and even *symmetrical* interaction and engagement between organizations and their publics (Grunig, Grunig, & Dozier, 2006) and as *dialogue* (Taylor & Kent, 2014). However, critical PR and communication scholars cite such models as normative (Kent & Taylor, 2007; Laskin, 2012) and argue that PR is mostly engaged to represent the interests of corporate, government, and political power elites using techniques of persuasion and sometimes "spin" (Berger & Reber, 2006; Miller & Dinan, 2007). Even when carried out ethically and with corporate social responsibility (CSR), PR represents particular interests, whereas journalism has a responsibility to be bipartisan, critical, and represent alternative interests. It should not be surprising then that the two fields have a tense relationship.

There have been somewhere between 150 and 200 studies of the interrelationship between journalism and PR during the past 100 years (Sallot & Johnson, 2006; Macnamara, 2014). One might presume that, as a result, there is a clear understanding of the interrelationship and its effects. However, studies show the interrelationship between journalism and PR to be paradoxical and largely misrepresented through stereotyping and discourses that, as Foucault (1972) cautioned, need to be unpacked because of how they both create and distort reality. Furthermore, new technologies, particularly the internet and social media, have brought changes to both sectors (Lloyd & Toogood, 2015). To a large extent, these technologies have brought challenges to journalism through audience fragmentation (Jenkins, 2006; Rosen, 2006) and opportunities to PR through social media channels and the removal of media "gatekeepers" (White, 1950)[2]—thus potentially increasing the influence of PR and the tensions between journalism and PR. Therefore, continuing research into the interrelationship between journalism and PR is warranted as well as understanding of historical interactions and influences.

THE INFLUENCE OF PR

PR in the 20th Century

In a history of American journalism, Bleyer (1973) reported that even before World War I the "system of supplying newspapers with publicity and propaganda in the guise of news became so popular that a census of accredited press agents" was conducted by New York newspapers (p. 421). This identified around 1,200 press agents, a popular term at the time, working to influence public opinion through mass media in the early 1900s. Another historical review by Bird and Merwin (1955) reported that newspapers "faced a choice between accepting the releases of press agents, or failing to report many facts needed for the record" (p. 521).

A number of studies of the influence of PR, referred to as press agentry and increasingly as publicity, media relations, and public relations, were conducted through the 20th century, each showing substantial and growing influence of PR. For instance, a 1926 study of the *New York Times* found 147 of the 256 news stories in the newspaper (57 percent) had been suggested, created, or supplied by PR practitioners (Bent, 1927). Another early 20th century study by Bixler (1930) concluded that women's pages in newspapers were almost totally dependent on publicists and that many stories in business sections were also heavily influenced by these early PR practitioners. In 1934, Walker identified that 42 of 64 local stories in one newspaper "were written or pasted up from press agent material: a little more than 60 percent" (1999, p. 147).

In the second half of the 20th century, a number of studies consistently showed PR to a significant and growing influence on mass media content and raised concerns about this trend. Noteworthy among these were analyses by Sigal in 1973 and Gans in 1979. Sigal's study of 1,146 stories in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* found that 75 percent resulted from what he called "information processing" compared with proactively researched information. Around two-thirds of media stories were found to have originated from news releases and other documents handed to reporters by news sources, increasingly through PR practitioners (Sigal, 1973; Grossberg, Wartella, Whitney, & Wise, 2006). The widely reported content analysis of US national TV news and news magazines by Gans (1979) found that 75 percent of all news came from government and commercial sources and much if not most of this could be classified as PR.

Gans was also one of the first to examine specific "beats" or "rounds" such as business and finance, crime, transport, entertainment, travel, and sports reporting. He noted that "beat reporters are drawn into a symbiotic relationship of mutual obligation with their sources, which both facilitates and complicates their work" (1979, p. 133). For instance, a content analysis of health reporting in major US newspapers in 1979–1980 by Brown, Bybee, Wearden, and Straughan (1987) found that 80 percent of wire service stories relied on official proceedings (e.g., of conferences and seminars); press releases; and press conferences. A number of other studies during this period consistently found 50 to 80 percent of newspaper, radio, TV, and wire service content sourced from PR, such as those of Abbott and Brassfield (1989), Sachsman (1976), Turk (1986), and Grossberg et al. (2006).

Research in Europe has gained similar findings, such as that by Baerns in the 1970s and 1980s, which found journalists are heavily influenced by PR in terms of both topics and timing (as cited in Bentele & Nothhaft, 2008). Similarly, several studies in Australia in the 1990s found PR content in news stories ranging from almost 40 percent to 70 percent. For instance, based on content analysis of more than 1,000 articles in Australia's three leading capital city newspapers, Zawawi (1994, 2001) found that 37 percent were directly the result of PR. Furthermore, Zawawi argued that reports, papers, and submissions sent to journalists by organizations could also be regarded as PR, and these took PR-influenced media content to 47 percent.

PR-ization of Media in the 21st Century

Studies of the influence of PR on media content continued in the early 21st century. For example, Sallot and Johnson (2006) analyzed 413 reports of interviews with US journalists conducted between 1991 and 2004 and found that, on average, journalists estimated that 44 percent of the content of US news media was the result of PR contact. Journalists' estimates could be expected to be conservative, given frequent denials of PR influence and negative attitudes towards PR as discussed in the next section.

In the UK, an extensive 2008 study of 2,207 newspaper articles and 402 radio and TV reports spanning crime, politics, business, health, and entertainment conducted by Cardiff University found that 60 percent of the content of Britain's leading newspapers and 34 percent of broadcast stories were comprised wholly of wire service copy or PR material. The study reported that "a further 13 percent of press articles and six percent of broadcast news items were unconfirmed but categorized as 'looks like PR.'" In other words, the Cardiff University study suggested that more than half of the content of leading British newspapers and broadcast networks was influenced by PR in some way. The researchers reported that only 12 percent of British press articles could be established to be entirely independent (Lewis, Williams, Franklin, Thomas, & Mosdell, 2008, p. 52).

Recent studies in Australia and New Zealand, such as a 2010 analysis by the Australian Centre for Independent Journalism at the University of Technology Sydney ("Over Half of Your News Is Spin," 2010) and a 2011 project involving ethnography in two newsrooms in New Zealand by Sissons (2012) have continued to report high reliance on PR. Sissons concluded that "journalists are in many instances not carrying out the traditional practice of checking information. Instead, journalists appear to be replicating the material given to them by public relations professionals" (p. 274). From extensive empirical data, it can be concluded that between 30 and 80 percent of media content is sourced from or significantly influenced by PR, with estimates of 50–75 percent common, with the range related to variations between types of media (e.g., general news, "rounds," trade media, etc.). In *Flat Earth News*, Davies refers to this phenomenon as *churnalism*.

The Discourse of Denial

Despite the overwhelming evidence available from studies such as those cited, a long-maintained response within journalism has been a *discourse of denial* in relation to using PR outputs, referred to by Gandy (1982) as "information subsidies." In an historical analysis reviewing journalists' attitudes towards PR, DeLorme and Fedler (2003) concluded that journalists rarely acknowledge PR practitioners' contributions. Davies similarly noted in his discussion of PR contributing to *churnalism* that "newspapers do not admit to this" (2009, p. 52). Australian media researcher Graeme Turner (2010, p. 212) also concluded that "journalists, for their part, tend to deny that public relations activities have much influence on what they print"—what McChesney (2013, p. 90) calls "the dirty secret of journalism." The discourse of denial in relation to PR is shown by extensive research to be unfounded and fallacious and has long allowed PR to be "the invisible hand" behind much of the news (Cadzow, 2001). In his critical study of 21st century media and the internet, McChesney (2013, p. 183) laments that news is "increasingly . . . unfiltered public relations generated surreptitiously by corporations and governments in a manner that would make Walter Lippmann—whose vision guided the creation of professional journalism in the 1920s—roll in his grave." Thus, there is a substantial paradox at the center of the interrelationship between journalism and PR: journalism uses a substantial amount of PR material and is influenced by PR, but this is swept under the carpet and often flatly denied.

PR versus "Spin"

This paradox is partly explained by a second dominant discourse in relation to PR—the pejorative labeling of PR as "spin" (Burton, 2007; Ewen, 1996) and PR practitioners as "spin doctors" (Ewen, 1996). While the term "spin" originated in politics, it is now widely applied to corporate and government PR as well as political communication, with its sinister implications of twisting and fabrication derived from its original reference to yarn and fabrics (Andrews, 2006). Dozens of books and hundreds of articles have been written about PR as spin, notable among them Ewen's (1996) *PR: A Social History of Spin*, Tye's (1998) *The Father of Spin: Edward L. Bernays and the Birth of Public Relations*, and Burton's (2007) *Inside Spin: The Dark Underbelly of the PR Industry*.

Discussion of PR in journalism texts and popular discourse would lead one to believe that the terms PR and spin are synonymous and that the title of this chapter referring to public relations *and* spin is largely tautological. While some PR protagonists argue that journalism and PR are "mutually dependent/interdependent" (Erjavec, 2005; Gieber & Johnson, 1961) and even "symbiotic" (Bentele & Nothhaft, 2008; Currah, 2009), research shows a long history of tension and even antipathy among journalists towards PR (Delorme & Fedler, 2003; Jeffers, 1977; Kopenhaver, 1985; Kopenhaver, Martinson, & Ryan, 1984; Ryan & Martinson, 1988; Stegall & Sanders, 1986; White & Shaw, 2005; Wilson & Supa, 2013).

As well as generalizing PR pejoratively as "spin," journalism scholars and commentators accuse PR of corrupting the media and the public sphere with *pseudo-events*, *pseudo-evidence*, *pseudo-groups*, *pseudo-leaks*, *pseudo-pictures*, and even *pseudo-illnesses* (Davies, 2009, pp. 172–193). Over the past 75 years, PR also has been referred to as "hype," "puff," "ballyhoo," "bunco," "boosterism," "cover up," and "propaganda," and PR practitioners have been labeled "flacks," "fabricators," "fakers and phonies," "shysters," "obstructionists," "liars," and "spinmeisters" (Macnamara, 2014, pp. 7–8). In an historical review of journalist-PR relations, DeLorme and Fedler (2003, p. 101) concluded that the relationship is "tense and complex." In a New Zealand study, Tilley and Hollings (2008, p. 1) described the interaction as a "love-hate relationship"—a view echoed by Harcup (2009) in a contemporary UK journalism text.

While naming PR as spin seems to suggest transparency and critique, in reality it achieves the opposite as it generalizes, marginalizes, and trivializes PR. The term spin is applied so broadly that, like all generalizations, it masks diversity and presents a falsely coherent, unified view of PR that is a stereotype. Furthermore, while being demonized, spin is also marginalized and trivialized as something that is innocuous and not worthy of serious attention because journalists allegedly avoid or reject it. Such rhetorical techniques and discourses lull media consumers—and perhaps journalists themselves—into a false sense of security. As Atkinson (2005, pp. 17–18) concluded in relation to political PR: "demonized spin is a derogatory form of news discourse where journalists pose as heroic fighters against manipulative politicians and their staffs" when, in reality, research shows "glaring blindspots" in relation to "the media's own contributory role" in spin.

One of the blind spots referred to is that PR practitioners report that they are regularly contacted by journalists asking for information and content (Macnamara, 2014; Waters, Tindall, & Morton, 2010). Also, a number of studies show that PR material is often used by journalists little changed or even verbatim (Davies, 2009; Lewis et al., 2008; Macnamara, 1993). Some journalism texts acknowledge that many PR professionals are "honest brokers of information" (Hohenberg, 1973, p. 351), who act as intermediaries between media and organizations and also between organizations and their stakeholders and publics. As noted previously, some claim that the two fields are "mutually dependent/interdependent" (Erjavec, 2005; Gieber & Johnson, 1961); "symbiotic" (Bentele & Nothhaft, 2008; Currah, 2009); or "two sides of the same coin" (Evans, 2010, p. 31).

In such an environment of conflicting claims, a more informed and nuanced understanding of the functions as well as the dysfunctions of PR, and its interrelationship with journalism, rather than reliance on media myths and internecine industry feuding, is essential for the production of independent journalism and a healthy public sphere that can serve to create an informed society, while at the same time allowing freedom of speech.

CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH INSIGHTS

Contemporary research shows a continuation of the coexistence and blurring of journalism and PR—and also advertising to some extent. The 2018 *Global Communications Report* published by the University of Southern California, Annenberg revealed that 64 percent of more than 1,000 senior PR professionals surveyed believe that the average media consumer will not be able to tell the difference between paid, earned, shared, and owned media (referred to as the PESO model of media) within the next the next five years (USC Annenberg, 2018). In recent years, the *European Communication Monitor* (Zerfass, Verčič, Verhoeven, Moreno, & Tench, 2015), based on a survey of more than 2,000 European PR and communication professionals, and the *Asia-Pacific Communication Monitor* (Macnamara, Lwin, Adi, & Zerfass, 2015, 2016, 2017), based on a survey of more than 1,200 practitioners, also have identified a collapse of traditional boundaries between paid (advertising), earned (editorial), shared (social), and owned (corporate) media.

Recent research has highlighted new developments that are expanding this blurred "grey zone" between paid, earned, and owned media content, such as *native advertising*, *content marketing*, and *brand journalism* (Verčič & Tkalac Verčič, 2016). All involve the placement of promotional messages in a format that resembles journalism and is sometimes indistinguishable. These media strategies are designed to overcome resistance to traditional advertising and to avoid *persuasion knowledge*—the recognition of media content as intentional attempts at persuasion, which reduces the effect of persuasion (Friestad & Wright, 1994). While these approaches sometimes involve the bypassing of journalists through direct corporate and government publishing (for example, through websites), frequently they involve the cooperation of journalists and editors, particularly when media revenues are in decline. Such approaches are regarded as deceptive (de Pelsmacker & Neijens, 2012) and, thus, they raise ethical questions which, to date, have been insufficiently examined.

Meanwhile, journalists also continue to cooperate with PR practitioners in day-to-day reporting, despite the "discourse of denial" and concerns about "spin." A major qualitative study undertaken in 2013–2014 cast new light and gave an updated perspective on this complex and paradoxical relationship (Macnamara, 2014). Whereas most previous studies of these issues involved surveys that are often filled out by junior employees as reported by Reichheld (2008), this study involved in-depth, face-to-face interviews with a purposive sample of 32 senior practitioners working in journalism and/or PR respectively in the UK, US, Australia, and Asia Pacific. Almost unanimously the senior journalists interviewed confirmed substantial use of PR material and interaction with PR practitioners. They reported that this occurs both proactively as well as reactively.

The coexistence of such acknowledgements and empirical data showing high usage of PR material on one hand, and a discourse of denial as well as the discourse of spin and antipathy towards PR on the other, emphasize the paradox or journalism-PR interaction and raise a puzzling question: how do journalists and editors explain and justify regularly using PR material and relying on PR contacts, while at the same time holding negative perceptions and being publicly critical of PR? The research revealed that many journalists interviewed described PR in narrow terms. They identified some traditional media relations practices as PR, but do not recognize many other communication strategies as such. For example, much of the information on government and corporate websites is created by PR departments or agencies (albeit they may be called "strategic communication," "corporate communication" or other terms) as well as their social media communication (Peppercom/IPR, 2017). Similarly, launches and openings, exclusive interviews and visits by international VIPs, who journalists flock to meet and quote, are often conceived and arranged by PR practitioners.

The analysis also confirmed what is referred to as the *Jeffers' Syndrome*—the finding by Jeffers (1977) that journalists view PR practitioners who they know personally more favorably than they do PR practitioners generally. Further, they *re-categorize* them within their conceptual and professional frameworks. Along with "specialists" and "experts," other terms used to describe these "transported" PR practitioners were "authorities" and even "trusted sources." Thus, as well as not recognizing many forms of "information subsidies" and public communication practices as PR, journalists are prone to exclude their positive personal interrelationships with PR practitioners from what they perceive as "PR." This latter tendency was referred to and theorized in Macnamara (2014) as *PR acculturation* because not only do journalists adapt their view of some PR practitioners, but when relationships build up over time, they mentally remove them from the field and rubric of PR, and they become acculturated into journalists' inner circle of "contacts" and "trusted sources."

These findings suggest that the discourse of denial is not intentional lying or deceit. While it reflects naiveté in relation to PR, its root cause is a cultural interpretation of what constitutes PR framed within a narrow media-centric view that has long characterized journalism and media studies and which needs to be replaced with a broader sociological perspective, according to scholars such as Couldry (2010).

While further illuminating the interrelationship between journalism and PR, the 2014 study cited above also confirmed a misunderstanding about PR and its connection with media relations and publicity that adds a qualification and a clarification to these findings. Journalists and journalism scholars frequently view PR as solely focused on influencing journalists to gain media publicity. This conflation of PR with media relations and publicity leads to a defensive attitude among many journalists and journalism researchers who point to the size of the PR industry and its global growth as evidence of a powerful behemoth targeting a declining number of overworked journalists. For example, in a journalism textbook, Lamble (2011, p. 77) says: "Our state and federal governments in particular, but also many local governments, employ small armies of public relations staff and media advisers: 'minders' whose sole responsibility is to do their utmost to portray their governments to the public." The role of PR is described by Lamble as "blowing their own trumpets” and “targeting journalists with a deluge of media releases and deflecting criticism.” Ironically, the same section adds: “But on the positive side, media releases can sometimes provide great story leads” (Lamble, 2011, pp. 77–78), illustrating the noted paradox and potentially a double standard.

In reality, PR is a broad field of practice that typically includes producing content for websites; managing organizational social media sites; producing publications such as annual reports, newsletters, and brochures; managing events such as launches, trade shows, and conferences; and specialist communication roles such as employee communication, shareholder/investor relations, and community relations (Broom & Sha, 2013; Macnamara, 2012; Wilcox & Cameron, 2010). Many PR professionals have little or no contact with journalists. Therefore, generalizations about the influence of PR on journalism are misleading and should be avoided.

THE “FOURTH MEDIA REVOLUTION”—SOCIAL MEDIA

The shift from traditional to social media is increasing in PR practice as well as among journalists, along with the use of owned media for digital publishing. Hence, social media and social networks deserve specific attention in any contemporary discussion of the relationship between PR and journalism.

The internet, particularly websites, blogs, and social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Sina Weibo and RenRen in China, Tumblr, and others, have given journalists new opportunities for research, source acquisition and contact, and publishing. While some journalists initially resisted social media, seeing them as competitors, many journalists now embrace social media, and an increasing number of media publish only online. A notable example of this new type of media is the *Huffington Post*, which won a Pulitzer Prize in 2012 for a series on wounded veterans written by David Wood (“2012 journalism Pulitzer winners,” 2012).

Social media are part of what Poster (1995) called the “second media age” and what other media scholars refer to as the “fourth media revolution” after creation of the alphabet which enabled writing, invention of the printing press, and development of broadcasting (Balnaves, Donald, & Shoesmith, 2009, p. 12).

As well as changing the mediascape for journalists and citizens, social media also have further expanded the channels of communication available to PR, which is emphasized in the notion of “PR 2.0” that is enthusiastically discussed in PR literature such as in Breakenridge’s (2008) book *PR 2.0: New Media, New Tools, New Audiences*.

A US study by Hazelton, Harrison-Rexrode, and Keenan claims that PR is “undergoing a revolution” because of social media (2008, p. 91). In the foreword of Breakenridge (2008), social media advocate Brian Solis effuses: “Welcome to what just may be the greatest evolution in the history of PR” (Solis, 2008, p. xvii). In the title of another book, Solis and Breakenbridge (2009) claim that Web 2.0 is “putting the public back in public relations.” Similarly, in *Corporate Communication: A Guide to Theory and Practice*, Cornelissen (2011) states that social media “create new ways of reaching and engaging with stakeholders.” He adds that the development of new media “provides an organization with the opportunity to engage in conversations and to tell and elaborate its story or key message to stakeholders or the general public in an interactive way” (2011, p. 154).

PR practitioners use various forms of social media and other digital communication to bypass journalists including websites, blogs, e-newsletters, and social networks such as Facebook, RenRen, Twitter, Weibo, Instagram, YouTube, and Youku. These channels represent what has been referred to as “a world where everyone is a publisher, no one is an editor” (Pelley, n.d.).

Editors, journalists, and academics have raised concerns about social media content which bypasses the "gatekeepers" who operate in traditional media (White, 1950)—the editors, sub-editors, and fact-checkers who verify sources and confirm the veracity of statements and claims made. The directness of digital and social media communication means that PR practitioners can potentially distribute "spin" and even "fake news" without the intervention of traditional intermediaries.

In addition, social networks and social media are increasingly engaged in the ongoing interaction between PR and journalism and are changing the methods of journalism-PR interaction, but not the interdependence. For example, traditional media releases (also still referred to as "press releases") are increasingly giving way to social media releases. Former *Financial Times* journalist Tom Foremski declared in a widely quoted 2006 blog post: "Die! Press release! Die! Die! Die!" Foremski (2006) called for a new format for information supplied to media. In response, PR practitioners have argued that media releases are not dead but that a new kind of media release is required in the era of digital and social media. One who has led this debate online is social media expert and author of the blog PR-Squared, Todd Defren, who has published a template for a social media release (Defren, 2008). Social media releases are much more than media releases sent to new types of social media. Defren recommends that all information provided to media should be a social media release. The key features of social media releases proposed by Defren include a short bullet-point format rather than long text, inclusion of hyperlinks for further information, use of graphics for easy navigation and visual appeal, inclusion of JPEG photographs and MP3 sound files as well as video, and links to the organization's social media sites.

Beyond their own digital sites and using social networks and media to communicate with journalists, today almost all organizations, including government departments and agencies; non-government organizations such as museums and other public institutions; and nonprofit groups such as charities participate in public social media, both with their own pages and profiles as well as in open online discussion and debate.

Because of these developments, concern continues to be expressed that PR exerts an undue and unhealthy influence over news and public debate. For example, in a recent study of German media, Koch, Obermaier, and Riesmeyer (2017) noted that journalists and PR practitioners depend on each other but argued that still "there are many unanswered questions about how public relations exerts power over journalists and how these influence attempts may affect news coverage" (2017, p. 1).

One answer that can be drawn from the large body of research indicating substantial and growing influence of PR is that the field of public relations needs more than ever to focus on ethical behavior and social responsibility in its activities. There are signs that this is occurring. Beyond the claims of professional PR bodies, an independent study in the UK by Jackson and Moloney (2016) concluded:

> Despite many circumstances working in their favour, this does not mean they necessary feel emboldened in their everyday encounters with journalists . . . very few observe journalists' recent travails with glee: most want to see a robust and independent journalism where PR input is balanced with other sources.
>
> (p. 753)

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

Given the importance of news, information, and channels for public debate in democratic societies in particular, it can be concluded that there is a need to do more in research, education, and professional practice. Four key conclusions emerge from historical and recent research, which serve as pointers to future directions in the problematic and paradoxical interrelationship between journalism and PR.

Transparency: There remains a need for greater transparency in both journalism and PR, rather than the "discourse of denial" that has prevailed among journalists and the "trade secrets" of PR in relation to ways that it influences news media and public debate. One suggestion put forward by the UK Media Standards Trust (2018) as part of its Transparency Initiative is for declaration of the sources of all paid and subsidized content including PR material used without corroborating evidence. While most editors and journalists reject such calls (Macnamara, 2014), in an era of "fake news" and "post-truth," greater transparency will be essential to maintain public trust.

Educating journalists: The "discourse of denial" in relation to PR and misunderstandings revealed in research indicate that journalism education needs to include development of knowledge about PR. While "academic wars" have occurred and continue in some institutions between the fields of journalism, mass communication, and PR (White & Shaw, 2005; Wright, 2005), education about PR will increase journalists' ability to identify, analyze, and critically evaluate PR messages, which Holladay and Coombs (2013) refer to as "public relations literacy," as well as disrupt stereotypes and prejudices based on misunderstanding and myths.

Educating PR practitioners in ethics and social responsibility: On the other side of the equation, critical PR studies support the case for more ethics training of PR practitioners. A survey of more than 1,800 PR practitioners in North America, Australia, New Zealand, and the Middle East found that 70 percent had not received any training in ethics (Bowen & Heath, 2006, p. 34), and a 2014 analysis by Fawkes concluded that PR ethics is "often incoherent and aspirational rather than grounded in . . . practice" (2014, p. 8). Also, the concept of social responsibility should be expanded to address the increasing role of PR practitioners in the contemporary public sphere through social media and digital communication including the practices of native advertising, content marketing, and brand journalism. Given the criticisms of PR and the all too frequent public controversies in relation to PR reported in the media and academic literature, education of PR practitioners requires both academic attention in PR courses as well as ongoing professional development in the industry.

Further research: Emerging media practices such as native advertising, content marketing, and brand journalism require further research, particularly in relation to ethics and the public interest. Also, while the emerging controversy surrounding "fake news" cannot be laid at the feet of PR practitioners, the potential of PR to contribute to such distortion of the public sphere should be addressed by PR researchers as well as media scholars, sociologists, and political scientists.

Research on the relationship between journalism and PR to date has been predominantly focused on major Western countries. For example, Domm (2016, p. 641) comments that "little of the available international research has embraced the worldviews and perspectives of practitioners operating in the rapidly developing countries of South East Asia." He reports that practitioners in Asia see Western theory and practice as having only limited applicability to their circumstances. Therefore, further study of the interrelationship between journalism and PR in central, northern and southeast Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East would be informative and a useful contribution to our understanding of media and public communication.

Further research and the initiatives discussed above will contribute to maintaining independent media as key actors in the public sphere, while affording organizations freedom of speech and opportunities to engage with their stakeholders and publics in open, direct, and ethical ways.

NOTES

1. Democracy in either a mature or emerging form is now the dominant political system in almost 200 countries worldwide (Marsh & Miller, 2012).
2. The term *gatekeeper* was coined by social psychologist Kurt Lewin (1947) and was applied to editors and others who control access to and content of media by David Manning White (1950) and a number of other scholars since.

REFERENCES

2012 Journalism Pulitzer Winners. (2012, April 16). *The New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2012/04/17/business/media/2012-Journalism-Pulitzer-Winners.html

Abbott, E., & Brassfield, L. (1989). Comparing decisions on releases by TV and newspaper gatekeepers. *Journalism Quarterly*, *66*(4), 853–856. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769908906600411

Andrews, L. (2006). Spin: From tactic to tabloid. *Journal of Public Affairs*, *6*(1), 31–45. http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/pa.37

Atkinson, J. (2005). Metaspin: Demonization of media manipulation. *Political Science*, *57*(2), 1–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/003231870505700203

Balnaves, M., Donald, S., & Shoesmith, B. (2009). *Media theories and approaches: A global perspective*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bent, S. (1927). *Ballyhoo: The voice of the press*. New York, NY: Boni & Liveright.

Bentele, G., & Nothhaft, H. (2008). The intereffication model: Theoretical discussions and empirical research. In A. Zerfass, B. Van Ruler, & K. Sriramesh (Eds.), *Public relations research: European and international perspectives and innovations* (pp. 33–48). Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag fur Sozialwissenschaften (Springer Science + Business Media).

Berger, P., & Reber, B. (2006). *Gaining influence in public relations: The role of resistance in practice*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Bird, G., & Merwin, F. (Eds.). (1955). *The press and society: A book of readings*. New York, NY: Prentice-Hall. (Original work published 1951). Retrieved from http://archive.org/stream/pressandsociety030075mbp/pressandsociety030075mbp_djvu.txt

Bixler, P. (1930, January). The reporter's last stand. *The North American Review*, *229*, 113–116.

Bleyer, W. (1973). *Main currents in the history of American journalism*. New York, NY: Da Capo Press. (Original work published 1927).

Bovet, S. (1992). Educators need to communicate better on and off campus. *Public Relations Journal*, *48*, 14–17.

Bowen, S., & Heath, R. (2006, January–February). Under the microscope. *Communication World*, 34–36.

Breakenridge, D. (2008). *PR 2.0: New media, new tools, new audiences*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press, Pearson Education.

Broom, G., & Sha, B. (2013). *Cutlip & center's effective public relations* (11th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Brown, J., Bybee, C., Wearden, S., & Straughan, D. (1987). Invisible power: News sources and the limits of diversity. *Journalism Quarterly*, *64*(1), 45–54. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769908706400106

Burton, B. (2007). *Inside spin: The dark underbelly of the PR industry*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Cadzow, J. (2001, May 26). The hidden persuaders. *Sydney Morning Herald*, Good Weekend Magazine, pp. 20–24.

Cornelissen, J. (2011). *Corporate communication: A guide to theory and practice* (3rd ed.). London and Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Couldry, N. (2010). *Media, society, world: Social theory and digital media practice*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Currah, A. (2009). *What's happening to our news*. Oxford, UK: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University. Retrieved from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/about/news/item/article/whats-happening-to-our-news.html

Curran, J. (2002). *Media and power*. London: Routledge.

Curran, J. (2010). Future of journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *11*(4), 464–476. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14616701003722444

Dahlgren, P. (2009). *Media and political engagement: Citizens, communication and democracy*, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Davies, N. (2009). *Flat earth news*. London: Random House.

de Pelsmacker, P., & Neijens, P. (2012). New advertising formats: How persuasion knowledge affects consumer response. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, *18*(1), 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527266.2011.620762

Defren, T. (2008, April 18). Social media template, version 1.5. *PR-Squared* blog. Retrieved from www.pr-squared.com/index.php/2008/04/social_media_release_template

DeLorme, D., & Fedler, F. (2003). Journalists' hostility toward public relations: An historical analysis. *Public Relations Review*, *29*(1), 99–124. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(03)00019-5

Dinan, W., & Miller, D. (2009). Journalism, public relations, and spin. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 250–264). London: Routledge.

Domm, G. (2016). Public relations practice in the emerging 'powerhouses' of South East Asia: Some views from within. *Public Relations Review*, *42*(4), 641–653. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2015.10.001

Erjavec, K. (2005). Hybrid public relations news discourse. *European Journal of Communication*, *20*(2), 155–179. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0267323105052295

Evans, T. (2010). We are all in PR now. *British Journalism Review*, *21*(2), 31–36. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956474810374531

Ewen, S. (1996). *PR! A social history of spin*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Fawkes, J. (2014). *Public relations ethics and professionalism: The shadow of excellence*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Foremski, T. (2006, February 27). Die! Press release! Die! Die! Die! *Silicon Valley Watcher* [Weblog]. Retrieved from www.siliconvalleywatcher.com/mt/archives/2006/02/die_press_relea.php

Foucault, M. (1972). *The archaeology of knowledge and the discourse on language*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Friestad, M., & Wright, P. (1994). The persuasion knowledge model: How people cope with persuasion attempts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *21*(1), 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1086/209380

Gandy, O. (1982). *Beyond agenda setting: Information subsidies and public policy*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Gans, H. (1979). *Deciding what's news: A study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek and Time*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Gieber, W., & Johnson, W. (1961). The city hall 'beat': A study of reporter and source roles. *Journalism Quarterly*, *38*, 289–297. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769906103800302

Grossberg, L., Wartella, E., Whitney, D., & Wise, J. (2006). *Media making: Mass media in a popular culture* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Grunig, J., Grunig, L., & Dozier, D. (2006). The excellence theory. In C. Botan & V. Hazelton (Eds.), *Public relations theory II* (pp. 21–62). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Grunig, J., & Hunt, T. (1984). *Managing public relations*. Orlando, FL: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Habermas, J. (1989). *The structural transformation of the public* sphere (T. Burger, Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. (Original work published 1962 in German).

Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. *Communication Theory*, *16*(4), 411–426. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2885.2006.00280.x

Harcup, T. (2009). *Journalism: Principles and practices* (2nd ed.). London: Sage Publications.

Hazelton, V., Harrison-Rexrode, J., & Keenan, W. (2008). New technologies in the formation of personal and public relations; Social capital and social media. In S. Duhé (Ed.), *New media and public relations* (pp. 91–105). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Hohenberg, J. (1973). *The professional journalist* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Holladay, S., & Coombs, T. (2013). Public relations literacy: Developing critical consumers of public relations. *Public Relations Inquiry*, *2*(2), 125–146. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/2046147X13483673

ICCO [International Communications Consultancy Organization]. (2013). *ICCO world report* [Web site]. Retrieved from www.akospr.ru/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/World-Report_en.pdf

Jackson, D., & Moloney, K. (2016). PR, journalism and power relationships in flux. *Inside Journalism*, *17*(6), 763–780. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2015.1017597

Jeffers, D. (1977). Performance expectations as a measure of relative status of news and PR people. *Journalism Quarterly*, *54*, 299–307. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769907705400210

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Jones, A. (2011). Losing the news: The future of the news that feeds democracy. In D. Graber (Ed.), *Media power in politics* (pp. 57–65). Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Kent, M., & Taylor, M. (2007). Beyond excellence: Extending the generic approach to international public relations: The case of Bosnia. *Public Relations Review*, *33*(1), 10–20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2006.11.002

Koch, T., Obermaier, M., & Riesmeyer, C. (2017). Powered by public relations? Mutual perceptions of PR practitioners' bases of power over journalism. *Journalism*. Online. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917726421

Kopenhaver, L. (1985). Aligning values of practitioners and journalists. *Public Relations Review*, *11*(2), 34–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0363-8111(82)80117-3

Kopenhaver, L., Martinson, D., & Ryan, M. (1984). How public relations practitioners and editors in Florida view each other. *Journalism Quarterly*, *61*(4), 860–888. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769908406100419

Lamble, S. (2011). *News as it happens: An introduction to journalism*. South Melbourne, VIC: Oxford University Press.

Laskin, A. (2012). Public relations scales: Advancing the excellence theory. *Journal of Communication Management*, *16*(4), 355–370. https://doi.org/10.1108/13632541211278996

Lewis, J., Williams, A., Franklin, B., Thomas, J., & Mosdell, N. (2008). *The quality and independence of British journalism: Tracking the changes of 20 years*. Research report. Cardiff School of Journalism, Media, and Cultural Studies, Cardiff University, Wales. Retrieved from www.cardiff.ac.uk/jomec/research/researchgroups/journalismstudies/fundedprojects/qualitypress.html

Lloyd, J., & Toogood, L. (2015). *Journalism and PR: News media and public relations in the digital age*. London: Tauris.

Macnamara, J. (1993). *Public relations and the media* (Unpublished Master of Arts by research thesis), Deakin University, Geelong, VIC, Australia.

Macnamara, J. (2012). *Public relations: Theories, practices, critiques*. Frenchs Forest, NSW: Pearson.

Macnamara, J. (2014). *Journalism and PR: Unpacking 'Spin', stereotypes, and media myths*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Macnamara, J., Lwin, M., Adi, A., & Zerfass, A. (2015). *Asia pacific communication monitor 2015/16*: The state of strategic communication and public relations in a region of rapid growth. Survey results from 23 countries. Asia Pacific Association of Communication Directors (APACD) and Helios Media. Retrieved from www.communicationmonitor.asia

Macnamara, J., Lwin, M., Adi, A., & Zerfass, A. (2016). 'PESO' media strategy shifts to 'SOEP': Opportunities and ethical dilemmas. *Public Relations Review*, *42*(3), 377–385. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.03.001

Macnamara, J., Lwin, M., Adi, A., & Zerfass, A. (2017). *Asia-pacific communication monitor 2017/18:* Strategic challenges, social media and professional competencies—results of a survey in 22 countries. Asia-Pacific Association of Communication Directors, Hong Kong. Retrieved from www.communicationmonitor.asia

Manning, P. (2001). *News and news sources: A critical introduction*. London: Sage Publications.
Marsh, I., & Miller, R. (2012). *Democratic decline and democratic renewal: Political change in Britain, Australia and New Zealand*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
McChesney, R. (2013). *Digital disconnect: How capitalism is turning the internet against democracy*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
Media Standards Trust. (2018). *Transparency initiative* [Web page]. Retrieved from http://mediastandardstrust.org/projects/transparency-initiative
Miller, D., & Dinan, W. (2007). A century of spin: How public relations became the cutting edge of corporate power. London: Pluto Press.
Miller, G. (1989). Persuasion and public relations: Two 'Ps in a pod'." In C. Botan & V. Hazelton (Eds.), *Public relations theory* (pp. 45–66). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Negus, K. (2002). The work of cultural intermediaries and the enduring distance between production and consumption. *Cultural Studies*, *16*(4), 501–515.
Over Half Your News Is Spin. (2010, March 15). *Crikey*. Report of Australian centre for independent journalism. Retrieved from www.crikey.com.au/2010/03/15/over-half-your-news-is-spin
Pelley, S. (n.d.). *Scott Pelley quotes*. Retrieved from www.brainyquote.com/quotes/scott_pelley_537518
Peppercom and the Institute for Public Relations (IPR). (2017). *Managing the digital age: A dialogue with CCOs and CMOs*. Retrieved from www.instituteforpr.org/managing-digital-age-dialogue-ccos-cmos-infographic
Poster, M. (1995). *The second media age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
PRCA (Public Relations Consultants Association). (2016). *PR census 2016*. Retrieved from http://news.prca.org.uk/publications
Reichheld, F. (2008). *The ultimate question: Driving good profits and true growth*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Publishing.
Rosen, J. (2006, June 27). The people formerly known as the audience. *PressThink* [Web log]. Retrieved from http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html
Ryan, M., & Martinson, D. (1988). Journalists and public relations practitioners: Why the antagonism? *Journalism Quarterly*, *65*(1), 131–140. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/107769908806500118
Sachsman, D. (1976). Public relations influence on coverage of the environment in San Francisco area. *Journalism Quarterly*, *53*, 54–60. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907605300108
Sallot, L., & Johnson, E. (2006). Investigating relationships between journalists and public relations practitioners: Work together to set, frame and build the public agenda, 1991–2004. *Public Relations Review*, *32*(2), 151–159. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2006.02.008
Schönhagen, P., & Meißner, M. (2016). The co-evolution of public relations and journalism: A first contribution to its systematic review. *Public Relations Review*, *42*(5), 748–758. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2016.08.003
Sigal, L. (1973). *Reporters and officials*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.
Sigal, L. (1986). Who? Sources make the news. In R. Manoff & M. Schudson (Eds.), *Reading the news* (pp. 9–37). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Sissons, H. (2012). Journalism and public relations: A tale of two discourses. *Discourse & Communication*, *6*(3), 273–294. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1750481312452202
Solis, B. (2008). Foreword. In D. Breakenridge (Ed.), *PR 2.0: New media, new tools, new audiences* (pp. xvii–xx). Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press, Pearson Education.
Solis, B., & Breakenbridge, D. (2009). *Putting the public back in public relations: How social media is reinventing the aging business or PR*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: FT Press/Pearson Education.
Stegall, S., & Sanders, K. (1986). Co-orientation of PR practitioners and news personnel in education news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *63*(2), 341–347. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769908606300215
Taylor, M., & Kent, M. (2014). Dialogic engagement: Clarifying foundational concepts. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *26*(5), 384–398. https://doi.org/10.1080/1062726X.2014.956106
Tilley, E., & Hollings, J. (2008). Still struck in a 'love-hate relationship': Understanding journalists' enduring and impassioned duality toward public relations. In E. Tilley (Ed.), *Power and place: ANZCA 2008: Refereed proceedings of the Australian and New Zealand communication association conference 2008*,

9–11 July, Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved from www.anzca.net/conferences/past-conferences/35-anzca08.html

Turk, J. (vanSlyke). (1986). Public relations' influence on the news. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *7*(4), 25–26.

Turner, G. (2010). Public relations. In S. Cunningham & G. Turner (Eds.), *The media and communications in Australia* (3rd ed., pp. 207–216). Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Tye, L. (1998). *The father of spin: Edward L. Bernays and the birth of public relations*. New York, NY: Crown Publishers.

USC Annenberg. (2016). *2016 global communications report*. Retrieved from www.holmesreport.com/ranking-and-data/global-communications-report/2016-research

USC Annenberg. (2018). *2018 global communications report: The evolution of ethics*. Los Angeles, CA: Author. Retrieved from https://annenberg.usc.edu/research/center-public-relations/global-communica tions-report

Verčič, D., & Tkalac Verčič, A. (2016). The new publicity: From reflexive to reflective mediatization. *Public Relations Review*, *42*(4), 493–498. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2015.07.008

Walker, S. (1999). *City editor*. Baltimore, IL: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

WAN-IFRA [World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers]. (2017). *World press trends 2017*. Retrieved from www.wan-ifra.org/microsites/world-press-trends

Waters, R., Tindall, N., & Morton, T. (2010). Media catching and the journalist—public relations practitioner relationships: How social media are changing the practice of media relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, *22*(3), 241–264.

Wernick, A. (1991). *Promotional culture: Advertising, ideology and symbolic expression*. London: Sage Publications.

White, C., & Shaw, T. (2005, August). *Portrayal of public relations in mass communication textbooks*. Paper presented at the association for education in journalism and mass communication, San Antonio, Texas.

White, D. (1950). The gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, *27*, 383–390. Reprinted in L. Dexter & D. White (Eds.). (1964). *People, society and mass communications*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Wilcox, D., & Cameron, G. (2010). *Public relations: Strategies and tactics* (9th ed.). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Wilson, D., & Supa, D. (2013). Examining modern media relations: An exploratory study of the effect of Twitter on the public relations-journalist relationship. *Public Relations Journal*, *7*(3), 1–20.

Wright, D. (2005). We have rights too: Examining the existence of professional prejudice and discrimination against public relations. *Public Relations Review*, *31*(1), 101–109. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2004.11.015

Zawawi, C. (1994). Source of news: Who feeds the watchdogs? *Australian Journalism Review*, *16*(1), 67–72.

Zawawi, C. (2001). *Feeding the watchdogs: An analysis of relationships between Australian public relations practitioners and journalists* (Incomplete doctoral thesis), Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD.

Zerfass, A., Verčič, D., Verhoeven, P., Moreno, A., & Tench, R. (2015). *European communication monitor 2015. Creating communication value through listening, messaging and measurement. Results of a Survey in 41 Countries*. Brussels, Belgium: European Association of Communication Directors (EACD), European Public Relations Education and Research Association (EUPRERA), and Helios Media.

23

Journalism, Trust, and Credibility

Arjen van Dalen

INTRODUCTION

At the heart of concerns about the functions that journalism fulfills in society are worries about the trustworthiness of the press and credibility of public information. To fulfill a watchdog function vis-à-vis political institutions, the media need legitimacy, which they derive from public trust. To accomplish the information function, the press needs to provide the public with credible information about important societal and political developments. Acknowledging the importance of trust in journalism, researchers, and commentators have expressed concerns about declining levels of trust in the mainstream news media. This decline in trust has been most clearly observed in the United States (Gronke & Cook, 2007; Ladd, 2011) but is also present in other parts of the world (Hanitzsch, van Dalen, & Steindl, 2018). The absence of trusted mainstream media creates a climate where there is no agreement on what trustworthy information is. In such a climate, fake news, conspiracy theories, and misinformation might be perceived as just as credible as information from the mass media (Szostek, 2018).

At the same time, the decline in trust in the press is not a universal phenomenon, and in large parts of the world, the press still receives considerable support from the public (Hanitzsch et al., 2018; Tsfati & Ariely, 2014). While low levels of trust are often attributed to the failure of the press in living up to its democratic functions, trust in the press is not necessarily highest in countries where the media are free and the press autonomous. This underlines the complexity of trust in journalism, which does not lend itself for mono-causal explanations and simple conceptualizations. As argued by Hanitzsch (2013, pp. 207–208), "the troubled nature of the relationship between news media performance and trust in journalism might well have to do with our quite limited knowledge about the nature of trust and what it essentially means to have trust in an institution."

Against this background, this chapter examines the related concepts of trust in the press and credibility of information. The chapter starts with a conceptualization of trust in the press and credibility of information, highlighting the similarities and differences between these two concepts. This is followed by a historical overview of how research in credibility and trust has progressed over time. While research in the 1950s focused on credibility, researchers started to focus more on trust around the 1990s. In the 2010s, low levels of trust in the press in combination with concerns about fake news and misinformation on social media networks put credibility back in focus. Finally, methodological issues and directions for future research are presented. The chapter takes an audience perspective and focuses on trust in the press and credibility of information, rather than the trust relation between journalists and their sources (see Brants, de Vreese, Möller, & van Praag, 2010; Hanitzsch & Berganza, 2012; Mancini, 1993; Tejkalová et al., 2017; van Dalen, Albaek, & de Vreese, 2011).

CONCEPTUALIZING TRUST AND CREDIBILITY

In journalism studies and the communication literature more broadly, the terms trust and credibility are closely connected. Some see the terms as synonyms and use them interchangeably (see Self, 1996, for an overview). Other researchers see trust as an antecedent of credibility; we find information credible if it comes from a trustworthy source (Hovland & Weiss, 1951). Others argue the other way around; we trust a source when its information time after time proofs to be credible (Sobel, 1985). In this chapter, trust and credibility are seen as distinct, though partly overlapping concepts.

The concept of *trust in the press* finds its roots primarily in sociology and psychology. Mayer, Davis, and Schoorman (1995, p. 712) define trust as “the willingness of a trustor to be vulnerable to the actions of a trustee based on the expectation that the trustee will perform a particular action, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party.” Building on this general definition of trust, trust in the press can be seen as “the willingness of the audience to be vulnerable to news content based on the expectation that the media will perform in a satisfactory matter” (Hanitzsch et al., 2018, p. 5).

Trust is *oriented towards the future*. To trust the news media means to expect that we will be able to rely on the information which the media provide, even though we cannot keep an eye on all the decisions and choices made in the news-making process. When the audience trusts the media, it takes a *risk* (Giddens, 1990; Grosser, 2016; Luhman, 1979), since it cannot be fully verified whether journalists in practice do what the audience expects them to do. If the media do not live up to the expectations, the audience risks getting wrong information about important developments, missing out important events or making badly informed decisions.

Trust in the news media can be seen as a form of *institutional trust*, comparable to trust in other public institutions such as the government, parliament or the police. The term trust in the press is used to refer to “generalized trust towards the news media system as a whole” (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2017). This generalized trust towards the news media system underlies our trust in specific media outlets. Consequently, trust in different mainstream media outlets is generally strongly correlated (Kiousis, 2001). This is particularly true for the mainstream media, such as newspapers of record or the main evening news broadcast, where journalists tend to follow similar professional norms (Cook, 2006; Ladd, 2011). Trust in the press not only refers to the expectation that the media will provide reliable information, but also to the expectation that they fulfill a broader societal function in a satisfactory way, such as holding other institutions accountable as a fourth estate and facilitating a well-functioning public sphere. Trust is a relational concept, as the degree of trust in the press is just as much determined by the news media (the trustee) and by the public (the trustor). Like other forms of institutional trust, trust in the press is a rather stable psychological trait.

This chapter understands *credibility* as perceived believability. In the words of Bentele and Seidenglanz (2008, p. 49) credibility is “a feature attributed to individuals, institutions or their communicative products (written or oral texts, audio-visual presentations) by somebody (recipients) regarding something (an event, matters of fact, etc.).” Following this description, the object of credibility is narrower than the object of trust. While trust in the press refers to trust in the media as a whole, credibility refers more narrowly to a message, event, or piece of information. Credibility also has a narrower focus than trust. Credibility only refers to the perceived truthfulness of information, while trust refers to the expectation that the media will satisfactorily fulfill several societal tasks, one of which is providing truthful information. Trust and credibility also have different time frames. While trust is a predictive judgement, referring to the future, credibility is an evaluative judgement of information or messages which one is exposed to (Rieh, 2002). When assessing whether we perceive information as credible, we take three aspects into account: who is the sender of the information (source credibility), through which channel is the information presented (media credibility), and how is the message formulated (message credibility) (Hellmueller & Trilling, 2012).

Interest in source credibility goes all the way back to ancient Greece. In his work *The Rhetoric*, Aristotle introduces ethos, logos, and pathos as three means by which a speaker can persuade the audience. Ethos refers to the credibility and authority of the communicator. In the 1950s, interest in persuasion led to a growth in empirical research into source and message credibility. O'Keefe (2002, p. 181) argues that it is better to talk about perceived credibility than seeing credibility as an intrinsic characteristic of a source or a message. Compared to trust in the press, perceived credibility is a less stable personality trait and perceived credibility may vary widely across different messages and sources. As we will see later in this chapter, the proposed distinction between media trust and credibility is particularly relevant in today's media environment, where the source of information encountered on social media is often unclear and the number of communication channels have multiplied far beyond the limited number of mainstream media which traditionally were the dominant source of information.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Source Credibility

Communication researchers and journalism scholars started to study the related concepts of credibility and trust in the middle of the 20th century (see Self, 1996, for an overview). Interest in the persuasive power of media and communication led to empirical research into the influence of credibility on the effectiveness of persuasion. In a famous experiment, Hovland and Weiss (1951) exposed participants to information by either high-credibility sources (like *Fortune* magazine, or the *New England Journal of Biology and Medicine*) or low-credibility sources (like a movie-gossip columnist). Directly after exposure, people were more likely to be persuaded by the high-credibility sources. Surprisingly, this effect faded over time. When the researchers revisited the participants four weeks later, the participants had accepted the information from the low-credibility sources to the same degree as the information from the high-credibility sources. This is referred to as the "sleeper effect." Over time people forgot the source of the information, while the information itself was remembered.

This research was groundbreaking, since it provided a systematic test of the influence of source characteristics on the effectiveness of persuasion. Although Hovland and colleagues already noted that the perceived credibility of a source may differ from person to person, the emphasis in this type of research was mainly on the impact of characteristics of the sender, the channel, and the message (see also Hovland, Janis, & Kelley, 1953; McCroskey, 1966; Shaw, 1973). This research should be seen in the context of the powerful media effects paradigm, which dominated thinking about the media's role in society at the time. Communication was mainly seen as a stimulus-response process, where the effects of communication are triggered by the message characteristics and sender of the message, with a more passive role for the receiver of the information.

Later empirical research questioned this powerful media effects paradigm, acknowledging that the effects of communication are at least as much determined by the receiver as by the sender. A similar change of perspective can also be observed in credibility research. In 1969, Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz challenged the idea that sources can be classified as credible or less credible based on objective characteristics. They argued that it is better to speak of perceived credibility, acknowledging that credibility is in the eye of the beholder. Based on a factor-analytical approach, they assessed the different dimensions which the audience uses to evaluate source credibility. Following their work, numerous other researchers have applied factor analysis to distinguish underlying dimensions of credibility of information (e.g., Meyer, 1988; Yale, Jensen, Carcioppolo, Sun, & Liu, 2015; Kohring & Matthes, 2007). Beyond the promotion of the factor-analytical approach, the research by Berlo and colleagues was influential, since it triggered more interest in credibility as a relational concept, seeing perceived credibility as the result of the interaction between the message and source characteristics on the one hand and audience characteristics on the other hand (see also Edelstein & Tefft, 1974; Gunther, 1992, Westley & Severin, 1964).

Trust in the Press: American Malaise

In the second half of the 20th century, trust in the press became a new topic of scholarly interest. This line of research originated mainly in the United States and grew from applied research, often sponsored by newspaper organizations (Self, 1996). Trust in the traditional mass media has been a concern since the 1970s and 1980s. Between the end of World War II and the late 1970s, the American press had generally been held in high esteem. Trust in the press trailed not far behind trust in esteemed institutions like the Supreme Court and the military. At the time, more people trusted the press than political institutions such as congress or the president. Based on a comprehensive historical analysis, Ladd (2011) argues that this era of high trust in the mainstream press was an exceptional period in American history. The low degree of media competition at the time fostered the development of a professional and autonomous press with little pressure to attract audiences with partisan and entertaining news. Attacking the mainstream media can be a fruitful strategy for politicians to strengthen their own position. In the mid-20th century, Ladd argues, such attacks were limited due to the low degree of polarization in the party system.

As media competition and party polarization increased around the 1980s, however, trust in the press started to drop (Izard, 1985; Jones, 2004; see Figure 23.1), and in the middle of that decade, press trust fell below trust in other institutions. After the 1990s, levels of trust in the media continued to drop and dropped far below trust in other institutions. This decline was temporarily stopped after 9/11 but continued soon after (Ladd, 2011). The 2016 Presidential election year marked an all-time low in press trust, which was followed by a slight improvement in 2018. The declining trust led to a growth of research into the antecedents of trust in the press.

Commercialized News and Trust in the Press

One of the foci of research on trust in the press following the declining levels of trust in the United States was on the effect of commercialization of the press. As the American press became more commercialized, media coverage became more sensationalistic, focusing more on negativity and covering politics as a game, where political decisions are explained by strategic motives

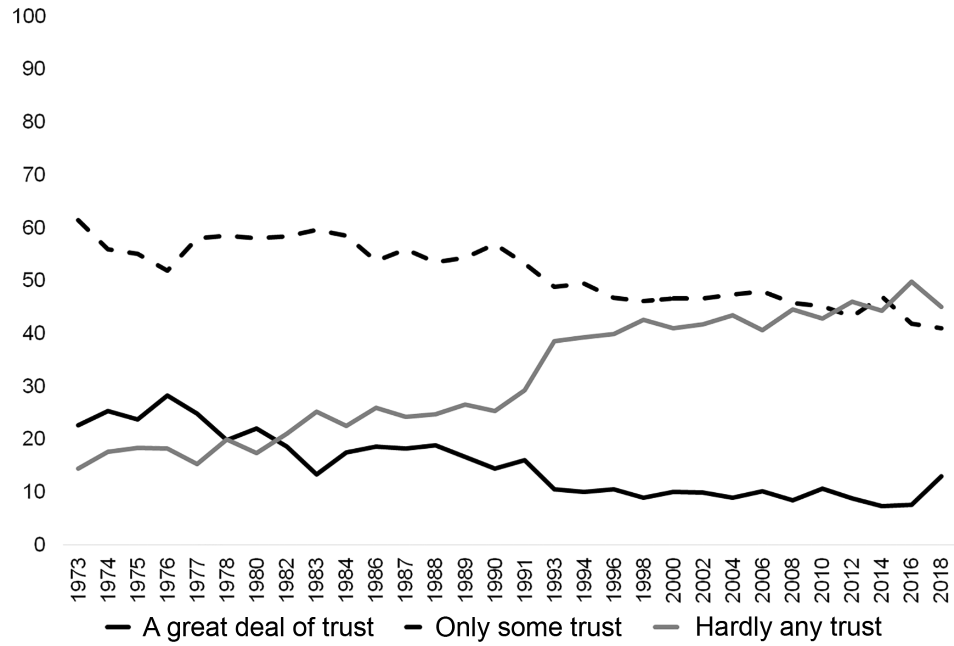

Figure 23.1 Confidence in the Press in the United States (1973–2018)

Source: General Social Surveys (Smith, Davern, Freese, & Morgan, 2019). Question wording: "I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running [the press] are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?"

rather than genuine concerns about the well-being of society. This was seen as one of the reasons why trust in the press declined.

Cappella and Jamieson (1997) argue that, when the media cover politicians as strategic actors, this might impact cynicism about the media, which is closely related to media distrust. When politics is presented as a game, motivated primarily by a quest for electoral gains and increase in power, the audience will see politicians as self-interested and, thus, less trustworthy. This makes the audience cynical about political institutions and, by extension, of the mass media: "Public distrust of political institutions and processes may have attached itself to the bearers of information about those institutions—the news media themselves" (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997, p. 83; see also Bennett, Rhine, Flickinger, & Bennett, 1999). This is referred to as "contagious cynicism." In line with this argument, Hopmann, Shehata, and Strömbäck (2015) have shown that the exposure to game coverage has a negative effect on trust in the press. Ladd (2011) also showed that people became more hostile towards the press when exposed to horse-race or tabloid coverage, where politics is seen as a strategic game. Another explanation for the relation between commercialized media coverage and low levels of trust in the press is dissatisfaction with the type of coverage provided. When people feel that the media do not live up to their obligations of providing neutral reliable information, they may not trust the media to do what is right in the future.

Increased economic pressures on the media might provide a breeding ground for media scandals (Broersma, 2013), such as cases where journalists knowingly fabricate information (for example, Janet Cooke at the *Washington Post* or Jayson Blair at the *New York Times*), or violate other ethical rules (such as the phone-hacking scandal at *News of the World* in Britain). Such scandals could potentially have a profound impact on trust in the press, especially if they are reoccurring and media critics raise their salience.

Psychological Explanations for Trust in the Press

While Cappella and Jamieson focused on the effects of specific characteristics of media coverage on trust in the press, others like Gronke and Cook (2007) focus on the backgrounds of the trustor. According to this perspective, trust in the press is strongly shaped by the predispositions, attitudes, and personal values of the individual. Analyzing General Social Survey data collected between 1973 and 1998, Gronke and Cook (2007) showed that trust in the press is first of all an extension of general confidence in other public institutions, like political parties, the parliament, or the government. A second psychological explanation for trust in public institutions, including the mass media, is political identity. Trust in political institutions is higher for people who support the party in government than for people who oppose this party. An opposite winner/loser gap has been observed in relation to trust in the media, since people who support the party in government are more critical of the press, which operates as a watchdog of government (Gronke & Cook, 2007).

Furthermore, ideological extremism and strong partisanship are associated with lower levels of trust in public institutions, including the mass media (Gronke & Cook, 2007; Lee, 2010). The underlying mechanism might be an overall feeling of anti-elitism, which affects both trust in political institutions and in the media. Another explanation for lower levels of media trust among people with strong partisan identities is the hostile media effect: people with strong partisan identities will perceive neutral coverage as biased against the party which they support (Vallone, Ross, & Lepper, 1985). Perceived partisan bias is indeed an important aspect of media distrust (Gaziano & McGrath, 1986). Attacks on the media by partisan politicians may further feed this distrust of the media among partisan actors. In an experiment, Ladd (2011) showed that highly educated partisans are less approving of the mass media when they read that politicians of their party accuse the media of being biased.

Golan and Day (2010) showed that the importance of identity for the understanding of media trust is not limited to partisan identity. They found that religiosity is associated with lower levels of trust in online news.

Cross-National Comparative Research

The second decade of the 21st century saw a growth in interest in cross-national variations in trust in the press. Expanding the geographical scope beyond the United States, Tsfati and Ariely (2014) explored cross-national variations in trust in 44 countries worldwide. Later, Hanitzsch et al. (2018) analyzed developments of trust in the press in 45 countries worldwide based on World Values Survey data gathered between 1980 and 2015. Apart from the US, press trust showed a significant decline in 23 other countries, including two other Anglo-Saxon countries (Australia and New Zealand) and countries like Estonia, Poland, and Slovenia, where the initial optimism of the first post-communist years seems to have been replaced by disillusionment with institutions in general, including the press. The opposite pattern of the US is seen in several Asian countries, most notably China and Japan, where trust in the press is high and continues to increase. After Asia, Africa is the geographical region with the second highest levels of trust, followed by Europe and Latin-America (see Figure 23.2).

Such comparative research (see also Ariely, 2015; Müller, 2013; Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, & Nielsen, 2017) allows us to study the impact of societal level factors on

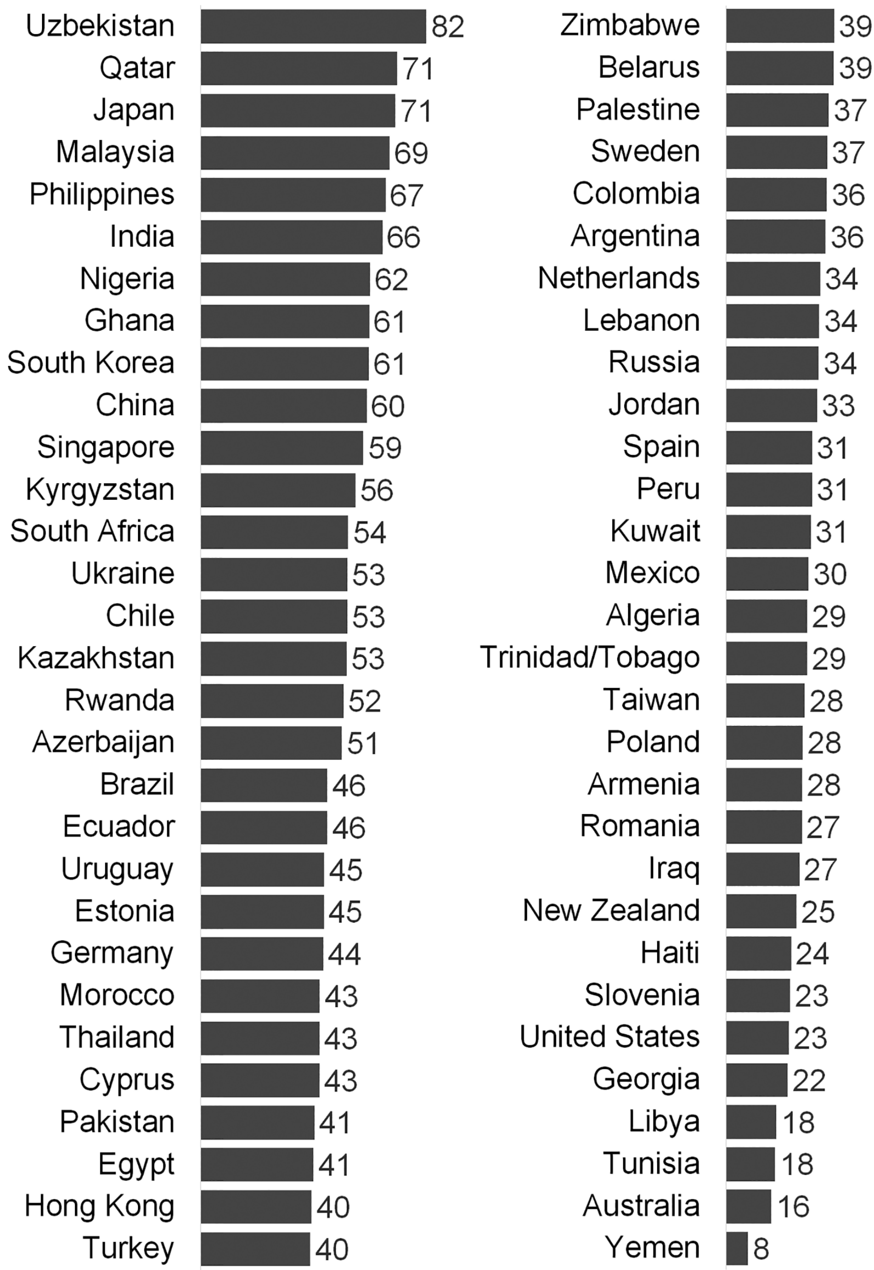

Figure 23.2 Confidence in the Press Around the World

Source: Percent of population having quite a lot or a great deal of trust in the press, 2010–2014, based on Word Values Survey, wave 6. Question wording: “I am going to name a number of organizations (. . .) could you tell me how much confidence you have in [the press]? Answer categories: a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all, do not know, no answer.”

trust in the press. Drawing on insight from comparative sociology, Tsfati and Ariely (2014) and Hanitzsch et al. (2018) assess the impact of institutional and cultural explanations. According to the *institutional theory approach*, trust in public institutions is a consequence of the performance of these institutions, most notably economic performance such as economic growth or low levels of unemployment, and democratic performance such as government stability. Positive performance should translate into higher levels of trust, while unsatisfactory performance decreases trust. Contrary to this expectation, Tsfati and Ariely (2014) and Hanitzsch et al. (2018) found that performance-based explanations, such as democratic freedoms and freedom of the press or economic development, have limited effect on cross-national differences in trust in the press.

According to the *cultural theory approach*, trust in public institutions does not necessarily reflect the performance of these institutions, but rather broad cultural values in society, such as levels of social trust. Following this theoretical perspective, institutional trust is high when people generally trust each other, while low interpersonal trust is connected to lower levels of trust in political institutions. Trust in the media is indeed strongly related to trust in other public institutions, and cross-national differences and longitudinal trends strongly mimic country-level political trust and cultural values (Ariely, 2015; Tsfati & Ariely, 2014; Hanitzsch et al., 2018). Cultural shifts in advanced industrial societies have led to an increasing importance of post-materialist values, such as autonomy, self-expression, and freedom of speech (Inglehart, 1990). This is accompanied by a greater distance from authority and higher expectations, especially among younger generations and better educated parts of the population, who in turn have less confidence in public institutions (Dalton, 2005). In line with this argument, Hanitzsch et al. (2018) showed that the younger generations and people with higher education are less trusting of the press. Tsfati and Ariely (2014) have shown that trust in the mass media is generally lower in countries where post-materialist values are embraced.

CONSEQUENCES OF LOW TRUST IN THE PRESS

News is a so-called experience good, since the value of a communication product cannot be assessed a priori, but only by reading or watching it. Therefore, the expectations that the audience has towards the product are likely to influence whether it will be bought or watched. Thus, from an economic perspective, trustworthiness is an important asset of the media (Vanacker & Belmas, 2009). In line with this, Tsfati and Peri (2006) have shown that people who are less trusting of the mainstream media are more likely to turn to alternative sources. While this suggests that trustworthiness is one antecedent of media use, it is not a necessary condition (Tsfati & Cappella, 2005). This can be seen from the large audience numbers for less trusted news sources like tabloid newspapers or social media.

Independent of how trust in the press affects media use, trust in the mainstream press is a necessary condition for the legitimacy of the press. Legitimacy can be defined as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions” (Suchman, 1995, p. 574). The authority, functions, and procedures of the media are not laid down in formal regulation to the same degree as for other institutions, like parliaments or the government. This makes public trust even more important for the press than for other public institutions (Gronke & Cook, 2007). If the press is not trusted, it is easier for politicians to ignore criticism from journalists or obstruct efforts by the media to hold them accountable.

Trust and Ontological Security

Low levels of trust in the press do not only undermine the watchdog function of the media but may also negatively affect the surveillance function of the media (Lasswell, 1948). Given the enormous amount of information which is available nowadays, trusted mass media fulfill an important function filtering the relevant information, thereby pointing out important developments of which citizens need to be aware. Trust has been described as "an institutional economizer" (Rosanvallon, 2008, p. 4; see also Coleman, 2012). Trustworthy media take away the need to continuously monitor, verify and absorb all information that is available. When the media are trusted to give relevant information, it reduces the effort which needs to be made to stay informed. Without trustworthy media, keeping track of and interpreting relevant developments would become a daunting task for the individual. This is equally important on the societal level, as trustworthy media provide what Coleman (2012, p. 36) describes with a term by Anthony Giddens as "ontological security": "belief in a shareable reality," which forms the basis for a collective sense of community and citizenship.

Research in the United States has indeed shown that distrust of the mainstream media is related to the replacement of a shared reality by increased polarization (Ladd, 2011; see also Kreiss, 2017). Not only do people who distrust the mainstream media consume more partisan news, they are also less likely to learn from the news about current developments. People who distrust the media have less correct perceptions of important national developments, like economic trends or military conflicts. Both Democrats and Republicans with high trust in the press generally correctly perceived these developments. However, there were large differences in perception depending on political leaning among people with low trust. This suggests that people who distrust the media rely on partisan reasoning rather than mainstream media coverage. This in turn makes it less likely that they hold the president accountable for real economic developments in presidential elections.

When the mainstream media are not trusted to provide reliable information, this can lead to a situation where nothing is automatically accepted as true, and every piece of information is treated with the same degree of skepticism, independent of whether it comes from traditionally authoritative sources or whether it is based on rumors. Szostek (2018) has documented that in Ukraine, where news consumers are confronted with highly conflicting narratives from Russian and Western sources, news users do not rely on authoritative mainstream media to distinguish true information from false information. Instead, people assess every individual piece of information for its credibility using rules of thumb, such as the consistency across sources, perception of persuasive intent, or reference to personal experience or memory. This illustrates that when the function of trust in the press as "institutional economizer" is lost, a heavy mental burden is placed on the audience, who relies on other criteria to assess the credibility of information, which are not necessarily the best source of guidance.

Social Media, Credibility Heuristics, and Fake News

To some degree, the Ukrainian situation of low trust in the press combined with conflicting narratives resembles the social media environment. Trust in social media is notably lower than trust in more traditional sources like the printed press or even the internet (EBU, 2016). The growing importance of social media networks as sources of (political) information have led to concerns about the spread of misinformation, fragmentation of the audience, and polarization of perceptions of reality. The question of how the credibility of information is assessed in such an environment is particularly pressing in relation to the spread of fake news, which can be defined as "entirely fabricated and often highly partisan content that is presented as factual news" (Pennycook, Cannon, & Rand, 2017).

The Elaboration Likelihood Model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) provides a general framework that helps to understand how credibility judgements are made (Hilligoss & Rieh, 2008). According to the model, people assess new information according to two routes. When they process information through the central route, people rationally weight different arguments and assess the strength of different opinions. This central route of information processing requires a high degree of mental effort. In practice, people try to minimize mental effort and use the peripheral route of information processing when they encounter information they do not feel strongly about: instead of weighting all the evidence, they assess the quality of information by relying on cues such as the reputation of the source or characteristics of the message. Such cues trigger heuristics, which can be defined as "practical rules or guidelines that aid in problem solving, decision making, and discovery, . . . and as such tend to reduce mental effort" (Hilligoss & Rieh, 2008, p. 1470).

The source of information is one important heuristic which the audience uses to assess the credibility of information when information is processed through the peripheral route. When trust in the mainstream press is low, people will turn to other heuristics to assess whether information can be trusted. Metzger, Flanagin, and Medders (2010) distinguish between four main heuristics used by the audience to assess the credibility of information online apart from the credibility of a source: endorsements by known or unknown others, consistency of information across sources, violation of expectations about the form or content of a site, and a perception that a commercial or ulterior motive motivates the message (see also Metzger & Flanagin, 2013).

Pennycook et al. (2017) argue that people use the peripheral route when they encounter information on social media. Correspondence with one's political identity and worldview is an important heuristic used by the audience to assess whether information is credible. Another powerful heuristic is the familiarity heuristic: information is perceived as more credible when people have heard or seen it before. Pennycook et al. (2017) argue that this is one of the main reasons why fake news is problematic: people rate fake news headlines as more credible when they read them for the second time, even when they were previously told that the information is false. These results resemble the sleeper effect which Hovland and Weiss found almost 70 years earlier.

As the work by Pennycook and colleagues illustrates, the way people assess the credibility of information is again high on the research agenda, as a consequence of the decline in trust in the mainstream press combined with the increasing amounts of people who gain their information from low trusted online and social media sources (see also Berinsky, 2017; Li & Sakamoto, 2014; Tandoc, 2018).

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Given the complex nature of trust in the press and credibility of information, it is not surprising that the question of how to best measure these concepts has been the subject of considerable debate (e.g., Hellmueller & Trilling, 2012; Kohring & Matthes, 2007; Yale et al., 2015; Engelke, Hase, & Wintterlin, 2019). While there are validated and broadly used scales for social trust, there is no such scale for trust in the press (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2017). Comparative and longitudinal analyses often rely on single-item measures of trust in the press (Gronke & Cook, 2007; Hanitzsch et al., 2018). An example of this is the World Values Survey question, which simply asks respondents whether they have a great deal, quite a lot, not very much or not very much at all trust in the press. The wording of this question leaves it to the respondents to interpret what is meant by "trust" and by "the press." Another downside of such a single-item question is that no metric equivalence can be established: it is not possible to assess whether differences across countries or time might be due to different interpretations of the question.

On the other hand, researchers have developed and validated multi-item scales to measure several dimensions of trust in the press or credibility. Kohring and Matthes (2007) used factor analysis to validate a theory-driven media trust scale, which distinguishes between trust in the selectivity of topics, selectivity of facts, accuracy of depictions, and journalistic assessments. Similarly, Abdulla, Garrison, Salwen, Driscoll, and Casey (2005) evaluate newspaper credibility with a three-dimensional scale assessing perceptions of balance, honesty, and currency.

While acknowledging the usefulness of theoretically built and validated scales, Yale et al. (2015) warn that the search for multiple trust or credibility dimensions might also be partly misleading. In practice, subdimension of the trust scales are often strongly correlated, which indicates that trust is an underlying, latent factor, which influences the assessments of the different subdimensions. From this they conclude that it might theoretically make sense to distinguish between different subdimensions, but in practice, assessments of credibility and trust are made more heuristically. Therefore, they warn against using the different subdimensions as distinct variables when studying trust (see also Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019).

Another point of debate is the question of how to operationalize the object of trust. Researchers have asked about trust in "the press" and "the media" but also about trust in specific news outlets. While acknowledging that people have an abstract conception of "the press," Gronke and Cook (2007, p. 273) have also argued that trust in the mass media is significantly lower than trust in the media one uses. Daniller, Allen, Tallevi, and Mutz (2017) confirmed this in an experimental study and argue that this is due to accessibility bias: when assessing the media in general, people will place more weight on negative assessments than on positive experiences. Thus, researchers have to think carefully about what the object of trust should be depending on the purpose of the research.

By either leaving it up to the respondents to interpret what is meant with trust and credibility, or by asking about quality dimensions such as accuracy or lack of bias, most scales of trust do not directly measure people's willingness to take risk when relying on information, which is central in the definition of trust in the press. A fruitful avenue for future development of scales measuring trust in the media might make the element of risk or assessments of information under conditions of uncertainty more central when measuring trust. An interesting question in this respect comes from the 1984 British Election Study where respondents were asked, "Suppose you saw or heard conflicting or different reports of the same story on radio, television and in the [paper respondent reads]. Which of the three versions do you think you would be most likely to believe?" (see Newton & Saris, 2003). This is an interesting way of asking about trust in the press, since it simulates an uncertain situation in which people are confronted with conflicting reports and thus risk relying on the wrong information.

In addition, qualitative research into media trust and credibility can give interesting insight into how people assess trust in the media in general as well as the credibility of specific information (Coleman, Morrison, & Anthony, 2012; Metzger et al., 2010). Instead of asking directly about press trust, Coleman et al. (2012) asked respondents about their conception of and expectations towards news in general. In this way, they were able to show that trust is more complex than merely a reflection of people's perceptions of accuracy of journalistic information. Using this constructivist approach, they showed that distrust in the media was often associated with concerns about representations of reality and a feeling of being treated by the media as outsiders. Such qualitative research offers a fruitful way to get a more complete assessment of the meaning of trust in the press. Similar approaches could also give more insight into which media people think about when they think about “the press” and which criteria they use to distinguish such outlets from non-mainstream outlets.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH: TRUST AND CREDIBILITY IN THE AGE OF POST-TRUTH POLITICS

Three broad societal trends are profoundly challenging the political media system and raise new questions for the study of trust and credibility of news. First, the rise of authoritarian populism (Norris, 2017) has led to a growing sense of anti-elitism, which translates into a growing dissatisfaction among the population with societal institutions, including the mass media. Second, the fragmentation and polarization of media audiences limit the reach of the mainstream media, while enlarging the reach of alternative outlets (Bennett & Iyengar, 2008; van Aelst et al., 2017). Third, the boundaries around the journalistic profession are fading, challenging the authoritative position which professional journalists once had as main providers of authoritative accounts of the day’s most important events (Lewis, 2012). Together these trends lead to a situation which has been described as post-trust politics (Suiter, 2016), “relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief.”[1] While these trends are more or less profound in different political media systems, they present the media around the world with a complicated challenge. On the one hand, facing growing competition from other sources, trust is more important than ever for the mainstream media to retain their legitimacy as an important public institution. On the other hand, cultural changes and the changing media environment make it more difficult for the mainstream media to claim an authoritative position and distinguish them from other sources of information. This leads to four broad directions of future research.

First, since credibility assessments are often not a rational process, more research should study how people can be better prepared to distinguish misinformation from trustworthy information. More research should look into the effects of the initiatives social media platforms are taking, like collaborations with fact-checking organizations, advice for readers on how to spot fake news or the use of algorithms. Here, not only the effect on skepticism towards fake news, but also the potential increase of skepticism towards news from mainstream sources should be investigated.

A second area of investigation is the way in which the mainstream media are changing their practice in an attempt to restore trust in their work and distinguish themselves from other outlets. Several news organizations have become more transparent about the sources which they use, or in acknowledging mistakes which they have made (Karlsson, Clerwall, & Nord, 2014; Mor & Reich, 2018). This fits with the broader changes in journalism which in many societies is becoming more responsive and accountable (Brants, 2013; de Haan & Bardoel, 2011). More research is needed into the effects of such efforts on the credibility of the information provided by the mainstream media, as well as trust in the way they function as an institution. First findings indicate that the effect of these measures on trustworthiness is limited at best. Karlsson et al. (2014), for example, showed that transparency about corrections did not increase the public’s trust. Referring to economic theory, de Haan and Bardoel (2011) even argue that greater media accountability can function as a substitute for trust in the press. On the one hand, more openness makes mistakes and shortcomings from the press more visible. On the other hand, an essential element of what it means to have trust is being willing to rely on the actions of a trustee without being able to monitor them. When the media open up and become more transparent, people have the chance to monitor them, thus replacing trust.

Third, if accountability and transparency do little to increase trust, research should look further into the changing expectations of the audience towards the mainstream media and a potential mismatch between the roles that journalists and the public expect the media to fulfill (Coleman et al., 2012; Johnson, 1993). Cultural changes like the rise of anti-elitism and the growing importance of post-materialist values might affect the expectations of the audience towards the news media, be it in completely different ways. If mainstream media are to restore trust in the way they fulfill their societal role, they need to take serious public concerns such as feeling treated as outsiders, "bad news fatigue" or feelings that journalists lack empathy towards the people who they cover. Such concerns might be the results of diverging expectations toward the news. This would be particularly interesting to study from a cross-national comparative perspective, analyzing how the expectations of journalists and the public in different media systems may vary and whether this relates to different levels of trust in the press (Waisbord, 2006).

Fourth, more research is needed into the relation between trust in the media and how much people learn from the news. Ladd (2011) has shown that, in an American context, people who distrust the media have less correct perceptions of national developments. It is important to replicate this study in other media contexts, especially in countries where the media are less independent from political powers. Likewise, it would be important to know whether people who are more trusting in the media in general are also less skeptical towards information they may encounter on social media. More insight into how trust in the press affects how people learn from the news would be a first step towards disentangling under which circumstances trust in the press is either normatively desirable and an indication of a healthy media system or, rather, an expression of misplaced trust.

NOTE

1. Definition of "post-truth" from the Oxford English Dictionary. In 2016, Oxford Dictionaries chose "post-truth" as Word of the Year.

REFERENCES

Abdulla, R. A., Garrison, B., Salwen, M. B., Driscoll, P. D., & Casey, D. (2005). Online news credibility. In M. B. Salwen, B. Garrison, & P. D. Driscol (Eds.), *Online news and the public* (pp. 147–163). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erbaum Associates.

Ariely, G. (2015). Trusting the press and political trust: A conditional relationship. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, *25*(3), 351–367.

Bennett, S. E., Rhine, S. L., Flickinger, R. S., & Bennett, L. L. M. (1999). 'Video malaise' revisited: Public trust in the media and government. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *4*(4), 8–23.

Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication. *Journal of Communication*, *58*(4), 707–731.

Bentele, G., & Seidenglanz, R. (2008). Trust and credibility—prerequisites for communication management. In A. Zerfass, B. Van Ruler, & K. Sriramesh (Eds.), *Public relations research: European and international perspectives and innovations* (pp. 49–61). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag fur Sozialwissenschaften.

Berinsky, A. J. (2017). Rumors and health care reform: Experiments in political misinformation. *British Journal of Political Science*, *47*(2), 241–262.

Berlo, D. K., Lemert, J. B., & Mertz, R. J. (1969). Dimensions for evaluating the acceptability of message sources. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *33*(4), 563–576.

Brants, K. (2013). Trust, cynicism and responsiveness. In C. Peters & M. J. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news Landscape* (pp. 15–27). Oxon: Routledge.

Brants, K., De Vreese, C., Möller, J., & Van Praag, P. (2010). The real spiral of cynicism? Symbiosis and mistrust between politicians and journalists. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *15*(1), 25–40.

Broersma, M. (2013). A refractured paradigm. In C. Peters & M. J. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news Landscape* (pp. 28–44). Oxon: Routledge.

Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). *Spiral of cynicism: The press and the public good*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, S. (2012). Believing the news: From sinking trust to atrophied efficacy. *European Journal of Communication*, *27*(1), 35–45.

Coleman, S., Morrison, D. E., & Anthony, S. (2012). A constructivist study of trust in the news. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(1), 37–53.

Cook, T. E. (2006). The news media as a political institution: Looking backward and looking forward. *Political Communication*, *23*(2), 159–171.

Dalton, R. J. (2005). The social transformation of trust in government. *International Review of Sociology*, *15*(1), 133–154.

Daniller, A., Allen, D., Tallevi, A., & Mutz, D. C. (2017). Measuring trust in the press in a changing media environment. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *11*(1), 76–85.

de Haan, Y., & Bardoel, J. (2011). From trust to accountability: Negotiating media performance in the Netherlands, 1987–2007. *European Journal of Communication*, *26*(3), 230–246.

EBU. (2016). *Trust in media 2016*. Retrieved from www.ebu.ch/files/live/sites/ebu/files/embed/MIS-infographic/trust-in-media/index.html

Edelstein, A. S., & Tefft, D. P. (1974). Media credibility and respondent credulity with respect to Watergate. *Communication Research*, *1*(4), 426–439.

Engelke, K. M., Hase, V., & Wintterlin, F. (2019). On measuring trust and distrust in journalism: Reflection of the status quo and suggestions for the road ahead. *Journal of Trust Research*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/21515581.2019.1588741

Gaziano, C., & McGrath, K. (1986). Measuring the concept of credibility. *Journalism Quarterly*, *63*(3), 451–462.

Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Golan, G. J., & Day, A. G. (2010). In God we trust: Religiosity as a predictor of perceptions of media trust, factuality, and privacy invasion. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *54*(2), 120–136.

Gronke, P., & Cook, T. E. (2007). Disdaining the media: The American public's changing attitudes toward the news. *Political Communication*, *24*, 259–281.

Grosser, K. M. (2016). Trust in online journalism: A conceptual model of risk-based trust in the online context. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(8), 1036–1057.

Gunther, A. C. (1992). Biased press or biased public? Attitudes toward media coverage of social groups. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *56*(2), 147–167.

Hanitzsch, T. (2013). Journalism, participative media and trust in a comparative context. In C. Peters & M. J. Broersma (Eds.), *Rethinking journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news Landscape* (pp. 200–209). Oxon: Routledge.

Hanitzsch, T., & Berganza, R. (2012). Explaining journalists' trust in public institutions across 20 countries: Media freedom, corruption, and ownership matter most. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(5), 794–814.

Hanitzsch, T., van Dalen, A., & Steindl, N. (2018). Caught in the nexus: A comparative and longitudinal analysis of public trust in the press. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(1), 3–23.

Hellmueller, L., & Trilling, D. (2012). *The credibility of credibility measures: A meta-analysis in leading communication journals, 1951 to 2011*. Paper presented at the WAPOR 65th annual conference in Hong Kong, June.

Hilligoss, B., & Rieh, S. Y. (2008). Developing a unifying framework of credibility assessment: Construct, heuristics, and interaction in context. *Information Processing & Management*, *44*(4), 1467–1484.

Hopmann, D. N., Shehata, A., & Strömbäck, J. (2015). Contagious media effects: How media use and exposure to game-framed news influence media trust. *Mass Communication and Society*, *18*(6), 776–798.

Hovland, C. I., Janis, I. L., & Kelley, H. H. (1953). *Communication and persuasion*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Hovland, C. I., & Weiss, W. (1951). The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *15*(4), 635–650.
Inglehart, R. (1990). *Culture shift in advanced industrial society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Izard, R. S. (1985). Public confidence in the news media. *Journalism Quarterly*, *62*(2), 247–255.
Johnson, T. J. (1993). Exploring media credibility: How media and nonmedia workers judged media performance in Iran/Contra. *Journalism Quarterly*, *70*(1), 87–97.
Jones, D. A. (2004). Why Americans don't trust the media: A preliminary analysis. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *9*(2), 60–75.
Karlsson, M., Clerwall, C., & Nord, L. (2014). You ain't seen nothing yet: Transparency's (lack of) effect on source and message credibility. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(5), 668–678.
Kiousis, S. (2001). Public trust or mistrust? Perceptions of media credibility in the information age. *Mass Communication & Society*, *4*(4), 381–403.
Kohring, M., & Matthes, J. (2007). Trust in news media: Development and validation of a multidimensional scale. *Communication Research*, *34*(2), 231–252.
Kreiss, D. (2017). The fragmenting of the civil sphere: How partisan identity shapes the moral evaluation of candidates and epistemology. *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, *5*(3), 443–459.
Ladd, J. M. (2011). *Why Americans hate the media and how it matters*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Lasswell, H. D. (1948). The structure and function of communication in society. In L. Bryson (Ed.), *The communication of ideas 37* (pp. 215–228). New York, NY: Harper and Brothers.
Lee, T-T. (2010). Why they don't trust the media: An examination of factors predicting trust. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *54*(1), 8–21.
Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(6), 836–866.
Li, H., & Sakamoto, Y. (2014). Social impacts in social media: An examination of perceived truthfulness and sharing of information. *Computers in Human Behavior*, *41*, 278–287.
Luhman, N. (1979). *Trust and power: Two works by Niklas Luhmann*. Chichester, UK: Wiley.
Mancini, P. (1993). Between trust and suspicion: How political journalists solve the dilemma. *European Journal of Communication*, *8*(1), 33–51.
Mayer, R. C., Davis, J. H., & Schoorman, F. D. (1995). An integrative model of organizational trust. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(3), 709–734.
McCroskey, J. C. (1966). Scales for the measurement of ethos. *Speech Monographs*, *33*, 65–72.
Metzger, M. J., & Flanagin, A. J. (2013). Credibility and trust of information in online environments: The use of cognitive heuristics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *59*, 210–220.
Metzger, M. J., Flanagin, A. J., & Medders, R. B. (2010). Social and heuristic approaches to credibility evaluation online. *Journal of Communication*, *60*(3), 413–439.
Meyer, P. (1988). Defining and measuring credibility of newspapers: Developing an index. *Journalism Quarterly*, *65*, 567–574.
Mor, N., & Reich, Z. (2018). From "trust me" to "show me" journalism: Can DocumentCloud help to restore the deteriorating credibility of news? *Journalism Practice*, *12*(9), 1091–1108.
Müller, J. (2013). *Mechanisms of trust: News media in democratic and authoritarian regimes*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.
Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., Levy, D. A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2017). *Reuters institute digital news report 2017*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
Newton, K., & Saris, W. (2003). *Media and communications questions*. Retrieved from www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/methodology/core_ess_questionnaire/ESS_core_questionnaire_media_and_communications.pdf
Norris, P. (2017). Is Western democracy backsliding? Diagnosing the risks. *Journal of Democracy* (Web exchange). Retrieved from https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/Journal-of-Democracy-Web-Exchange-Norris_0.pdf
O'Keefe, D. J. (2002). *Persuasion: Theory and research* (Vol. 2). London: Sage Publications.
Pennycook, G., Cannon, T. D., & Rand, D. G. (2017). *Prior exposure increases perceived accuracy of fake news*. SSRN (2017). Retrieved from http://ssrn.com/abstract=2958246

Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (1986). The elaboration likelihood model of persuasion. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.). *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 19, pp. 123–205). New York, NJ: Academic Press.

Prochazka, F., & Schweiger, M. (2019). How to measure generalized trust in news media? An adaptation and test of scales. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *13*(1), 26–42.

Rieh, S. Y. (2002). Judgment of information quality and cognitive authority in the Web. *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology*, *53*(2), 145–161.

Rosanvallon, P. (2008). *Counter-democracy: Politics in an age of distrust*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Self, C. C. (1996). Credibility. In D. W. Stacks & M. B. Salwen (Eds.), *An integrated approach to communication theory and research* (pp. 421–441). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Shaw, E. (1973). Media credibility: Taking the measure of a measure. *Journalism Quarterly*, *50*, 306–311.

Smith, T. W., Davern, M., Freese, J., & Morgan, S. L. (2019). General Social Surveys, 1972–2018 [machine-readable data file]. Principal Investigator, Smith, T. W.; Co-Principal Investigators, M. Davern, J. Freese and S.L. Morgan; Sponsored by National Science Foundation. —NORC ed.— Chicago, IL. Retrieved from gssdataexplorer.norc.org

Sobel, J. (1985). A theory of credibility. *The Review of Economic Studies*, *52*(4), 557–573.

Suchman, M. C. (1995). Managing legitimacy: Strategic and institutional approaches. *Academy of Management Review*, *20*(3), 571–610.

Suiter, J. (2016). Post-truth politics. *Political Insight*, *7*(3), 25–27.

Szostek, J. (2018). Nothing is true? The credibility of news and conflicting narratives during "information war" in Ukraine. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *23*(1), 116–135.

Tejkalová, N. A., de Beer, A. S., Berganza, R., Kalyango, Y. Jr., Amado, A., Ozolina, L., . . . Masduki, S. V. (2017). In media we trust: Journalists and institutional trust perceptions in post-authoritarian and post-totalitarian countries. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(5), 629–644.

Tandoc, E. C. Jr. (2018). Tell me who your sources are: Perceptions of news credibility on social media. *Journalism Practice*, 1–13.

Tsfati, Y., & Ariely, G. (2014). Individual and contextual correlates of trust in media across 44 countries. *Communication Research*, *41*(6), 760–782.

Tsfati, Y., & Cappella, J. N. (2005). Why do people watch news they do not trust? The need for cognition as a moderator in the association between news media skepticism and exposure. *Media Psychology*, *7*(3), 251–271.

Tsfati, Y., & Peri, Y. (2006). Mainstream media skepticism and exposure to sectorial and extranational news media: The case of Israel. *Mass Communication & Society*, *9*(2), 165–187.

Vallone, R. P., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1985). The hostile media phenomenon: Biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the Beirut massacre. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *49*(3), 577–585.

Vanacker, B., & Belmas, G. (2009). Trust and the economics of news. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *24*(2–3), 110–126.

Van Aelst, P., Strömbäck, J., Aalberg, T., Esser, F., De Vreese, C., Matthes, J., . . . Stanyer, J. (2017). Political communication in a high-choice media environment: A challenge for democracy? *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *41*(1), 3–27.

Van Dalen, A., Albaek, E., & de Vreese, C. (2011). Suspicious minds: Explaining political cynicism among political journalists in Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, *26*(2), 147–162.

Waisbord, S. (2006). In journalism we trust? Credibility and fragmented journalism in Latin America. In K. Voltmer (Ed.), *Mass media and political communication in new democracies* (pp. 76–91). Oxon: Routledge.

Westley, B. H., & Severin, W. J. (1964). Some correlates of media credibility. *Journalism Quarterly*, *41*, 325–335.

Yale, R. N., Jensen, J. D., Carcioppolo, N., Sun, Y., & Liu, M. (2015). Examining first-and second-order factor structures for news credibility. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *9*(3), 152–169.

24
Journalism in War and Conflict

Howard Tumber

The reporting of war and peace is of fascination to communication, media, and journalism scholars due to the dramatic nature of war and conflict, its importance to states and its publics, and the time and money devoted to it by media and news organizations. The examination of journalism and conflict has spawned many important theoretical and conceptual debates within the academy that have implications for other aspects of communications analysis. This chapter will examine the debates and review some of the literature on war and peace including: definitions of war and terrorism, conflict resolution, information management, definitions and role of journalists sources, the role of technology, witnessing, and the safety of journalists.

There is an excitement and glamour associated with the work of the frontline correspondents. Wars can make great stories. For many journalists, there is an element of addictiveness to the lifestyle, one that can bring intensification of emotion. Journalists in the field, through their reports and photographs and also in reminiscences told through autobiographical books and films, construct the images and narratives of war in various regions of the world for the public. As scholars have noted their stories sound exciting, amusing, and romantic, offering insights into their occupational world where they have reported on important events and interviewed the great and the good (Morrison & Tumber, 1988; Pedelty, 1995; and more recently Palmer, 2018). War reporters enjoy more autonomy than most subfields of journalism (Markham, 2012) allowing them relatively more freedom than others and providing rich sources of material for sociologists and anthropologists to mine.

In modern times, from the Napoleonic wars in the mid-18th century onwards, reporting from the frontline of conflict became less of a rarity. The mid-19th century saw a larger transformation of conflict reporting with the start of cooperative newsgathering, field reporters, and new technologies especially the telegraph and the railway. Previously to this, soldiers' letters home and military dispatches from commanders in the field were the only information from the front. The most famous reporter of the time was the Irishman William Howard Russell, regarded as the first of the modern war correspondents and known for his dispatches from the Crimean War for the London *Times* for nearly two years, enabling the public, for the first time, to read about the reality of warfare. Russell was seen by some as a traitor for denigrating Britain's competence in its conduct of the war, and he was accused of providing secrets to the enemy. Antagonism from the military to Russell's reports led to some British commanders and officers refusing to speak to him (Knightley, 1975). Ulrich Keller (2001, p. 251) claims that the Crimean War was the "first media war in history" being the "first historical instance when modern institutions such as picture journalism, lithographic presses and metropolitan show business combined to create war in their own image."

During World War II, journalists wrote stories about soldiers' experiences in battle and about the more mundane tasks soldiers undertook during their time at the front. The prominence of radio as a medium was another feature of the war, keeping the public informed about events through reports from correspondents stationed in the battle zones. Governments used radio for public information announcements on the home front. As the war progressed, many journalists became famous and highly esteemed with the public through their dispatches. Many journalists who reported from the front during World War II returned to "action" for the Korean War.

CATEGORIZING WAR AND CONFLICT

It was following World War II and the emergence of a number of smaller conflicts that scholars began to question the conventional categorization of conflict (Gray, 1997, p. 156). The concept of "total war," more adequate for the characterization of World Wars I and II since they involved the mobilization of entire national populations, both civilians and military, seemed inappropriate for describing later conflicts such as those in the Falklands, Bosnia and Kosovo, Rwanda and Somalia, and the two Gulf Wars. Whilst civilian populations are not mobilized in the same way as they were during the two world wars, the development of communications technologies has led the public to become witnesses to war.

One distinction that is made is between the terms "our wars" and "other people's wars." The media coverage of "our wars" involving "our troops" fighting alongside "our allies" against the enemy and "other people's wars" where conflicts that do not involve our armies or are not involved as allies of one side of the conflict is different in relation to the degree of engagement (Taylor, 1997, p. 130). In the first case, the media coverage supports "our" side and the audiences' emotional involvement is much greater. In the second scenario, the coverage and the media involvement is more detached. In many instances, the dividing line between "their conflict" and "our one" can be blurred.

One reason for the increasing attempts to place any military action within the political discourse of one's nation is the increasing realization that political preparation and political justification at home play an important role in winning over public opinion. The important decisions that define the outcome of any war action are not only taken at the field of battle but increasingly in the political arena (Gray, 1997, pp. 169–170). The reporting of "other people's wars" may be less engaged until the dominant political discourse is transformed and "their war" becomes "our war."

Following September 11, a further characteristic evident of modern-day war, identified by some scholars is the increasing blurring between terrorism and war. Despite the "smart" weapons and the "distant" targets, terrorism brings war back home. As a dominant form of international conflict, terrorism rejects civilian immunity and agreed warfare conventions, thus accelerating emotional responses (Carruthers, 2000, pp. 163–164). The September 11 attack, due to its aim and proximity for the Western World, put the traditional conceptions of warfare under question. In the 21st century, political violence has become the primary means to communicate political messages, and terrorist attacks have taken a leading position in world news since the beginning of the new millennium. By the end of the 1960s, the concept of "international terrorism" became a common currency. During this period, the method of looking at international terrorism was through trying to connect the phenomenon with the Soviet Union and the left in general, leading to the simplification of the terrorist objectives. In the early 1980s, the US government adopted this view as the main orthodoxy, while at the same time, violent repressive and authoritarian regimes that were deemed friendly to the US and Western interests were not associated with terrorism.

Terrorism is now a major issue in the post-Cold War era for a number of reasons. First, the collapse of the Soviet Union has fostered anti-American political violence whereas previously it was able to restrain countries that belonged to the Eastern bloc or were affiliated to it, thus keeping terrorism beneath a certain threshold. Second, the end of the old world order unleashed a number of religious and nationalist forces emerging from the new states that were formed following the breakdown of the Soviet Union. In particular, the religious groups engaged in political violence are prepared to engage in terrorist attacks not bound to the moral imperatives of previous groups like the Italian Red Brigades or the German Red Army Faction (Nacos, 2002, pp. 21–26).

New communication technologies delivered to larger audiences provide new avenues of publicity for terrorist groups and new attempts to define these. Terrorist groups such as ISIS develop their own global media outlets providing instant worldwide distribution, delivering their messages via social media, and raising their profile in the process. They bypass the traditional media and then monitor reaction and comments that follow. Newspapers and broadcasters become largely irrelevant as the terrorists no longer require traditional outlets to broadcast and publish their badly produced DVDs and fuzzy stills as they would have ten years ago (INSI, 2015). News organizations are increasingly concerned that data from posts and tweets can be traced. They have responded to the vulnerability of their staff broadcasting live from dangerous locations by ensuring they cannot be tracked by geo-location tools built into social media platform. It is through the development of new technologies that some recent work has centered on the concept of information war, a new kind of conflict in which the protagonists "place a premium on the media to justify their involvement, as well as try to ensure that public opinion is committed to their side" (Tumber & Webster, 2006 p. 5; see also Blach-Ørsten & Lund, 2012; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Esser, 2009; Kristensen & Ørsten, 2007).

TECHNOLOGY IN REPORTING WAR AND CONFLICT

Over the 20th and 21st centuries, new technologies have transformed the sending of news from war zone to editors "back home." Up until the digital age, sociologists largely ignored the role of new technology in news production (Cottle & Ashton, 1999).

The technology available developed quickly from what can be considered the first professional war coverage in the 1853 Crimean War to the present day (Knightley, 1975). Back in the middle of the 19th century, electricity and telegraphy networks were still under development in many regions. News from the frontline was mainly sent by mail. Similarly, the use of photography in newspapers only appeared as an innovation in the 1880s. Only with the expansion of telegraphic networks—which the press was first able to use during the 1860s American Civil War—journalists' narratives became livelier and immediacy in war reporting became possible. Regularly reporting the war created a new relation between journalists and readers as well as a new dynamic in the flow of information for editors and the government. It also increased competition among journalists, adding pressures to deliver stories faster, (although) generally in support of one's own country (Dominikowski, 2004, p. 33).

The development of cameras was responsible for the new status assigned to photography in war reporting: "the capacity to transmit photographs over long distance—even oceans—via radio, telegraph, and telephone" (Voss, 1994, p. 42) making images of the world quickly available even from the faraway hotspots of the frontline and "no longer subject to lengthy delays in transmission that in the past had frequently made it passé by the time it reached it point of publication" (p. 42). The increasing use of radio and film during World War II, particularly in German propaganda, represented a new form of reporting (Dominikowski, 2004, p. 39).

The reporting of the first Gulf War in 1991 gained particular attention from journalism scholars because it was described as the last major international war covered with analog technologies. A satellite transponder could send a single video and audio channel to a satellite and back to headquarters. As Kellner (1999, p. 216) described it: "These images literally took the TV viewers into a new cyberspace, a realm of experience with which many viewers were familiar through video and computer games, the special effects of Hollywood movies, and cyberpunk fiction." Journalists wanting to do a stand-up report to camera, but unable to use a videophone, were able to press mini-portable television stations, called "fly-aways," into service (Matheson & Allan, 2009, pp. 7–8). The first Gulf War also saw the arrival of 24-hour news, particularly the entrance of CNN to the world of news reporting, providing a challenge to the three established US networks. CNN scored a major coup as the only broadcaster to transmit from Baghdad during the initial American bombing campaign. It made household names of journalists such as Peter Arnett and Christiane Amanpour. CNN also has the distinction of having its name used to describe the phenomenon of 24-hour news effects on war and intervention, foreign policy, and intervention, changing previous approaches towards CNN of scholars from within various general frameworks (Gilboa, 2005). The CNN effect is a term used to describe the perceived impact of real-time, 24-hour news coverage on the foreign policy decision-making processes of States in the post-Cold War era. Saturation coverage of particular events is viewed as being strongly influential in bringing images and issues to the immediate forefront of public political consciousness and hence influencing Governments' foreign policy decision-making (Belknap, 2002; Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 2002; Wheeler, 2000). The high emotional content of a news report or series of reports "may capture the attention of the public which may then put pressure on policy makers" (Seib, 2002, p. 27). The problem of the "CNN effect" is that scholars from various disciplines including journalism studies, policy analysis, and international relations have failed to agree on both definition and effect, "leading one to question if an elaborated theory exists or simply an attractive neologism" (Gilboa, 2005, p. 28). Criticism leveled at the CNN effect (theory or otherwise) is that it is unpredictable and is only one of many factors contributing to policymaking. As Compaine (2002, p. 5) suggests: "In many places, governments are even more likely to be driving media coverage rather than the other way around, although it may suit governments to appear as if they bowed to public opinion." Others argue that, in most cases, the CNN effect will gain purchase only if a policy vacuum exists.

TOWARDS THE DIGITAL AGE

Many recent studies on war and conflict have devoted attention to the manner in which the digital age has changed the reporting dynamic. In 2004, Kevin Sites, a freelance correspondent covering the Iraq War for US NBC News, was able to film, video-edit, write, and publish online the story of US troops executing at point-blank range a wounded insurgent in a Fallujah's mosque, using his dramatic footage. Equipped with a digital camera, his laptop, and a satellite phone, a single journalist was able to immediately release the story (Matheson & Allan, 2009; see also Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010). Digital technologies clearly created novel opportunities for capturing events and publishing information in which ubiquity and distribution in non-time or the possibility of real-time coverage are probably the most visible features of innovative forms of news making.

The centralized and large infrastructure needed for dispatching stories during World War II has been replaced by decentralized and portable media, such as the internet and mobile and satellite forms of communication available at the end of the 20th and 21st centuries. Journalists have become multi-skilled, and the consequent practices, as MacGregor (1997, p. 2) has argued, "have changed the way in which news stories are reported, and even the way international relations are conducted." Not only have these technologies removed economic and physical barriers for the production and distribution of news (Benkler, 2006; Castells, 2009), but they have also multiplied the sources of information on war zones and added new actors in the dissemination of material. "The people formerly known as the audience have all been given new freedom to communicate, narrowly and broadly, outside the old structures of the broadcast and publishing models" (Anderson, Bell, & Shirky, 2012, p. 1). The images taken by mobile phones on the streets during the military clashes in Libya in 2011 or the circulation of pictures of prisoners being tortured in the military prison of Abu Ghraib in Iraq in 2004 created new rules and roles for journalists. Obtaining information about a frontline event may not require governmental-military permission nor traveling to remote, dangerous, and difficult places.

Whilst many academic and practitioner accounts are technologically determinist, digital technologies have had a dramatic effect on the flow of information and news production. However the role of journalists cannot be detached from the news corporation's structures, legal rights, military, and governmental interests and the hazards of war. Technologies of news production are "socially and culturally shaped and embedded within corporate and professional contexts and practices" (Cottle & Ashton, 1999, p. 24).

Kevin Sites was able to capture the images of the executions in Iraq because, through the support of NBC News, he was *embedded* with the US Marines. Sites felt that his presence was also the result of "the way he had handled his role as an embedded journalist, having worked hard to establish a good relationship with his unit" (Matheson & Allan, 2009, p. 3). Digital media has provided new channels and independent means for developing journalism. Kevin Sites' own blog reached millions of hits in a single day after the video of the execution was released.

The increased availability of user-generated content (UGC) has added more news gatherers into a landscape already crowded with staff reporters and freelancers eager to make a name for themselves (Bennett, 2013; Johnston, 2015; Ojala, Pantti, & Kangas, 2018). Kitted out with cheap technology but limited skills and training, the general public is also broadcasting on everything from the mundane to wars in the Middle East (INSI, 2015). Organizations such as Storyful, Eyewitness Media Hub, and First Draft News have emerged to assist journalists in improving their understanding of verification and UGC ethics. Research on journalism in war has now had to address the impact of social media on reportage. Faster dissemination, multiple voices, and extended audience reach indicate the complexities that and challenges that journalists now encounter in reporting conflict (Sacco & Bossio, 2015).

PROPAGANDA, INFORMATION POLICY, AND MILITARY-MEDIA RELATIONS

It is undoubtedly the case that information management is now one of the primary concerns of the military (Crosbie, 2015). According to Maltby (2012, p. 255), the reason the military has become increasingly mediatized is because the news media play "a constitutive role in informing communication between states and their external publics in the enactment of war and international politics."

The Vietnam War, fought in the 1960s and early 1970s, set the tone for much of the subsequent scholarly debate regarding military and media relations during conflict. Hallin's (1986) study of the US media and the Vietnam War was a key work in analyzing the way that the government and military behaved during the conduct of a relatively long conflict. Hallin challenged the "radical" political economy or propaganda model espoused by Herman and Chomsky (2002) in their analysis of US foreign policy as being overly deterministic. He argued that the way the media report events is closely tied to the degree of consensus among the political elite, the "sphere of consensus." Hallin's view also contrasted with the conservative analysis of the media at that time as "anti-establishment" institutions which were "undermining the authority of governing institutions" (Hallin, 1994, p. 11). Hallin's (1986, pp. 63–69) explanation for the media' "volte face" in its support for/rejection of the war was that the media was grounded in its "commitment to the ideology and the routines of objective journalism." From the beginnings of the Vietnam conflict up to 1967, there was relatively little disagreement among the policy elite. Reflecting this official viewpoint for the media did not "seem to violate the norms of objective journalism" (1994, pp. 52–53). However, during the period between 1963 and 1967, reporters in Vietnam itself were given accounts of the war by serving officers in the US military, which were not compatible with the largely optimistic accounts coming out of Washington. This gap between the realities of the position on the ground and the official line emanating from the US capital lead to stormy news conferences particularly in Saigon. During this period, both versions of the state of the war were reported (1986, pp. 38–39).

Later, according to Hallin, the media coverage reflected the gradual breaking down of the national security consensus and the Cold War ideology amongst the political elite, together with concern over the conduct of the war. The media was able to respond to the growing strains and divisions within the foreign policy elite by producing far higher amounts of critical news coverage "without abandoning objective journalism for some more activist and anti-establishment conception of their role" (1994, p. 53). Hallin contends that as opposition to the war moved into the mainstream, the news media reflected this movement of debate into "the sphere of legitimate controversy" (p. 54). The media reflect the prevailing pattern of political debate: "when consensus is strong, they tend to stay within the limits of the political discussion it defines; when it begins to break down, coverage becomes increasingly critical and diverse in the viewpoints it represents, and increasingly difficult for officials to control" (p. 55). As the policy debate moves from the "sphere of consensus" to the "sphere of legitimate controversy," governments and administrations become concerned at the possible loss of control over the news agenda. Censorship and attacks on the media consequently become prominent features of their response to the increase in media activity as journalists begin to question government statements and become more sensitive to other official and non-official viewpoints (Hallin, 1994, p. 71; see also Morrison & Tumber, 1988). Horten (2011, p. 4) argues "that the mediatization of war significantly accelerated with the news coverage of the Vietnam War and reached unprecedented levels during the Iraq War of 2003."

War and the news media have been closely interlinked from the early 1900s. Both World War I and World War II saw the development of and spread of propaganda for use in radio, film, and newspapers (Carruthers, 2011; Horten, 2011). William Russell's efforts at the frontline of the Crimean War, and those of other reporters who followed him later in the 19th and then 20th centuries, provoked governments and military to adopt strategies for restricting media access to the frontlines and managing the flow of information. The United States government attempted to censor and manage the flow of information during the Civil War and the later Spanish-American War—although on both occasions these efforts were largely unsuccessful. The British Government proved more adept at controlling information flow during the Boer War through the ruse of turning reporters into commissioned military officers and hence making them subject to military regulations. The Government also restricted publication of information that could be valuable to the enemy. It was from the 20th century onwards, though, that war was experienced as a mass phenomenon. The French and British governments restricted access for journalists to the front-lines at the beginning of World War I. This strategy changed once these Governments realized that morale at home was detrimentally affected and that the German government encouraged correspondents from neutral countries to visit the frontlines. The general consensus regarding the reporting of World War I was that reporters, out of a sense of patriotism, generally cooperated with the military and offered little criticism of the official "line." The media coverage during World War II saw a sea change in a number of ways. Journalists often lived with the troops, with the consequent inevitability of identification and attachment.

Despite the formulations devised by scholars of the media and conflict, for governments and military, the lesson of the Vietnam War was that the media, and television in particular, was to blame for the United States defeat in Southeast Asia. Commanders and politicians were convinced that the years of uncensored reporting, unrestricted access, and the mismanagement of military briefings in Saigon, were directly responsible for providing information and succor to the enemy, for lowering morale at home, and for losing the battle for public opinion. It was a scenario that they believed must not be repeated in future conflicts. Since then, they have experimented with different methods of "controlling" and "managing" the media with stricter controls imposed on the media in order to contain information and ultimately win the battle for the hearts and minds of the public.

It was these sentiments that governed Britain's attitude to the media during the Falklands/Malvinas conflict. The information policy adopted by the British Government and the military during the Falklands was poorly organized and lacked planning (Morrison & Tumber, 1988). There was an absence of agreed procedure or criteria, no centralized system of control and no coordination between departments. But whatever seemingly "on the hoof" measures the British introduced was based on the "myth" of Vietnam. During the Falklands conflict, the battle for public opinion was fought under the guise of "operational security," an all-embracing term used as an excuse for delaying and censoring information and disseminating misinformation (see Morrison & Tumber, 1988, pp. 189–190). But whatever the outcomes of the reporting, it was not due to astute planning by the British. The news was controlled by the very location—a windswept archipelago eight thousand miles from the UK in the South Atlantic. Journalistically speaking it was in the wrong place. There were no means for the journalists to get their reports back to their news organizations in London other than through the military's communications network. Copy had to be taken to one of the ships that possessed a Marisat satellite system for transmission, though it was not totally secure. Today's mobile personal satellite communications systems make it impossible to control the flow of information, as it was possible then.

Military and defense officials in the United States noted with alacrity the experience of the Falklands. The uses of both military and civilian minders, the stationing of reporters in military units, and pooling arrangements were all adopted in various guises in future conflicts. In the 1980s, discussions took place between news organizations and the United States Department of Defense to establish some ground rules for cooperation. The first "test" of this new détente occurred in the invasion of Grenada (known as operation "Urgent Fury") in 1983. However, rather than setting a tone for harmonious relations between the military and the media, it provoked an outcry from news organizations as over 600 reporters were left stranded in Barbados unable to report what was occurring in Grenada. It was two days later, when the initial assault was over, that 15 reporters and photographers selected for the media pool were allowed onto the island. The military had been logistically unresponsive to the needs of news organizations (Tumber, 2015). The intense criticism that followed led to the setting up in 1984 by the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff of a commission headed by General Winant Sidle to look into future media operations. One of the main recommendations proposed that a national media pool should be created to cover future operations where full media access was not available. These proposals were implemented during the operation to maintain freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf in 1988 (known as Operation Earnest Will) and then in Panama (1989) when US troops were engaged. This latter operation proved a disaster for the "new" pooling system because Dick Cheney, then Secretary of Defense, obstructed the mobilization of the pool and journalists were unable to cover the engagement. The 16-member press pool arrived in Panama four hours after US troops invaded and were only allowed to send their first reports after ten hours. Sidle was critical of the exercise and the manner in which his recommendations were implemented. Further discussions between military commanders and news organizations followed the Panama fiasco and eventually led to all future battle plans containing a section on dealing with the media. To some extent, this worked reasonably well in the military engagements in Somalia in the early 1990s and in Haiti in 1994, although the pool system remained unpopular with the news organizations.

By the time of the first Gulf War in 1991, reporters covered military events via organized pools and formal briefings. Journalists were restricted in their travel movements and had to subject their copy to formal security review. The problem for the military became a logistical one of how to cope with hundreds of reporters flocking to the region. Ad hoc press pools were organized, but many journalists decided to ignore them and instead moved about independently. The outcome was frustration on behalf of news organizations and continuing bewilderment on behalf of the military about how journalists operate.

Coverage of the Gulf War in 1991 revealed especially effective perception management, since it achieved massive media attention yet was antiseptic in substance (Bennett & Paletz, 1994; Kellner, 1992; Mowlana, Gerbner, & Schiller, 1992; Taylor, 1997). As one *New York Times* reporter reflected some years later,

> The [1991] Gulf War made war fashionable again . . . television reporters happily disseminated the spoon-fed images that served the propaganda effort of the military and the state. These images did little to convey the reality of war. . . . It was war as spectacle. War as entertainment.
>
> (Hedges, 2002, pp. 142–143)

And as Thussu and Freedman (2003, p. 7) suggest, it was also the moment which saw the convergence of military and media networks making them virtually indistinguishable; "the media constitute the spaces in which wars are fought and are the main ways through which populations experience war."

Military-media relations went through a further downturn during the Kosovo campaign in 1999. Journalists had little access to the province and relied on the military for information about the bombing campaign. For the invasion in Afghanistan (2001), many editors, bureau chiefs, and correspondents regarded the Pentagon's reporting rules as some of the toughest ever (Hickey, 2002). The main grievances consisted of the lack of reasonable access to land and sea bases from which air attacks on Taliban positions were launched and the restrictions on access and information emanating from the Pentagon.

The US bombing campaign of Iraq in 2003, consciously and accurately titled Shock and Awe, and the lack of an Iraqi air force to offer any resistance, led to a victory inside four weeks, with few allied casualties and unknown and unreported Iraqi military deaths. When asked about Iraqi casualties, US Commander Tommy Franks observed that "we don't do body counts" (of the enemy). Not surprisingly, then, estimates of Iraqi losses varied widely, most suggesting between 15,000 and 35,000 military deaths (Conetta, 2003), though a cluster analysis undertaken in September 2004 by a team of researchers from Johns Hopkins University, based on death rate measures, suggested 100,000 excess Iraqi deaths due to the war (Roberts, Lafta, Garfield, Khudhairi, & Burnham, 2004).

The mythical legacy of Vietnam still leads to apprehension on the part of the military and government that the public will react badly to pictures of casualties. Commanders and politicians are anxious about the effects of displays of bloodied bodies of civilians rather than ones of "precision strikes on legitimate targets" or the media reproduction of photographs showing Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib being abused by American guards as occurred in April 2004. In the US, there remains a particular fear that body bags containing dead servicemen from Iraq or Afghanistan would sap domestic support for the war.

Inevitably, apprehension about domestic public opinion impels military leaders into careful rehearsal and management of information from and about the war, whilst at the same time making assiduous efforts to avoid the charge of censorship. Failing to do this would diminish the "free media" claim of the democratic state and undermine the persuasiveness of what is reported. Perception management has to combine methods of ensuring a continuous stream of positive media coverage that is ostensibly freely gathered by independent news organizations.

Recent attempts to analyze information management have focused on the mediatization of war and the military, examining the close relationship between war and the media primarily from the 1990s onwards (Crosbie, 2015; Horten, 2011; Maltby, 2012).

Hoskins and O'Loughlin looked at the relationship between the news media and war through two distinct phases of mediatization—Broadcast War and Diffused War. Broadcast war contained the period in which national "and satellite television and the press had a lock on what mass audiences witnessed, and governments could exercise relative control of journalists' access and reporting" (2015, p. 1320). By the end of the 1990s, "mass internet penetration and the post-9/11 war on terror signaled a second phase," which they termed Diffused War (p. 1320). In this phase "the embedding of digital content enabled more of war and its consequences to be recorded, archived, searched, and shared," leading to an "unprecedented sense of chaos and flux beset both those conducting war and mainstream media organizations used to having a monopoly on its reporting" (p. 1320). Uncertainty reigned, as they described it. Later, Hoskins and O'Loughlin introduced a third phase, Arrested War, in which professional media and military institutions have arrested the once-chaotic social media dynamics and more effectively harnessed them for their own ends through new understandings, strategies, and experiments. User-generated content and its chaotic dynamics "out there" have been absorbed and appropriated by mainstream media and, at a slower pace, government and military policymakers.

WITNESSING CONFLICT

One of the most important debates in recent times concerns the role of the journalist as a witness to atrocities and injustices. Philip Seib (2004) suggests the public are perceived as more or less ignorant about world affairs, and the journalist-witness has to open their eyes to the world's brutal reality. Alongside the stress on excitement, many journalists who cover conflicts refer to the social value of their work, to truth seeking, to bearing witness, and to being present at moments, or indeed the front row of history. While the initial motivation maybe one of adventure, a way of keeping away from routine, this almost invariably changed to become a mission. While some journalists have chosen to describe the strategies as well as the tactics deployed on the battlefield, others were more inclined to report the possible implications of military decisions in the aftermath of the war, as well as the personal characteristics of high-ranked individuals or the views of the average soldier (Morrison & Tumber, 1988; Voss, 1994). The academic debate has centered on the position that some journalists, in covering the dramatic effects of war actions, have adopted a critical position of denunciation of the witnessed events. Whereas neutrality was sometimes perceived as unbearable or even undesired, taking a moral position during war times was usually counterbalanced by a professional requirement (and normative view) of keeping objectivity in the coverage of news.

Some prominent journalists, such as Martin Bell of the BBC, Christiane Amanpour of CNN, and Tom Gjelten of the US National Public Radio made a distinction between objectivity and neutrality in their reporting of the conflicts in Bosnia (1992) and Rwanda (1990), arguing that accurate reporting demands determining responsibility (Tumber, 2008). Bell, in particular, came into conflict with his editors over his position on Bosnia. He argued that it was impossible and inappropriate to be dispassionate but that his "journalism of attachment" was not a call for campaigning or crusading journalism (Bell, 1996). Dealing with the difficult issue of handling emotions when working as a war correspondent is not a new phenomenon.

The "journalism of attachment" has been criticized for opening the door to mistaken accounts of conflicts and for being "self-righteous" and "moralizing" (McLaughlin, 2002, pp. 166–168; Ward, 1998). The critics of advocacy journalism argue that it is selective and frequently coincides with the policies of Western governments (Hammond, 2002). The attempt by war correspondents to attract world attention and evoke sympathy concerning war crimes does not end with the accomplishment of journalistic work (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2003). Frustration by the world's lack of response becomes a common phenomenon among correspondents (Seib, 2002). Moral dilemmas frequently arise for the war correspondent in the course of his or her professional life. Tumber (2008) has identified these ethical concerns in looking at the decisions of journalists whether or not to testify before international criminal courts. Prosecution of war crimes has become widespread with the establishment of the International Criminal Court in 2002, and the ad hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia in 1993 and for Rwanda in 1994. Tumber showed how some journalists willingly appeared before these tribunals as witnesses while others, particularly employees of US new organizations, although willing to provide information to investigators, were prevented from testifying by their employers who viewed the subpoena powers of the tribunals as a threat to journalistic freedoms. The decision on whether or not to testify may not always be a determining factor of commitment on behalf of the journalist. Employment contracts and legal restraints may prevent the reporter from acting out of their own moral compass. The tribunals also revealed the new role of the "forensic" photojournalist in supplying evidence to internal criminal courts in the form of photographs and film footage for the prosecution of war crimes. These journalistic interventions have increased interaction between reporters and human rights NGOs with both groups sharing legal and security advice, transportation, and translation (Tumber, 2010).

PEACE JOURNALISM

Over recent years, some scholarly and journalistic attention has shifted towards an interest in developing new concepts and paradigms of conflict coverage. Research devoted to "peace journalism" as opposed to "war journalism" has emerged. Much of the literature deals with how the media and journalists can play a more constructive role in reporting and resolving conflict. The scholarly "grandfather" of peace journalism is Johan Galtung (1986, 1998), who formulated the concept for journalists covering war. Galtung's classification has been tested, notably by Lee and Maslog (2005), who examined the extent to which four Asian conflicts were framed as war or peace journalism, finding that two of the conflicts were framed as war journalism and two as more "promising" peace frames.

Two of the advocates of peace journalism describe it as what happens "when editors and reporters make choices—about what stories to report and how to report them—which create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). They see peace journalism as "a fund of practical options for editors and reporters to equip readers and audiences to decode propaganda and produce their own negotiated readings, thereby holding power to account" (Lynch, 2006, p. 75). From this definition, it is clear why peace journalism has been criticized for concentrating on individual and voluntary perspectives rather than structural ones (see Hanitzsch, 2007; Phillips, 2006; Tehranian, 2002).

The accepted norm for the individual journalist, based on their professional values, is that they should adopt a neutral role in reporting conflict, avoiding bias and striving for objectivity, thus refraining from advocating or defending the position of either side. This perspective, however, does not assist with understanding the reality and the dynamics of covering a conflict. Even unintentionally, the mere presence of the media may alter the behavior of conflicting parties. For example, in the case of Bosnia, it has been argued that the presence of reporters prevented or postponed some of the atrocities (Botes, 1996). Others, though, have criticized journalists in Bosnia for being partial and embarking on crusades against Serbian aggression. The human rights perspective adopted by sections of the media alongside calls for humanitarian intervention were further in evidence in the lead-up to and duration of the Allied bombing of Kosovo (Hammond & Herman, 2000, p. 124).

The danger for journalists is that they can become the third party, a role that is legitimately reserved for conflict mediators, rather than reporters. Journalists' attempts to get to the "heart of the conflict" may lead to "reframing," a standard process in conflict resolution where the conflicting parts identify their shared problems that lead to the conflict. Within this picture, the media become forums of direct or indirect exchange of viewpoints and debate over possible avenues toward conflict resolution (Botes, 1996, p. 7; Tehranian, 1996, p. 3).

However, unlike conflict mediators, journalists' professional aims and objectives are quite different and subject to different constraints. As employees of news organizations, they produce a commodity that is supposed to generate profit. Conflict sells, and the emphasis on violence, and simplification of the conflict increases the value of their commodity. Media interest in conflicts focuses on the high points of the dispute, dramatic or violent incidents, events that can be interpreted as focal points in the course of the conflict (Botes, 1996, pp. 7–8). Peace journalism advocates believe that the news media over-value violent responses and under-value nonviolent ones. They argue for "co-operative exchange and deliberation which is not based on claims to universal moral judgments, or even shared language and assumptions, but instead on a concept of impartiality which consists in a diversity of perspectives" (Lynch, 2003, p. 13). Their view of impartiality rests on "giving peace a chance in national and international debate" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. xxi).

SAFETY AND PROTECTION OF JOURNALISTS

Lastly, as the dangers that journalists face in covering war and peace have increased, it has become a focus of attention for scholars, with studies looking both at the deteriorating conditions facing war reporters and the attacks on journalists by governments, organized crime, and terrorist groups (Cottle, Sambrook, & Mosdell, 2016; Heyns & Srinivasan, 2013; Levin, 2013; Lisosky & Henrichsen, 2009; Relly & González de Bustamante, 2014, 2017; Tumber & Webster, 2006; Tumber, 2002, 2006; Waisbord, 2002). The initial impetus highlighting the issues came from journalist organizations such as the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), the International

Federation of Journalist (IFJ), and the International News Safety Institute (INSI). More recently, particular attention has been paid not only to documenting deaths and injuries to journalists but to the culture of impunity that exists among many states that are either unwilling or unable to deter crimes against journalists by ensuring that the perpetrators are held to account. A joint initiative between the University of Sheffield (CFOM) and City, University of London (CLJJ) attempted to highlight this issue by presenting the case for more effective international mechanisms to counter such crimes of violence and to end impunity (CLJJ, 2011; CFOM, 2014). The culture of impunity infringes the journalist's right to life, personal security, and free speech; has a chilling effect on the media in general; and affects the public's right to information (Draghici, 2015). UNESCO has identified the need for more coherent and practical measures, including the use of legal instruments, at a global level to combat targeted violence, by both states and terrorist groups, and to eradicate impunity as something that requires a coordinated response by states as a matter of high priority. In 2006, the UN reiterated the obligation for all parties involved in conflicts to treat journalists as civilians and respect their rights and professional independence. So media workers in conflict zones cannot be legitimate targets under any circumstances (United Nations, 2006), and in 2012, UNESCO developed a plan of action on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity in order to assist states to develop legislation guaranteeing freedom of expression—including effective investigation and prosecution of crimes against journalists (UNESCO, 2012). More recently, in 2014, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution urging all states to ensure a safe environment for journalists and to bring to justice to those responsible for crimes against media workers (United Nations, 2014). This landmark resolution condemns all attacks and violence against journalists and media workers and proclaimed 2 November as the "International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists" (UNESCO, 2015).

REFERENCES

Anderson, C., Bell, E., & Shirky, C. (2012). *Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present*. Columbia Journalism School. Retrieved September 9, 2017, from http://towcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/TOWCenter-Post_Industrial_Journalism.pdf

Belknap, M. (2002). The CNN effect: Strategic enabler or operational risk? *Parameters*, *32*, 100–114.

Bell, M. (1996). TV news, how far should we go? *Critical Studies in Mass Communications*, *13*(3), 7–16.

Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Retrieved September 9, 2017, from www.benkler.org/Benkler_Wealth_Of_Networks.pdf

Bennett, D. (2013). Exploring the impact of an evolving war and terror blogosphere on traditional media coverage of conflict. *Media, War and Conflict*, *6*(1), 37–53.

Bennett, W., & Paletz, D. (1994). *Taken by storm: The media, public opinion and the Gulf War*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Blach-Ørsten, M., & Lund, A. B. (2012). Security scandals in the age of mediated war. In S. Allern & E. Pollack (Eds.), *Scandalous: The mediated construction of political scandals in four Nordic countries* (pp. 103–112). Göteborg: NORDICOM.

Botes, J. (1996). Journalism and conflict resolution. *Media Development*, *43*(4), 6–10.

Carruthers, S. L. (2000). *The media at war*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Carruthers, S. L. (2011). *The media at war*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Castells, M. (2009). Communication power. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Centre for Freedom of the Media. (2014). Retrieved August 10, 2018, from www.sheffield.ac.uk/journalism/news/cfom-initiative-protect-journalists-1.418783

Centre for Law Justice and Journalism. (2011). Retrieved January 30, 2018, from www.city.ac.uk/centre-for-law-justice-and-journalism/projects/impunity-and-the-rule-of-law

Compaine, B. (2002). Global media. *Foreign Policy*, *133*, 20–28.
Conetta, C. (2003). The wages of war: Iraqi combatant and non-combatant fatalities in the 2003 conflict. *Project on Defence Alternatives Research Monograph*, 8. Retrieved from www.comw.org/pda
Cottle, S., & Ashton, M. (1999). BBC Newsroom to BBC Newscentre: On changing technology and journalist practices. *Convergence*, *5*(3), 22–43.
Cottle, S., Sambrooke, R. J., & Mosdell, N. A. (2016). *Reporting dangerously: Journalist killings, intimidation and security*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Crosbie, T. (2015). Scandal and military mediatization. *Media, War & Conflict*, *8*(1), 100–119.
Dimitrova, D. V., & Strömbäck, J. (2005). Mission accomplished? Framing of the Iraq War in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the United States. *Gazette*, *67*(5), 399–417.
Dominikowski, T. (2004). Mass media and mass war: Historical approaches to a turbulent symbiosis. In T. Hanitzsch, M. Loeffelholz, & R. Mustamu (Eds.), *Agents of peace: Public communication and conflict resolution in an Asian setting* (pp. 26–56). Jakarta: FES.
Draghici, C. (2015). International law is inadequate when it comes to protecting journalists from savagery. *The Conversation*. Retrieved September 15, 2017, from http://theconversation.com/international-law-is-inadequate-when-it-comes-to-protecting-journalists-from-savagery-30748
Esser, F. (2009). Metacoverage of mediated wars: How the press framed the role of the news media and of military news management in the Iraq wars of 1991 and 2003. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *52*(5), 709–734.
Galtung, J. (1986). On the role of the media in worldwide security and peace. In T. Varis (Ed.), *Peace and communication* (pp. 249–266). San Jose, Costa Rica: Universidad para La Paz.
Galtung, J. (1998). *Peace Journalism: What, why, who, how, when, where*. Paper presented in the workshop "What are Journalists For?," TRANSCEND, Taplow Court, September 3–6.
Gilboa, E. (2005). The CNN effect: The search for a communication theory of international relations. *Political Communication*, *22*(1), 27–44.
Gray, H. C. (1997). *Postmodern war*. London: Guilford Press.
Hallin, D. C. (1986). *The "uncensored" war: The media and Vietnam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hallin, D. C. (1994). *We keep America on top of the world*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Hammond, P. (2002). Moral combat: Advocacy journalists and the new humanitarianism. In D. Chandler (Ed.), *Rethinking human rights: Critical approaches to international politics* (pp. 176–195). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Hammond, P., & Herman, E. S. (2000). *Degraded capability: The media and the Kosovo crisis*. London: Pluto Press.
Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: A critical appraisal. *Conflict & Communication Online*, *6*(2), 1–9.
Hedges, C. (2002). *War is a force that gives us meaning*. Oxford: Public Affairs Unit.
Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (2002). *Manufacturing consent*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Heyns, C., & Srinivasan, S. (2013). Protecting the right to life of journalists: The need for a higher level of engagement. *Human Rights Quarterly*, *35*(2), 304–332.
Hickey, N. (2002). Access denied. *Columbia Journalism Review*, *40*(5), 26–31. Retrieved from http://cjrarchives.org/issues/2002/1/afghan-hickey.asp
Horten, G. (2011). The mediatization of war: A comparison of the American and German media coverage of the Vietnam and Iraq wars. *American Journalism*, *28*(4), 29–53.
Hoskins, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2010). *War and media*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Hoskins, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2015). Arrested war: The third phase of mediatization. *Information, Communication & Society*, *18*(11), 1320–1338.
International News Safety Institute (INSI). (2015). Retrieved September 9, 2017, from www.newssafety.org/underthreat/under-threat-the-findings.html#
Johnston, L. (2015). UGC in the newsroom: How BBC journalists' engagement with internet activists has altered newsroom practices. In H. Savigny, E. Thorsen, D. Jackson, & J. Alexander (Eds.), *Media, margins and civic agency* (pp. 182–194). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Keller, U. (2001). *The ultimate spectacle: A visual history of the Crimean war*. Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers.

Kellner, D. (1992). *The Persian Gulf TV war*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Kellner, D. (1999). From Vietnam to the gulf: Postmodern wars? In M. Bibby (Ed.), *The Vietnam war and postmodernity* (pp. 199–216). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
Knightley, P. (1975). *The first casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam—the war correspondent as hero, propagandist and myth-maker*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
Kristensen, N. N., & Ørsten, M. (2007). Danish media at war: The Danish media coverage of the invasion of Iraq in 2003. *Journalism*, *8*(3), 323–343.
Lee, S. T., & Maslog, C. C. (2005). War or peace journalism? Asian newspaper coverage of conflicts. *Journal of Communication*, *55*(2), 311–329.
Levin, E. (2013). Journalists as a protected category: A new status for the media in international humanitarian law. *UCLA Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs*, *17*, 215–250.
Lisosky, J. M., & Henrichsen, J. (2009). Don't shoot the messenger: Prospects for protecting journalists in conflict situations. *Media, War & Conflict*, *2*(2), 129–148.
Livingston, S. (1997). *Clarifying the CNN effect: An examination of media effects according to type of military intervention*. Research, John F. Kennedy School of Government's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard, Paper R-18, June.
Lynch, J. (2003, August 29). BBC's best defence is diversity. *UK Press Gazette*, 12–13.
Lynch, J. (2006). What's so great about peace journalism? *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, *1*(1), 74–87.
Lynch, J., & McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism*. Stroud: Hawthorn Press.
MacGregor, B. (1997). *Live, direct and biased? Making television news in the satellite age*. London: Arnold.
Markham, T. (2012). *The politics of war reporting*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Maltby, S. (2012). The mediatization of the military. *Media, War & Conflict*, *5*(3), 255–268.
Matheson, D., & Allan, S. (2009). *Digital war reporting*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
McLaughlin, G. (2002). *The war correspondent*. London: Pluto Press.
Morrison, D., & Tumber, H. (1988). *Journalists at war*. London: Sage Publications.
Mowlana, H., Gerbner, G., & Schiller, H. I. (1992). *Triumph of the image*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Nacos, B. L. (2002). *Mass media and terrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Ojala, M., Pantti, M., & Kangas, J. (2018). Professional role enactment amid information warfare: War correspondents tweeting on the Ukraine conflict. *Journalism*, *19*(3), 297–313.
Palmer, L. (2018). *Becoming the story: War correspondents since 9/11*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Pedelty, M. (1995). *War stories: The culture of foreign correspondents*. London: Routledge.
Phillips, A. (2006). Review of *peace journalism*, by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick. *Global Media and Communication*, *2*(2), 236–239.
Relly, J. E., & de Bustamante, C. G. (2014). Silencing Mexico a study of influences on journalists in the Northern States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *19*(1), 108–131.
Relly, J. E., & de Bustamante, C. G. (2017). Global violence against journalists: The power of impunity and emerging initiatives to evoke social change. In H. Tumber & S. Waisbord (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to media & human rights* (pp. 238–247). London: Routledge.
Roberts, L., Lafta, R., Garfield, R., Khudhairi, J., & Burnham, G. (2004). Mortality before and after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: Cluster sample survey. *The Lancet*, *364*(9445), 1–8.
Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*. London: Routledge.
Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2015). Using social media in the news reportage of war & conflict: Opportunities and challenges. *The Journal of Media Innovations*, *2*(1), 59–76.
Seib, P. (2002). *The global journalist: News and conscience in a world of conflict*. Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield.
Seib, P. (2004). *Beyond the front lines: How the news media cover a world shaped by war*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Taylor, P. (1997). *Global communications, international affairs and the media since 1945*. London: Routledge.
Tehranian, M. (1996). Communication and conflict. *Media Development*, *43*(4), 3–5.
Tehranian, M. (2002). Peace journalism: Negotiating global media ethics. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *7*(2), 58–83.

Thussu, D. K., & Freedman, D. (2003). *War and the media: Reporting conflict 24/7*. London: Sage Publications.

Tumber, H. (2002). Reporting under Fire: The physical safety and emotional welfare of journalists. In B. Zelizer & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism after September 11* (pp. 247–262). London: Routledge.

Tumber, H. (2006**).** The fear of living dangerously: Journalists who report on conflict. *Journal of International Relations*, *20*(4), 439–452.

Tumber, H. (2008). Journalists, war crimes and international justice. *Media War and Conflict*, *1*(3), 261–269.

Tumber, H. (2010). Journalists and war crimes. In S. Allan (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to news and journalism* (pp. 533–541). London: Routledge.

Tumber, H. (2015). Journalism and the invasion of Grenada thirty years on: A retrospective. In P. Lewis, G. Williams, & P. Clegg (Eds.), *Grenada revolution and invasion* (pp. 165–179). Kingston: University of West Indies Press.

Tumber, H., & Prentoulis, M. (2003). Journalists under Fire: Subcultures, objectivity and emotional literacy. In D. Thussu & D. Freedman (Eds.), *War and the media* (pp. 215–230). London: Sage Publications.

Tumber, H., & Webster, F. (2006). *Journalists under fire: Information war and journalistic practices*. London: Sage Publications.

United Nations. (2006). *Security council condemns attacks against journalists in conflict situations, unanimously adopting resolution 1738*. Retrieved September 9, 2017, from www.un.org/press/en/2006/sc8929.doc.htm

United Nations. (2014). *Resolution adopted by the general assembly on 18 December 2013 68/163. The safety of journalists and the issue of impunity*. Retrieved September 9, 2017, from www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/68/163

UNESCO. (2012). *UN plan of action on the safety of journalists and the issue of impunity*. Retrieved from www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/freedom-of-expression/safety-of-journalists/un-plan-of-action/

UNESCO. (2015). *International day to end impunity for crimes against journalists*. Retrieved September 9, 2017, from www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/events/prizes-and-celebrations/celebrations/international-days/int-day-to-end-impunity/international-day-to-end-impunity-2015/

Voss, F. (1994). *Reporting the war*. Manitoba: The Smithsonian Institution Press.

Waisbord, S. (2002). Antipress violence and the crisis of the state. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *7*(3), 90–109.

Ward, S. J. (1998). Answer to Martin Bell: Objectivity and attachment in journalism. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *3*(3), 121–125.

Wheeler, N. (2000). *Saving strangers: Humanitarian intervention in international society*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Part V

JOURNALISM AND CULTURE

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

25

Journalism, Audiences, and News Experience

Irene Costera Meijer

INTRODUCTION

Audiences have become a force to reckon with in journalism. The digitalization of journalism moved the practice of news consumption—or its more active-sounding alternative, news use (Picone, 2017)—from the margins to the center of professional and scholarly attention. First of all, the business model of digital-born news media depends largely on audience engagement (Batsell, 2015). For news organizations aiming to optimize their readability and usability, user metrics offer crucial information as well (Webster, 2014). Second, it has become increasingly common for journalists to use these newly available data for measuring their own professional performance (Anderson, 2011; Tandoc, 2014). Third, audiences have become crucial in terms of revenues. In 2000, for instance, advertisers were the main source of income for Dutch newspapers, whereas by 2016 the revenue coming from subscribers had gone up to 78 percent (Stand van de Nieuwsmedia, 2017). Fourth, audiences have become ever more important for public news media to justify public funding (Cushion, 2012). Public service media also increasingly latch on to the idea that the value of their programs and services cannot be established by merely looking at their content. Just as important is how users experience their value (Lowe, 2010). Finally, the changes brought about by the digitalization of journalism have stimulated scholarly inquiry (Lewis & Westlund, 2015). Taken together, these new digital devices, platforms, sources, and their implications for news use have needed to be made sense of. As a result of these various, interrelated developments, audiences and users have grown more and more important as a point of reference in journalism.

This chapter will address not only how users matter to journalism, but also why and how journalism matters to its users: the other spectrum of the audience turn in journalism studies. While the first part will explain why and how audiences and users of journalism changed from a marginal topic into a crucial concern, the second part will explore why and how taking people's news use seriously may demand the integration of a turn to experience in journalism studies. As claimed by Alfred Hermida (2012), the digitalization of journalism enabled news to evolve from a genre of information into a social experience. To make sense of this particular experience of journalism, the concept of news consumption or even news use may be too narrow to capture how users engage with news, how they pay attention to it, how much time they spend with it, and which social and informative functions it fulfills in their lives (cf. Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015). The chapter will focus on the main analytical concepts used to study audiences in journalism and how they can be refined and extended by amplifying the field of journalism studies with insights and theories from neighboring disciplines.

AUDIENCE STUDIES: OUT OF THE MARGINS AND INTO THE CENTER OF JOURNALISM SCHOLARSHIP?

Why did it take so long before audiences and users were taken seriously in journalism studies? Three interrelated reasons may explain the marginal importance attached to audiences by journalism scholars and practitioners. The first reason is that those in journalism studies, as the field's name suggests, are supposed to study journalism, its content, and its professional practices. Opening up the various founding disciplines to include audience studies turned out to be—and still is—a considerable challenge. This is illustrated by the newsroom-centricity (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009) of the five explanatory frames of journalism scholarship identified by Zelizer (2004). Taking audiences seriously within these disciplines has required some radical rethinking.

For sociology, it demanded, as Domingo, Masip, and Costera Meijer (2015, p. 53) argued, three complementary moves: "dissociating news practices from specific theoretical categories, overcoming the disciplinary divide between the analysis of news production and news consumption, and problematizing normative principles of journalism." Changes in journalism as a professional practice cannot be understood without also studying changing user practices of news.

For linguistics, a user angle meant developing a more inclusive scholarly approach of storytelling and narrativity, adding the study of people's user habits and experiences of particular texts, images, or genres to the more common microanalytical focus on news content (Bird & Dardenne, 1988; Conboy, 2013; Knobloch, Patzig, Mende, & Hastall, 2004).

In terms of history, attention to changing user practices of news and journalism should be added to the discipline's more common focus on narrating the history of particular news organizations or journalists.

From the angle of political science, paying attention to audiences as political citizens required a broader conceptualization of journalism, with the inclusion of infotainment (Thussu, 2008) and an analysis of the role of emotions in rational deliberations (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019). To understand audiences, a critical reflection was needed on assumptions about publics (Coleman & Ross, 2010); politics (Van Zoonen, 2005); citizenship (Dahlgren, 1995); and actual versus estimated news use (Prior, 2009). Instead of emphasizing how journalism *should* matter in a democratic society or focusing on effects and public opinion, political communication has been encouraged to further explore the extent to which users actually rely on journalism to make important political decisions and engage in everyday life (Blumler & Coleman, 2015; Coleman & Moss, 2016; Firmstone & Coleman, 2014; Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2017).

And, lastly, the fifth explanatory frame of journalism, the domain of ethics, also traditionally dominated by an emphasis on news content and professional procedures in journalism, required some fundamental rethinking. Adding an audience perspective should lead to the inclusion of moral issues involved in news use and news participation (cf. Silverstone, 2007; Tester, 2001).

MEASURING AUDIENCES: FROM REACH TO ENGAGEMENT

A second explanation for the arm's-length approach to audiences may, paradoxically, be the way scholars and news organizations do pay attention to them: via audience measurements. This argument also needs further clarification. Everyone agrees that audiences are essential to journalism.

After all, without readers, listeners, or viewers, news organizations have neither an income nor a good reason to exist. But taking a closer look at several core measurement concepts allows a deeper understanding of the reluctance of journalism professionals and scholars to reckon with them.

News reach, which is measured through newspaper circulation, ratings, and market shares, was primarily the concern of marketing departments (Balnaves, O'Regan, & Goldsmith, 2011; Bourdon & Méadel, 2011). Because responsiveness towards news reach figures was expected to result in a popularization and sensationalization of news, this was felt as an undermining of editorial autonomy and the quality of journalists' work (cf. Phillips, Couldry, & Freedman, 2010; Strömbäck, Karlsson, & Hopmann, 2012; Vettehen,Zhou, Kleemans, d'Haenens, & Lin, 2012).

News exposure (Cottle, 2000; Price & Zaller, 1993) emphasized the democratic relevance of having access to public interest news. Exposure to news is usually measured by self-reporting in survey research. Prominent examples of large-scale, representative studies providing regular updates about the "state of news use" include US research by the Pew Research Center, and, more recently, international comparative research by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Such reports are used to make comparisons over time or between regions or demographics. However, taking them as a reflection of news consumption risks ignoring that these figures may be impeded by overreporting. Young people (18–35), as argued by Markus Prior (2009), overestimate their news use by a factor of 8, and even older people (over 55) overestimate their news consumption by a factor of 2. Apparently, this is not caused by respondents' motivation to misrepresent or provide superficial answers. "Satisficing and social desirability bias do not explain overreporting. Instead, imperfect recall coupled with the use of flawed inference rules causes inflated self-reports" (Prior, 2009, p. 904).

Moreover, combining the figures for news reach with news exposure uncovered a contradiction. In surveys people report preferring important information, while ratings, shares, and circulation figures show they are actually opting for popular—junk—news (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2013; Welbers, Van Atteveldt, Kleinnijenhuis, Ruigrok, & Schaper, 2016).

Studying *news repertoires* became an answer to two developments enabled by the digitalization of journalism: the fragmentation and the increased autonomy of audiences (Napoli, 2011). First, whereas news reach and news exposure were built around a passive conception of the audience, today's audiences are actively composing their own assemblages of news sources (Hasebrink & Popp, 2006). By paying attention to the selection of news by users themselves, audiences for the first time became recognized as subjects of news use who have an active share in putting together their personal news menu. In the words of Kim Schrøder, users look for what they find worthwhile in the news supermarket and then put it into their shopping cart (Schrøder & Larsen, 2010; Schrøder, 2015). In addition, the explosion of new possibilities for news use (including additional TV channels, delayed viewing, websites, social media, mobile devices, etc.) has led to audiences' diffusion over many different news outlets. Complementary measures were therefore needed to capture the audiences of "smaller" outlets.

The introduction of news repertoires that map the collection of media that people (regularly) use also signaled a major shift in the news landscape: from a business model ruled by product supply and advertising revenues to an economy ruled by user attention. Webster and Ksiazek (2012) suggested that this news ecology (Lowrey, 2012), which also includes social media, provides a surplus of news that exceeds people's limited amount of time and attention. Journalism scholars became concerned that the battle for the attention of the public would lead to further audience fragmentation. This could in turn result in filter bubbles (Pariser, 2011) and echo chambers (Flaxman, Goel, & Rao, 2016) that shield users from alternative viewpoints (Stroud & Muddiman, 2013), potentially leading to social polarization (Tewksbury, 2005; Webster, 2010). However, research—including Flaxman et al. (2016) and the Reuters Institute for the Study of

Journalism's *Digital News Report 2017*—suggests that users of social media, news aggregators, and search engines tend to be exposed to a wider variety of sources than non-users.

Digitalization also enabled news organizations to precisely monitor—often in real time—the activities of online audiences, termed *audience engagement* (Batsell, 2015). Audience engagement, as a recent prism for looking at news use, is being measured through a broad array of metrics, which include clicks, shares, comments, time spent, likes, and return visits (Napoli, 2011). Batsell (2015, p. 7), defined engaged journalism as "the degree to which a news organization actively considers and interacts with its audience in furtherance of its journalistic and financial mission." Although he included in his definition a "journalistic mission," which calls up positive associations with engaged citizenship, Harcup and O'Neill (2017) pointed out that strategies to increase news engagement such as clickbait are aimed at making news more clickable and shareable and thus profitable, rather than more interesting. What distinguishes audience engagement metrics from previous measures is that they are taken seriously by journalists themselves. Most newsrooms have large screens informing journalists live through programs such as Chartbeat or Google Analytics about people's actual news use. Journalists feel obliged, if not encouraged, to pay attention to these metrics because they want their stories to do well, both personally and as an indicator of professional capital. As a consequence, these audience metrics affect journalists' news selection and headline choices (Anderson, 2011; Vu, 2014); news placement (Lee, Lewis, & Powers, 2014); and subsequent reporting (Welbers et al., 2016). Editors even select and de-select news items based on the web traffic they generate (Tandoc, 2014).

The use of audience engagement figures has led to concerns about the influence of Google, YouTube, and Facebook on news access and news availability (d'Haenens, Trappel, & Sousa, 2018; Madrigal, 2017). Dominating the advertising market, these global players leave less and less room for news media to compete. The pluriformity of the news landscape is also challenged by being in the hands of just a few organizations and their growing expertise with attention-grabbing practices. Poell and Van Dijck (2014) suggest that the business model of the attention economy poses major moral and political concerns because it leads ultimately to prioritizing lower-level goals (holding people's attention and keeping them distracted) rather than higher-level goals (adding to informed citizenship or quality of life). As a former Facebook employee warned: "How can you solve complex problems such as climate change or extremism if two billion people are constantly being manipulated by Facebook? Before you can tackle a problem, you must be able to pay attention to it" (Williams, 2017).

THE NEWS GAP

None of these four measurements—news reach, news exposure, news repertoires, and audience engagement—were designed or supposed to lead to an impoverishment of the quality of journalism. Yet as journalism scholars have pointed out repeatedly, as soon as these audience metrics are used as a point of departure for practicing journalism, this will endanger the quality of journalism and thus the vitality of democratic systems (Nguyen, 2013; Tandoc & Thomas, 2015). Audience measurement figures point to a gap between what users seemingly want from journalism (the "nice to know" or so-called "soft" news) and what they actually need to know in order to function properly as citizens ("hard" or public interest news), which was described by Boczkowski and Mitchelstein (2013) as the news gap. This gap between what journalists and scholars consider important and what audiences supposedly desire creates a painful dilemma. It leaves news organizations with two options: surviving by lowering their standards and providing more "popular" (trivial, remarkable, and dramatic) news or risk dying by upholding quality public interest journalism that will merely interest a niche market. Ultimately, each option would jeopardize journalism's broad informative function in democratic societies. This chapter aims to describe how this dilemma can be dismantled by taking news experiences seriously.

BEYOND THE NEWS GAP: THE TURN TO EXPERIENCE

What the dilemma of the news gap assumes is that taking responsibility for informed citizenship will often mean privileging hard news over soft news, substance over style, word over image, expository prose over soundbite, black-and-white over color photography (cf. Zelizer, 2000). In this vein, Prior (2003, p. 149) emphasized: "[T]here is only very limited evidence that viewers actually learn from soft news. The positive consequences of soft news for the political process remain to be demonstrated." Remarkably, though, this pattern of reasoning has been criticized since the 1990s (e.g., Dahlgren & Sparks, 1992; Gans, 1974, 2008; Sparks & Tulloch, 2000). A common factor in critical analyses of the news gap is that they do not deny the value of ratings, shares, circulation figures, surveys, people's opinions, or self-reports for measuring news consumption, but their accuracy in reflecting people's news preferences or appreciation of journalism. Instead these analyses aim to capture the variety and layeredness of people's *experiences* of journalism.

A groundbreaking study was carried out by Buckingham (2000), who used 42 small-group discussions generating more than 35 hours of talk with teenagers about news from the US and UK. His study showed how young people were becoming less interested in news. However, he suggested, the widening gap between users' interests and professional news selection should not be lamented, but taken on as a challenge. Journalism should reinvent itself to remain a vital force in "The Making of Citizens." Buckingham (2000, p. viii) argued for a rethinking of what scholars and journalists meant by "politics."

> Young people today are postmodern citizens—cynical, distracted, no longer possessed of the civic virtues and responsibilities of older generations. For them, conventional politics is merely an irrelevance; the personal has become political, the private has become the public, entertainment has become education.

Meanwhile, Carey (1989) developed his ritual model of communication, emphasizing that news not only transmits information but is also situated—symbolically and spatiotemporally—within people's everyday life. Subsequent ethnographic research has shown how hard it was to make clear functional as well as conceptual distinctions between soft and hard news, human interest or popular news, and public interest or quality news (Costera Meijer, 2007). From an audience perspective, as suggested by Bird (2000, p. 216), relevant news may not merely refer to its important content:

> Much of the news that readers and viewers are exposed to is either ignored or forgotten almost immediately; relevant news consists of stories that are memorable, and that take on a life of their own outside the immediate context of the newspaper or television broadcast.

If important news stories are presented to the audience in an engaging manner, Bird concluded, people would pay attention to them. In a similar vein, MacDonald (2000) argued that television news, by taking a personal angle, could engage viewers with serious issues. Gripsrud (2000) emphasized how from a ritual perspective—and thus in terms of instilling a sense of community, identity, shared conditions, values, and understandings among people—"it takes, if not all sorts, then at least many sorts of journalism to make a democratic media system work as it should" (p. 299).

A second issue associated with the tension between public interest information and popular news is that it may inadvertently lead to a narrowing down of public interest information to news facts about the public sphere, electoral politics, and government policies, while ignoring other informative genres (Harrington, 2008; Riegert, 2007; Van Zoonen, 2005). Dahlgren and Sparks (1992, pp. 18–19) unpacked one of the premises of journalism studies by emphasizing that journalism is part of popular culture rather than separate from it. They encouraged journalism to become

> sensitive to and acknowledge such aspects as the multiple subjectivities of everyday life, the protean purposes and diverse pleasures which people can associate with journalism, the processes by which audiences become communities of publics, the polysemy of texts . . . and the particular ways of knowing associated with narrative.

Finally, even when taking an essential distinction between soft and hard news for granted, the dominant assumption that audiences are mainly interested in "popular" news has been reconsidered. While it is certainly true that news users are attracted to "soft" news, as shown by clicks, time spent, and so on, this cannot be taken as proof that they are less interested in public affairs news. Indeed, quantitative and qualitative research suggests that many news users—including younger generations—prefer important news about societal issues provided that it is understandable, easily accessible, and well told (Rosenstiel et al., 2007; Van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2014; Newman et al., 2018). Similarly, if journalism is unsuccessful in promoting political engagement among citizens, it can be blamed on the lack of attempt "to explain a story's context, meaning or significance," which leads Lewis (2006, p. 315) to propose "to reconceive news by focusing on what it is useful for people to know."

In spite of the fundamental criticism of the conceptual and functional foundations of the "news gap," described above, it continues to resonate. One explanation is that user metrics such as clicks or time spent are taken as reflections of people's interests and preferences (Tenenboim & Cohen, 2015; Welbers et al., 2016). However, user practices, when studied from a qualitative angle, appear to be much more complex, layered, and even paradoxical than can be revealed by the figures themselves (Balnaves et al., 2011; Bourdon & Mëadel, 2011; Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015; Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2018, 2019).

A second explanation is the common instrumental vision of journalism within journalism studies. Key to the assessment of the value of journalism (in all its varieties) is how news is involved in bringing about citizenship, be it political, social, or cultural citizenship; public connection; or civic engagement. To understand more fully the value of journalism for users and audiences, it may be important not to restrict its importance a priori to its instrumental, civic, and social value. One of the founding fathers of journalism studies, John Dewey (1934), argued for widening scholarly horizons. If academics want to make better sense of people's experiences, he suggested they should employ an expressive rather than an instrumental approach to news stories (Jensen, 2002). Such an expressive approach analyzes what journalism triggers in its users in terms of affect, as well as in terms of pragmatic and cognitive deliberations. How do people actually experience the news they listen to, view, or read? The second part of this chapter will address this expressive approach in journalism studies. Not because it is more important than the instrumental approach, but because the expressive route may provide scholars with additional theories, concepts, and insights about what journalism and news actually evoke in people.

AN EXPRESSIVE APPROACH TO JOURNALISM

As explained, the conventional way out of the news gap is either providing more “trivial” news or holding on to traditional standards of quality news. Instead, it may be more fruitful to explore alternative normative standards for excellent journalism by approaching journalistic quality from a user’s perspective. When is journalism experienced as worth people’s while (Schrøder & Larsen, 2010; Schrøder, 2015) or valuable (Costera Meijer, 2013a; Costera Meijer & Bijleveld, 2016)? When does journalism spark an excellent experience? As news use continues to evolve and take on new forms, choosing news experience as point of departure may allow for a wider range of dimensions to be taken into account, not only the cognitive and informational but also the affective, ethical, material, sensory, and aesthetic.

Katz, Gurevitch, and Haas (1973) were among the first researchers to seriously consider an expressive angle to media, culminating in the development of Uses and Gratifications (U&G) theory.This theory holds that individuals choose to use a particular medium or genre by looking at the gratifications they expect to gain from it (Blumler & Katz, 1974; Ruggiero, 2000). U&G research has identified many gratifications over the years by employing the classic two-step methodological approach of focus groups followed by surveys. Sundar and Limperos (2013) observed however that U&G researchers have recently tended to dispense with the use of focus groups. By relying heavily on standardized questionnaires and broad categories (e.g., information seeking) scholars risk “missing the nuanced gratifications obtained from newer media” (p. 504). Sundar and Limperos criticized the implicit equation of the main gratification factor of news—the need for information and surveillance—with keeping up with important events and incidents occurring in one’s immediate surroundings. For instance, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp created new affordances regarding journalism. People do no longer have to actively seek news but can leisurely wait until it finds them.

NEW CONCEPTS AND EXPLANATORY FRAMES FOR JOURNALISM STUDIES

Recently, additional explanatory prisms developed in information studies, media studies, Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) studies, narrative studies, entertainment studies, cultural studies, and literary criticism have shed light on the value of news from an expressive point of view. Most of them share a phenomenological or pragmatist approach which tries to understand news use itself as experience, phenomenon, or practice.

Information Studies

The turn to experience developed in *information studies* made sense of the difference between *feeling* informed, which refers to people’s experience of information, and *being* informed, which generally refers to the content of the media message (Bruce, Davis, Hughes, Partridge, & Stoodley, 2014). This approach provides new insights into the distinction between what users recognize as journalism or as news, relating to information as genre, and what they appreciate as informative, relating to the situatedness of the information experience. The relevance of reckoning with people’s own informational worlds—where they live and how they live, including their concerns, needs, and interests—is, for instance, illustrated by the media experiences of residents of urban “problem neighborhoods” (Costera Meijer, 2013b; Kim & Ball-Rokeach, 2006). Residents do recognize news stories about their area that focus on violent youth, crime, poverty, bad health, and other "multi-ethnic" problems as belonging to the genre of journalism. However, they tend to experience them as neither realistic nor informative but as something "the media" do to the people (Lievrouw, 2009, p. 313). The dominant employment by journalists of the "problem frame" (Altheide, 1997), even in positive news, adds to residents' feelings of isolation and stigmatization. The problem frame used in news stories about these neighborhoods also impacted residents' direct, personal experience of their environment. Residents explained how it became increasingly hard to distinguish mediated reality from face-to-face reality, especially for those who had moved in recently (Costera Meijer, 2013b). Unlike journalism scholars' assumption that direct experience with an issue will be experienced as more truthful than mediated experience (Zucker, 1978), most residents blamed the news media for them losing touch with reality.

Media Studies

The second prism—*media studies*—invites a closer look at the apparatus, platforms, and devices and the commercial and algorithmic logics that mediate and shape the experience of journalism (Courtois, Mechant, Paulussen, & De Marez, 2012; Poell & Van Dijck, 2014). How can scholars investigate the materiality, the look and feel of the device, the platform, or media as part of the news experience? According to Ytre-Arne (2011, pp. 457–458), the concept of media experience, in particular when compared to media consumption, provides a subtler understanding of the "flesh and blood" of the different media platforms and devices. Approaching news media in this vein as material objects, showed how—despite being similar in content—informants' senses, perceptions, and feelings of the material form and the sensory and aesthetic appearance of print and online news could differ fundamentally: "A print newspaper is considered as an object completed, finished in itself whereas an online newspaper is a service provided by Web 2.0" (Fortunati, Taipale, & Farinosi, 2015, pp. 835–836). In its physical dimensions, reading a print newspaper represented an experiential continuum, whereas the online reading experience proved to be much more fragmented, because users could only see the main page on the screen. Moreover, the differences in the materiality of these two objects impact news users' feeling of news: a print newspaper had a stronger sensory appeal—"pleasantness"—than the online newspaper, which generated "a sensation of coldness" (Fortunati et al., 2015, p. 841). In other words, users' sensory experience of the material objects was found to be part of their experience of news, and this ranged from the distinctive shape, materiality, and tactility of the medium to how they experienced the weight or temperature of a newspaper, tablet, smartphone, and so on (Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2019; Picone, Courtois, & Paulussen, 2015; Zerba, 2011).

Human-Computer Interaction Studies

A third novel explanatory frame may help scholars to approach news as a technology-mediated *interactive* experience beyond the instrumental value of usability or utility studies, which emphasize technology's fit to behavioral goals. Such a frame uses affective and emotional aspects of the interaction to explain, for instance, the ambivalence in news users' preference for personalized news. Although most people are said to be in favor of it (Purcell et al., 2010) and personalized news could be realized by simply pushing some buttons on their smartphone or tablet, Groot Kormelink and Costera Meijer (2014) discovered, when checking people's actual settings, that news users apparently found it more convenient to just scroll along the items they were not particularly interested in. In addition, many news users refrained from clicking or tapping on a news item not for lack of interest but because it would interrupt their "news flow" (Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2018, 2019). Affordances of technology (e.g., clicking for more information, hyperlinks, personalization of news) are appreciated as such, but that does not mean they are also actually used. Emphasizing the need for a non-deterministic conception of technologies' affordances, Davis and Chouinard (2017) illustrate how people's experiences of affordances also depend on their awareness and knowledge of them.

The experiential perspective in HCI studies emphasizes the situatedness and temporality of technology use. Relevant for making sense of digital news use is the description of Hassenzahl and Tractinsky (2006, p. 95) of user experience (UX):

> UX is about technology that fulfils more than just instrumental needs in a way that acknowledges its use as a subjective, situated, complex and dynamic encounter. UX is a consequence of a user's internal state (predispositions, expectations, needs, motivation, mood, etc.), the characteristics of the designed system (e.g., complexity, purpose, usability, functionality, etc.) and the context (or the environment) within which the interaction occurs (e.g., organisational/social setting, meaningfulness of the activity, voluntariness of use, etc.).

Bargas-Avila and Hornbæck (2011) motivate the "turn to experience" in HCI studies by a search for experiential qualities of technology use such as enchantment, engagement, tangible magic, and relevance rather than product qualities. According to Hassenzahl and Tractinsky (2006, p. 92) these hedonic experiences can range from "stimulation (i.e., personal growth, an increase of knowledge and skills), identification (i.e., self-expression, and intimate interaction with relevant others) to evocation (i.e., self-maintenance, memories)." Such concepts may help journalism scholars to understand the pleasures that are—or are not—provided by new, interactive journalistic genres such as "immersive journalism" (Van Damme, All, De Marez, & Van Leuven, 2018), news activities, such as news sharing, and innovative news genres, such as news games and news quizzes.

Entertainment Studies and Narrative Studies

Concepts and theories developed in *entertainment studies* and *narrative studies*—the fourth explanatory prism—will enable journalism scholars to refine their vocabulary not only to encompass a broader range of emotions and feelings, but also to make qualitative distinctions between them. Twenty years ago, Glasser (2000) already called for the study of the "enjoyment of news use." Our everyday news use, he argued, could not be explained merely by rational, utilitarian, extrinsic, and other instrumental motivations. It is important to understand the appeal of news based on the reading or viewing experience itself. Nevertheless, journalism scholars and journalists tended to equate enjoyment with entertainment—journalism's Other—which may explain why affective experiences of news are generally approached from a critical point of view (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001; Hendriks Vettehen et al., 2008). Supposedly, people are attracted by the spectacular, sensational, and remarkable and are more likely to share news that, for instance, makes them angry or amuses them (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The entertaining appeal of news is often studied from the assumption that it aims to distract people from the serious side of life by diverting their attention to more trivial issues.

Exploring the pleasure principle of news use may help scholars to come to terms with the difference between what people truly enjoy as valuable and worth their while and other pleasurable experiences of news. In entertainment studies and narrative studies, scholars distinguish between attention and arousal, on the one hand, and more complex affective states such as satisfaction, appreciation, and transportation, on the other (Bartsch & Schneider, 2014; Green & Brock, 2000; Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Roth, Weinmann, Schneider, Hopp, & Vorderer, 2014). This corresponds to the way viewers of two different current affairs shows enjoyed attention and arousal as forms of temporary mood management that distracted them from the here and now, while the notion of "satisfaction" covered more sustainable experiences, such as finally understanding something or learning something new (Coleman & Moss, 2016; Groot Kormelink & Costera Meijer, 2017).

The subtler range of concepts developed in entertainment studies and narrative studies is useful when analyzing the layered affective experiences of journalism. For journalism scholars it makes sense to distinguish between hedonic experiences—attention and arousal, fun and pleasure, diversion and distraction—as part of everyday enjoyment and their more intense, sustaining eudaimonic counterparts—appreciation, satisfaction, transportation, and narrative engagement—as more intense feelings which refer to a state of happiness. For instance, the concept of appreciation has been used to describe the positive emotions involved in a thought-provoking experience, stories that invite advanced reflectiveness (Oliver & Bartsch, 2010; Richardson, Parry, & Corner, 2012). In narrative studies the concept of transportation was developed to make sense of the captivation of news users when they feel moved by a news story in an unfamiliar narrative world, in particular when the experience taught them something about the workings of this world or—just as valuable—about themselves (Green & Brock, 2000).

In the context of news use, these states of eudaimonism or happiness may function to describe quality news less in terms of *content* and more from a user perspective, as a quality *experience* (Costera Meijer, 2013a; Costera Meijer & Bijleveld, 2016). Being able to distinguish more precisely the affective, cognitive, and pragmatic dimensions involved in the enjoyment and happiness involved in news use will make it easier for scholars of journalism to make sense of the affordances of everyday news use without a priori celebrating them as enlightening or condemning them as "merely" distracting.

Cultural Studies and Literary Criticism: Ethics as User Experience

A turn to experience in journalism ethics is developing slowly. In journalism studies, ethics has been understood to refer to the quality of the content and the professionality of the production procedures of journalism (Ward, 2010). Although news *use* has also been studied from an ethical context, the emphasis was mostly on the production perspective. People were asked how they relate to (Ward, 2005) or whether they recognized ethical qualities in news such as "diversity, relevance, ethics, impartiality, objectivity and comprehensibility" (Urban & Schweiger, 2014, p. 821). In contrast, Dewey (1934, p. 332) called attention to the ethical features of the user experience itself: the feelings of connection among people that encourage "the expansion of sympathies, imagination and sense." In this vein, Tester (2001) pleaded for taking seriously the feeling of compassion as a moral criterion for valuable news experiences.

A wider range of ethical experiences has been discussed in literary criticism in terms of the kinds of "friendship" stories offer (Booth, 1988). Booth's critical metaphor of friendship invites journalism scholars and news users to pose self-reflective questions such as: what kind of friendship am I looking for in journalism? Is it the kind that offers me confirmation, comfort, or consolation or the kind of company that offers useful information about health, fashion, politics, or traveling which can immediately be put into practice? Booth's idea of ethical friendship, he suggests, will encourage people to move outside of their comfort zone and require them to rethink their predispositions. This kind of friendship can involve direct pleasure and direct gain but is also "good" in and of itself. It contributes, in the words of Booth, to "the good of my soul." In this context, news users are expected to make ethical choices. They can choose "to occupy" their time with more or less ethical news experiences. Occupation as moral dimension of news use may become even more important as the business models of media organizations are increasingly based on the laws of the attention economy. If people click on a trivial news item, they should realize that news organizations assume it catches their attention because it interests them or because the issue is important for them. Consequently, they can expect algorithms to provide them with more of the same.

From a similar cultural studies perspective, Silverstone (2007, p. 27) pointed out a moral distinction between *members of the audience*, referring to being passively on the receiving end of mass media, and *users*, referring to people as active participants in media culture. The latter carry some kind of responsibility for their involvement in it. As agents in media culture, users should reflect on the moral quality of their media participation: in their subscription to a particular news product; in their actual selection of news; and in the quality of their comments, likes, or criticism they provide. These three ethical dimensions—friendship, occupation, and participation—differ from the usual ethical approaches in journalism because they focus on and invite people to reflect on the ethical qualities of the news experience itself: the extent to which one experiences a soul-enriching friendship, a valuable usage of one's time, and/or a constructive, responsible participation in media culture.

A TURN TO AUDIENCES, A TURN TO EXPERIENCE?

As noted earlier, journalism studies tends to look at news use as a disembodied, cognitive activity and its devices and platforms as neutral mediators of information. This chapter has called for more attention towards people's experiences of journalism by focusing beyond cognitive and pragmatic dimensions of news use to include emotional, sensory, and haptic experiences. In so doing, it suggests analyzing journalism in line with recent calls for nonrepresentational and non-media-centric approaches to media use (Couldry, 2012; Couldry & Hepp, 2016; Moores, 2012). Adding perspectives, scholarly insights, and concepts from information studies, media studies, HCI studies, entertainment studies, narrative studies, ethnography, cultural studies, and literary criticism to the founding explanatory frames of journalism (sociology, history, linguistics, political communication, and ethics) can help scholars make sense of news use. Adding emotional, interactional, technological, haptic, practical, embodied, material, and sensory dimensions to the study of journalism is not only important for academic reasons. Because the business models of commercial and public service journalism increasingly depend on users' engagement with news, doing justice to the situatedness of the news experience may encourage news organizations to rethink their assumptions regarding their users and audiences.

Adding an expressive approach to an instrumental view on news experience may not only broaden the scope of research into audience engagement from measured engagement with news (which has become the dominant institutional perspective) back to its original conception as the driving force behind political or civic participation (instrumental view). It may also lead to an inclusion of studying news engagement (or disengagement, for that matter) as important in itself for news users and thus worth analyzing (expressive view).

Drawing on insights and concepts from information studies revealed how journalism can benefit from being studied by a "non-news-centric" approach. What is valued as important current information may not always overlap with what news organizations present as news. Moreover, when using social media in particular, the boundaries between news and other kinds of information become fluid, as is illustrated by the popular habit of "the checking cycle," regularly, in one quick session checking one's news app, email, dating sites, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and so on (Costera Meijer & Groot Kormelink, 2015).

Extending the scholarly repertoire of journalism studies to include the material turn in media studies enables scholars to study how media technologies, platforms, and devices do much more than transmit information. First, users may experience news as "incidental," while their newsfeed is actually steered by commercial, public, and algorithmic logics (Poell & Van Dijck, 2014; Van Dijck & Poell, 2015). Second, how and when news is experienced also depends on the material and tactile characteristics of the platform or device: on weekends, in a relaxed way discussing news from the newspaper with loved ones at the breakfast table, on working days, quickly scanning headlines on one's smartphone or tablet to feel updated. While technological determinism should be avoided, the convenience of smartphones and their particular usefulness for filling the interstices of time (Dimmick, Feaster, & Hoplamazian, 2011; Picone et al., 2015) may nonetheless have lured young people back to journalism.

Because the main perspective of the experiential view on HCI is "to contribute to our quality of life by designing for pleasure rather than for absence of pain" (Hassenzahl & Tractinsky, 2006, p. 95), the integration of an HCI perspective in journalism studies may prevent scholars and journalists from striving to "interaction" as a quality in itself and encourage them to much more precisely analyze which kind of "interaction" is experienced as valuable or worthwhile. The concepts and theories developed in HCl studies will improve scholars' understanding of the pleasure, or lack thereof, involved in interactive journalistic genres such as news games, immersive journalism, and long form news narratives.

Furthermore, concepts and theories from entertainment studies and narrative studies can bridge the gap between entertainment and journalism not so much as genres, but as experiences. If excellent journalism should be reinvented to bridge the news gap, as scholars suggest, it could benefit from a refinement of the academic discourse for labeling, contemplating, and comparing what counts as pleasure and what counts as happiness. The concepts derived from narrative studies and entertainment studies can broaden journalism studies' repertoire for distinguishing an entertaining experience from a quality experience that journalism may trigger in users. Differentiating between forms of mood management, such as lifting our spirits, and more sustainable forms of appreciation, such as moving us to think, enables scholars to reconsider the role of pleasure in journalism beyond "mere" entertainment.

Finally, an expressive view on journalism ethics will foster a sharing of the burden of ethical responsibility amongst news organizations, news makers, and news users. News users can also be expected to act ethically by reflecting on the kind of friendship that journalism triggers in them, by the amount of time they choose to spend with these friends, and by taking on the responsibility for their own news participation. It is also up to news users—in terms of attention and financial support—to choose which journalism will survive.

A turn to experience will oblige scholars to rephrase the general question of which term to use—audiences, publics, users, consumers, or even just "people"—into a contextual and situated one. The more specific question—when is which term appropriate?—cannot be answered without taking into account the circumstances, relationships, characteristics, and specific use of the media, devices, platforms, and technology; the kind of entertainment and narratives; and even the virtues of the media-participants. Whether journalism will be operating as a constructive cultural force is up to all its actors: to scholars, producers, and participants alike.

REFERENCES

Altheide, D. L. (1997). The news media, the problem frame, and the production of fear. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *38*(4), 647–668.

Anderson, C. W. (2011). Between creative and quantified audiences: Web metrics and changing patterns of newswork in local US newsrooms. *Journalism*, *12*(5), 550–566.

Balnaves, M., O'Regan, T., & Goldsmith, B. (2011). *Rating the audience: The business of media*. London and New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.
Bargas-Avila, J. A., & Hornbæk, K. (2011, May). Old wine in new bottles or novel challenges: A critical analysis of empirical studies of user experience. In *Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems* (pp. 2689–2698). ACM. May 7–12, 2011, Vancouver, BC, Canada.
Bartsch, A., & Schneider, F. M. (2014). Entertainment and politics revisited: How non-escapist forms of entertainment can stimulate political interest and information seeking. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(3), 369–396.
Batsell, J. (2015). *Engaged journalism. Connecting with digitally empowered news audiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Bird, S. E. (2000). Audience demands in a Murderous market; tabloidization in US television news. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. 213–229). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Bird, S. E., & Dardenne, R. W. (1988). Myth, chronicle, and story: Exploring the narrative qualities of news. In J. W. Carey (Ed.), *Media, myths, and narratives: Television and the press* (pp. 67–86). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
Blumler, J. G., & Coleman, S. (2015). Democracy and the media—revisited. *Javnost—The Public*, *22*(2), 111–128. doi:10.1080/13183222.2015.1041226
Blumler, J. G., & Katz, E. (1974). *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research*. London: Sage Publications.
Boczkowski, P. J., & Mitchelstein, E. (2013). *The news gap: When the information preferences of the media and the public diverge*. Cambridge, M: MIT Press.
Booth, W. C. (1988). *The company we keep: An ethics of fiction*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
Bourdon, J., & Méadel, C. (2011). Inside television audience measurement: Deconstructing the ratings machine. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(5), 791–800.
Bruce, C., Davis, K., Hughes, H., Partridge, H., & Stoodley, I. (2014). Information experience: Contemporary perspectives. In C. Bruce, K. Davis. H. Hughes, H. Partridge, & I. Stoodley (Eds.), *Information experience: Approaches to theory and practice* (pp. 3–15). Bingley, West Yorkshire: Emerald http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S1876-056220140000010001
Buckingham, D. (2000). *The making of citizens. Young people, news and politics*. London: Routledge.
Carey, J. W. (1989). *Culture as communication: Essays on media and society*. New York, NY: Unwin Hyman.
Coleman, S., & Ross, K. (2010). *The media and the public:" them" and" us" in media discourse*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
Coleman, S., & Moss, G. (2016). Rethinking election debates: What citizens are entitled to expect. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *21*(1), 3–24.
Conboy, M. (2013). *The language of the news*. London: Routledge.
Costera Meijer, I. (2007). The paradox of popularity: How young people experience the news. *Journalism Studies*, *8*(1), 96–116.
Costera Meijer, I. (2013a). Valuable journalism: A search for quality from the vantage point of the user. *Journalism*, *14*(6), 754–770.
Costera Meijer, I. (2013b). When news hurts: The promise of participatory storytelling for urban problem neighbourhoods. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(1), 13–28.
Costera Meijer, I., & Bijleveld, H. P. (2016). Valuable journalism: Measuring news quality from a user's perspective. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(7), 827–839.
Costera Meijer, I., & Groot Kormelink, T. (2015). Checking, sharing, clicking and linking: Changing patterns of news use between 2004 and 2014. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(5), 664–679.
Costera Meijer, I., & Groot Kormelink, T. (2016). How a user-based approach changes the meaning of clicks, transparency, and citizen participation. In B. Franklin & S. Eldridge II (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies* (pp. 345–354). London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Cottle, S. (2000). Rethinking news access. *Journalism Studies*, *1*(3), 427–448.
Couldry, N. (2012). *Media, society, world*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2016). *The mediated construction of reality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Courtois, C., Mechant, P., Paulussen, S., & De Marez, L. (2012). The triple articulation of media technologies in teenage media consumption. *New Media & Society*, *14*(3), 401–420.
Cushion, S. (2012). *The democratic value of news: Why public service media matter*. London and New York, NY: Macmillan International Higher Education.
Dahlgren, P. (1995). *Television and the public sphere: Citizenship, democracy and the media*. London: Sage Publications.
Dahlgren, P., & Sparks, C. (Eds.). (1992). *Journalism and popular culture*. London: Sage Publications.
Davis, J. L., & Chouinard, J. B. (2017). Theorizing affordances: From request to refuse. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, *36*(4), 241–248.
Dewey, J. (2005 [1934]). *Art as experience*. New York, NY: Penguin.
D'Haenens, L., Trappel, J., & Sousa, H. (2018). *Comparative media policy, regulation and governance in Europe: Unpacking the policy cycle*. Bristol: Intellect Books.
Dimmick, J., Feaster, J. C., & Hoplamazian, G. J. (2011). News in the interstices: The niches of mobile media in space and time. *New Media & Society*, *13*(1), 23–39.
Domingo, D., Masip, P., & Costera Meijer, I. (2015). Tracing digital news networks: Towards an integrated framework of the dynamics of news production, circulation and use. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 53–67.
Firmstone, J., & Coleman, S. (2014). The changing role of the local news media in enabling citizens to engage in local democracies. *Journalism Practice*, *8*(5), 596–606.
Flaxman, S., Goel, S., & Rao, J. M. (2016). Filter bubbles, echo chambers, and online news consumption. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *80*(Suppl 1), 298–320.
Fortunati, L., Taipale, S., & Farinosi, M. (2015). Print and online newspapers as material artefacts. *Journalism*, *16*(6), 830–846.
Gans, H. (2008). (1974). *Popular culture and high culture: An analysis and evaluation of taste*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Glasser, T. L. (2000). Play and the power of news. *Journalism*, *1*(1), 23–29.
Grabe, M. E., Zhou, S., & Barnett, B. (2001). Explicating sensationalism in television news: Content and the bells and whistles of form. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *45*(4), 635–655.
Green, M. C., & Brock, T. C. (2000). The role of transportation in the persuasiveness of public narratives. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*(5), 701–721.
Gripsrud, J. (2000). Tabloidization, popular journalism and democracy. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales*: *Global debates over media standards* (pp. 285–300). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
Groot Kormelink, T., & Costera Meijer, I. (2014). Tailor-made news: Meeting the demands of news users on mobile and social media. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(5), 632–641.
Groot Kormelink, T., & Costera Meijer, I. (2017). "It's catchy, but it gets you f*cking nowhere": What viewers of current affairs experience as captivating political information. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *22*(2), 143–162.
Groot Kormelink, T., & Costera Meijer, I. (2018). What clicks actually mean: Exploring digital news user practices. *Journalism*, *19*(5), 668–683.
Groot Kormelink, T., & Costera Meijer, I. (2019). Material and sensory dimensions of everyday news use. *Media, Culture & Society*, 711p, Online First: 1–17. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718810910.
Harcup, T., & O'Neill, D. (2017). What is news? *Journalism Studies*, *18*(12), 1470–1488.
Harrington, S. (2008). Popular news in the 21st century: Time for a new critical approach? *Journalism*, *9*(3), 266–284.
Hasebrink, U., & Popp, J. (2006). Media repertoires as a result of selective media use. A conceptual approach to the analysis of patterns of exposure. *Communications*, *31*(2), 369–387.
Hassenzahl, M., & Tractinsky, N. (2006). User experience-a research agenda. *Behaviour & Information Technology*, *25*(2), 91–97.

Hermida, A. (2012). Social journalism: Exploring how social media is shaping journalism. In E. Siapera & A. Veglis (Eds.), *The handbook of global online journalism* (pp. 309–328). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Jensen, J. (2002). *Is art good for us? Beliefs about high culture in American life*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Katz, E., Gurevitch, M., & Haas, H. (1973). On the use of the mass media for important things. *American Sociological Review*, *38*(2), 164–181.

Kim, Y. C., & Ball-Rokeach, S. J. (2006). Civic engagement from a communication infrastructure perspective. *Communication Theory*, *16*(2), 173–197.

Knobloch, S., Patzig, G., Mende, A. M., & Hastall, M. (2004). Affective news: Effects of discourse structure in narratives on suspense, curiosity, and enjoyment while reading news and novels. *Communication Research*, *31*(3), 259–287.

Lee, A. M., Lewis, S. C., & Powers, M. J. (2014). Audience clicks and news placement: A study of time-lagged influence in online journalism. *Communication Research*, *41*(1), 505–530.

Lewis, J. (2006). News and the empowerment of citizens. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, *9*(3), 303–319.

Lewis, S. C., & Westlund, O. (2015). Actors, actants, audiences, and activities in cross-media news work: A matrix and a research agenda. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(1), 19–37.

Lievrouw, L. (2009). New media, mediation and communication study. *Information Communication & Society*, *12*(3), 303–325.

Lowe, G. F. (2010). Beyond altruism. Why public participation in public service media matters. In G. F. Lowe (Ed.), *The public in public service media* (pp. 9–35). Göteborg: Nordicom.

Lowrey, W. (2012). Journalism innovation and the ecology of news production: Institutional tendencies. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *14*(4), 214–287.

Macdonald, M. (2000). Rethinking personalization in current affairs journalism. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. 251–266). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Madrigal, A. C. (2017). What Facebook did to American democracy. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2017/10/what-facebook-did/542502/

Moores, S. (2012). *Media, place and mobility*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Napoli, P. M. (2011). *Audience evolution: New technologies and the transformation of media audiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Kalogeropoulos, A., Levy, D. A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2018). *Reuters institute digital news report 2018*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.

Nguyen, A. (2013). Online news audiences: The challenges of web metrics. In S. Allan & K. Fowler-Watt (Eds.), *Journalism: New challenges* (pp. 146–161). Poole, England: Centre for Journalism & Communication Research, Bournemouth University.

Oliver, M. B., & Bartsch, A. (2010). Appreciation as audience response: Exploring entertainment gratifications beyond hedonism. *Human Communication Research*, *36*(1), 53–81.

Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the internet is hiding from you*. London: Viking.

Phillips, A., Couldry, N., & Freedman, D. (2010). An ethical deficit? Accountability, norms and the material conditions of contemporary journalism. In N. Fenton (Ed.), *New media, old news. Journalism and democracy in the digital age* (pp. 51–68). London: Sage Publications.

Picone, I. (2017). Conceptualizing media users across media: The case for ‘media user/use’ as analytical concepts. *Convergence*, *23*(4), 378–390.

Picone, I., Courtois, C., & Paulussen, S. (2015). When news is everywhere: Understanding participation, cross-mediality and mobility in journalism from a radical user perspective. *Journalism Practice*, *9*(1), 35–49.

Poell, T., & Van Dijck, J. (2014). Social media and journalistic independence. In J. Bennett & N. Strange (Eds.), *Media independence: Working with freedom or working for free* (1st ed., pp. 181–201). London: Routledge.

Price, V., & Zaller, J. (1993). Who gets the news? Alternative measures of news reception and their implications for research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *57*(2), 133–164.

Prior, M. (2003). Any good news in soft news? The impact of soft news preference on political knowledge. *Political Communication*, *20*(2), 149–171.
Prior, M. (2009). Improving media effects research through better measurement of news exposure. *The Journal of Politics*, *71*(3), 893–908.
Purcell, K., Rainie, L., Mitchell, A., Rosenstiel, T., & Olmstead, K. (2010). *Understanding the participatory news consumer: How internet and cell phone users have turned news into a social experience*. Pew Research Center, Pew Internet & American Life Project, and Project for Excellence in Journalism. Retrieved from www.gabinetecomunicacionyeducacion.com/sites/default/files/field/adjuntos/understanding_the_participatory_news_consumer.pdf
Richardson, K., Parry, K., & Corner, J. (2012). *Political culture and media genre: Beyond the news*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Riegert, K. (Ed.). (2007). *Politicotainment: Television's take on the real*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
Rosenstiel, T., Just, M., Belt, T., Pertilla, A., Dean, W., & Chinni, D. (2007). *We interrupt this newscast: How to improve local news and win ratings, too*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Roth, F. S., Weinmann, C., Schneider, F. M., Hopp, F. R., & Vorderer, P. (2014). Seriously entertained: Antecedents and consequences of hedonic and eudaimonic entertainment experiences with political talk shows on TV. *Mass Communication and Society*, *17*(3), 379–399.
Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and gratifications theory in the 21st century. *Mass Communication and Society*, *3*(1), 3–37.
Schrøder, K. C. (2015). News media old and new: Fluctuating audiences, news repertoires and locations of consumption. *Journalism Studies*, *16*(1), 60–78.
Schrøder, K. C., & Steeg Larsen, B. (2010). The shifting cross-media news landscape: Challenges for news producers. *Journalism Studies*, *11*(4), 524–534.
Silverstone, R. (2007). *Media and morality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Sparks, C., & Tulloch, J. (Eds.). (2000). *Tabloid tales*: *Global debates over media standards*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Stand van de nieuwsmedia. (2017). Retrieved from www.svdj.nl/stand-van-de-nieuwsmedia/
Strömbäck, J., Karlsson, M., & Hopmann, D. N. (2012). Determinants of news content. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(5–6), 718–728. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2012.664321
Stroud, N. J., & Muddiman, A. (2013). Selective exposure, tolerance, and satirical news. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *25*(3), 271–290.
Sundar, S. S., & Limperos, A. M. (2013). Uses and grats 2.0: New gratifications for new media. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *57*(4), 504–525.
Tandoc, E. C. Jr. (2014). Journalism is twerking? How web analytics is changing the process of gatekeeping. *New Media & Society*, *16*(4), 559–575.
Tandoc, E. C. Jr., & Thomas, R. J. (2015). The ethics of web analytics: Implications of using audience metrics in news construction. *Digital Journalism*, *3*(2), 243–258.
Tenenboim, O., & Cohen, A. A. (2015). What prompts users to click and comment: A longitudinal study of online news. *Journalism*, *16*(2), 198–217.
Tester, K. (2001). *Compassion, morality and the media*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Tewksbury, D. (2005). The seeds of audience fragmentation: Specialization in the use of online news sites. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *49*(3), 332–348.
Thussu, D. K. (2008). *News as entertainment: The rise of global infotainment*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publishers.
Urban, J., & Schweiger, W. (2014). News quality from the recipients' perspective: Investigating recipients' ability to judge the normative quality of news. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(6), 821–840.
Van Damme, K., All, A., De Marez, L., & Van Leuven, S. (2018). *Immersive journalism: An experimental study on the effect of 360° video journalism on presence and distant suffering*. Paper presented at the Etmaal van de Communicatiewetenschap.
Van der Wurff, R., & Schönbach, K. (2014). Audience expectations of media accountability in the Netherlands. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(2), 121–137.
Van Dijck, J., & Poell, T. (2015). Making public television social? Public service broadcasting and the challenges of social media. *Television & New Media*, *16*(2), 148–164.

Van Zoonen, L. (2005). *Entertaining the citizen: When politics and popular culture converge*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Vettehen, P. H., Nuijten, K., & Peeters, A. (2008). Explaining effects of sensationalism on liking of television news stories the role of emotional arousal. *Communication Research*, *35*(3), 319–338.
Vettehen, P. H., Zhou, S., Kleemans, M., d'Haenens, L., & Lin, T. T. (2012). Competitive pressure and arousing television news: A cross-cultural study. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *22*(2), 179–196.
Vu, H. T. (2014). The online audience as gatekeeper: The influence of reader metrics on news editorial selection. *Journalism*, *15*(8), 1094–1110.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2009). On the newsroom-centricity of journalism ethnography. In E. S Bird (Ed.), *Journalism and anthropology* (pp. 21–35). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2019). *Emotions, media and politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Ward, S. J. A. (2005). Journalism ethics from the public's point of view. *Journalism Studies*, *6*(3), 315–330.
Ward, S. J. A. (2010). *Global journalism ethics*. Montreal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.
Webster, J. G. (2010). User information regimes: How social media shape patterns of consumption. *Northwestern University Law Review*, *104*(2), 593–612.
Webster, J. G. (2014). *The marketplace of attention. How audiences take shape in a digital age*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Webster, J. G., & Ksiazek, T. B. (2012). The dynamics of audience fragmentation: Public attention in an age of digital media. *Journal of Communication*, *62*(1), 39–56.
Welbers, K., Van Atteveldt, W., Kleinnijenhuis, J., Ruigrok, N., & Schaper, J. (2016). News selection criteria in the digital age: Professional norms versus online audience metrics. *Journalism*, *17*(8), 1037–1053.
Williams, J. (2017, May 12). *de Morgen*. Retrieved from www.youtube.com/watch?v=y32RWsZXCL4
Ytre-Arne, B. (2011). "I want to hold it in my hands": Readers' experiences of the phenomenological differences between women's magazines online and in print. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(3), 467–477. http://doi.org/10.1177/0163443711398766
Zelizer, B. (2000). Foreword. In C. Sparks & J. Tulloch (Eds.), *Tabloid tales: Global debates over media standards* (pp. ix–xii). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Zelizer, B. (2004). *Taking journalism seriously: News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.
Zerba, A. (2011). Young adults' reasons behind avoidances of daily print newspapers and their ideas for change. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *88*(3), 597–614.
Zucker, G. H. (1978). The variable nature of news media influence. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *2*(1), 225–240.

26

Journalism and Everyday Life

Folker Hanusch

INTRODUCTION

From its early beginnings, journalism scholarship has focused predominantly on journalism's relationship with the political sphere. Given the profession's historical roots, this is not surprising; after all, journalism has played a crucial role in impacting many societies across the globe through its focus on holding the powerful to account. As a result, a myriad of theories on journalism have evolved over past decades that focus on this relationship, and even take it for granted as journalism's raison d'etre. Many of these theories or paradigms are included or touched upon in some detail in other chapters in this volume. At the same time, this focus on journalism's relationship with democracy—and political life more generally—has resulted in a number of blind spots when it comes to journalism's role in society. Increasingly, scholars have begun to highlight how journalism scholarship's preoccupation with hard news content has led to a narrow vision of what journalism actually is (see, e.g., Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018; Josephi, 2013; Zelizer, 2013). Zelizer (2013), for example, has argued that the central focus on democracy in understanding journalism has left a range of practices and realities on the ground underexplored, underestimated, and undervalued. Areas of the news which are more concerned with everyday life matters of audiences have therefore typically been "denigrated, relativized, and reduced in value alongside aspirations for something better" (Zelizer, 2011, p. 9). Such views are also frequently borne out in the profession, which for a long time has had a relatively clear separation and pecking order. As Harrington (1997, p. xiii) has pointed out: "At every newspaper there simmers animosity between the 'hard' and 'soft' journalists—with the soft faction always holding less power."

Yet, changing realities within journalism and broader developments on the societal level have led journalism scholarship to slowly engage more fundamentally with journalism's role outside the sphere of politics. Importantly, it appears that in many societies the traditional boundaries between hard and soft news—concepts that are complex enough in themselves (Reinemann, Stanyer, Scherr, & Legnante, 2012)—are increasingly blurred (Sjøvaag, 2015), and we are seeing a rise in news coverage that is concerned with everyday life, i.e., content which focuses on audiences' individual needs in consumer societies. Such research has invariably been concerned with soft news content in a variety of guises, such as lifestyle journalism, human interest stories, or service journalism, to name just a few. While such content is nothing new and journalism has always been concerned with matters of everyday life, recent decades have seen an accelerated increase in the importance of such content, making its presence more relevant for audiences, and thus for journalism scholarship as well.

Three key developments at the societal level are related to this rise in journalistic content about everyday life: individualization, social value change, and mediatization (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). Individualization is a process we can observe across the globe, where traditional social institutions are losing their hold over people's lives and are increasingly less central reference points for collective normative orientations. Through this process of "de-traditionalization" (Giddens, 1991), individuals are forced to choose from a wide range of options to articulate their own individual identity. Identity work is therefore no longer "necessarily predetermined by social origin and social background but is increasingly an individual exercise" (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013, p. 945). As a result, the individual, rather than the collective, is becoming a more and more fundamental concept.

Connected to individualization, scholars have also observed some fundamental shifts in social values, particularly in the Global North. As economic resources for survival are generally secured in postindustrial societies, social values are undergoing a shift from survival values to self-expression values (Inglehart, 1997). Members in these societies thus tend to place stronger emphasis on subjective well-being and quality of life, rather than economic and physical security (Inglehart, 1997). This has led to more options for shaping individual lifestyles and—as these are often exhibited through consumer products—a focus on consumption, as the visible attributes that signify a specific lifestyle are usually purchasable products (clothing, gadgets, cars, accessories, etc.) and patterns of leisure-time activities (Chaney, 2001; Taylor, 2002).

The third aspect of relevance is the role that media play in social processes of any kind (Krotz, 2008). Referred to as mediatization—the "process whereby society to an increasing degree is submitted to, or becomes dependent on, the media and their logic" (Hjarvard, 2008b, p. 113)—it sees the role of traditionally more important social institutions like family, school, and the church as being eroded. Instead, it is now the media who "have become society's most important storyteller about society itself" (Hjarvard, 2008a p. 13). As a result, the media can no longer be seen as separate from other social institutions or even personal experience and everyday life (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013).

These three major developments have contributed not only to a growth in journalistic content concerned with everyday life, but also a slow increase in scholarly attention to the topic. This chapter surveys the emergent body of work dealing with various aspects of journalism and everyday life. Following an overview of terminology used in this context, the chapter outlines some historical trajectories of journalism's relationship with everyday life. Further, it analyzes the current state of research on journalism's role in identity formation, the role of emotion, the area of consumption, as well as a focus on the political utility and public quality of such kind of journalism. Finally, future trends and developments in this area of scholarship are discussed.

DEFINING JOURNALISM AND EVERYDAY LIFE

While everyday life has been a topic of sociological study for around a century (Adler, Adler, & Fontana, 1987), journalism scholarship has been concerned for a much shorter time with what are usually considered mundane, ordinary, or normal experiences related to private life. One key reason is the dichotomy—noted earlier—that has confined everyday life to the non-serious and trivial sphere and which was therefore deemed unworthy of serious scholarly examination. Communication research more broadly, however, has been concerned with everyday life more from a reception analysis point of view, with a considerable number of studies interested in the ways in which audiences integrate news into their everyday lives (see, for example, Bird, 2003; Madianou, 2009).

This chapter, however, deals with the topic from the production and content side of journalism. This means that we are interested in the ways in which journalists and journalistic products deal with the realm of everyday life. A key feature in this regard is the aspect of consumerism, which emanates from the larger societal developments discussed earlier. Campbell (2004), for example, sees journalism and everyday life as an area in which audiences are addressed less in their role as citizens and more as clients and consumers, with a focus on their personal fears, aspirations, attitudes, and emotional experiences. This separation is neither always easy, nor is it especially helpful for scholarship. Importantly, key scholars and theorists on everyday life, such as Gardiner (2000) and Lefebvre (2000), argue that dichotomies between the public and the private are misleading, and instead it is important to focus on everyday life as occurring across the two spheres. This separation between consumer and citizen is also reflected in some recent journalism scholarship, which has begun to question it, arguing that these areas are increasingly blurred and inseparable (see, for example, Mellado et al., 2013).

In relation to journalism, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018, p. 151) argue that studying everyday life "includes realities such as securing daily provisions, self-maintenance and entertainment. Through it, all persons must manage their emotional state and negotiate their identity." Using this definition, they employ the term everyday life to encapsulate a range of nonpolitical news. In a similar way, Harrington (1997, p. xiv) defines journalism about everyday life as stories that are "about the behavior, motives, feelings, faiths, attitudes, grievances, hopes, fears and accomplishments of people as they seek meaning and purpose in their lives, stories that are windows on our universal human struggle." Other definitions, while not focusing on everyday life per se, nevertheless address components of it. In journalism studies, this particularly relates to the area of service, or lifestyle journalism. In one of the first in-depth analyses of the phenomenon, Eide and Knight (1999, p. 527) refer to service journalism as something that "represents the development of a hybrid social identity—part citizen, part consumer, part client—that is oriented to resolving the problems of everyday life in ways that can combine individualistic and collective, political forms of response." In focusing on lifestyle journalism, Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) argue its key components are self-expression, the signification of identity, and consumption and everyday life. Hence, they define lifestyle journalism as "the journalistic coverage of the expressive values and practices that help create and signify a specific identity within the realm of consumption and everyday life" (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013, p. 947). Other concepts which fit within the domain of journalism and everyday life include infotainment journalism (McNair, 2006), or cultural journalism (Kristensen & From, 2012).

As journalism scholarship is still in an early phase of dealing with the concept of journalism and everyday life more explicitly, at least from a production and content perspective, there thus appears to be a range of definitions, which nevertheless have some similarities. In this regard, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) identify three interrelated spaces: consumption, identity, and emotion. These, they argue, separate journalism and everyday life from journalism and political life, though it is important to bear in mind the earlier notion that the public and private are increasingly interconnected and inseparable. Hence, this chapter, while analyzing how scholarship has dealt with each of the three components identified by Hanitzsch and Vos separately, will also deal with the political utility and public quality of journalism and everyday life. First, however, it is important to chart a history of journalism's relationship with everyday life to provide some contextual background.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON JOURNALISM AND EVERYDAY LIFE

While the relationship between everyday life and journalism has received scholarly attention only relatively recently, it is undeniable that such matters have always been an integral part of journalism. Even the forerunners of newspapers, while focused primarily on matters of political and civic life, quickly included accounts that belong mostly to the private sphere. One case in point is the *acta diurnal populi Romani*, which is often cited as an example of early news purveyance in written form. These handwritten newssheets produced by the imperial authorities mostly contained announcements about new legislation or official ceremonies, as well as accounts of wars and disasters (Giffard, 1975). Over time, however, the *acta* would delve more into matters of everyday life, publishing reports about crimes and divorces, as well as more general news about social life. This would also include human interest stories:

> Pliny the Elder attributes to the *acta* . . . the story of the execution of a man whose dog simply would not leave his dead master's side, even going so far as to follow his master's corpse into the Tiber River in an effort to keep it afloat.
>
> (Stephens, 2007, p. 57)

In fact, as Stephens (2007) points out, audiences were attracted to such coverage, but it also received criticism from those who saw a more civic purpose in these newssheets. For instance, the great orator and writer Cicero complained heavily about persistent reports in the *acta* of gladiators, burglaries, and adjourned trials, seeing them as "tittle-tattle" and leaving Stephens (2007, p. 55) to note that "people have been following such stories, and high-minded people like Cicero have been complaining about them, for millennia."

Similarly, the early newspapers of the 17th and 18th centuries, while mostly focused on news of relevance for political and economic life, particularly through tumultuous times as revolutions spread across Europe and North America, also contained a certain amount of "soft news" (Hanusch, 2012). One example is the extraordinary tale of the murder of Mr. Trat that appeared in a 1624 newsbook. Displaying an amount of sensationalism and explicit language that would hardly pass through editorial processes today, the story told of a particularly gruesome murder, in which the victim was cut up and boiled. Stephens (2007) argues that we can see a fascination with these stories throughout journalism's history, much as we can see that audiences have always been interested in consuming such highly emotive accounts. He particularly sees the expansion of newspapers as an important factor in introducing new audiences to such accounts.

In a similar vein, we need to see the accelerated integration of everyday life in the news as part of the major technological and societal changes of the 19th century. Technological innovations made it significantly cheaper to publish ever-larger numbers of newspapers, while at the same time the growing literacy rates across Europe and North America opened up large new audiences (Stephens, 2007). Thus, with the arrival of the penny press, as well as the illustrated press, came increasing focus on matters of everyday life, in an attempt by newspapers to attract new audiences, such as workers and women, to their products. This focus on the economics of newspaper publishing also came at a time of increasing consumerism, and a closer linkage between consumption and leisure time. Bell and Hollows (2006) thus trace the development of the concept of lifestyle media back to this time—in contrast to other scholars who view either the immediate post-World War II period or the 1970s and 1980s as key periods in that regard. According to Bell and Hollows (2006), it was during the 19th century that early consumer cultures and rational recreation developed, giving "birth to the very idea of lifestyle, in terms of ways of living that utilize the sign value of commodities and connect this with evaluative judgments of, or distinctions between, different socio-economic groups" (p. 3). Similarly, the emergence of the term celebrity, another aspect of journalism and everyday life, can be traced back to the 18th and 19th centuries (Inglis, 2010).

Against the background of these broader societal and technological developments, newspapers began publishing a large amount of news devoted to everyday life, resulting in sections specifically dedicated to such matters. These “home pages” (later to be called “women’s pages”) began providing specialized coverage of issues as diverse as fashion, food, relationships, health, etiquette, homemaking, interior decorating, family issues, social news, and news of women’s achievements (Whitt, 2008). Women were a key target market that continued to grow considerably over the ensuing years, and such pages have been considered an integral part in the phenomenal success of US newspapers between 1892 and 1914, when readership doubled (Sloan & Stovall, 1999). Importantly, while focused predominantly on matters related to everyday life and devoted to women’s concerns, such pages were also sites of discourses that related to political life. Mills (1988), for example, has pointed out how the journalists working on these pages in the 1950s and 1960s—mostly left to their own devices and ignored by male editors ignorant of their concerns—were able to discuss controversial political issues, such as birth control and abortion. This is an important point, as it demonstrates how everyday life is not necessarily apolitical; instead, the two are often interconnected. This is also evident when we consider the rise in sensationalized coverage in the increasingly competitive newspaper markets of the late 19th and early 20th century. This period saw an upsurge in visual depictions across newspapers, and with it more emotionalized coverage. An example of this can be found in the coverage of murders, such as the reporting of the trial and subsequent execution of Ruth Snyder in 1928, which attracted widespread and detailed attention among New York newspapers (Ramey, 2004). This included the unprecedented publication of an image of Snyder at the exact moment of her execution, and highly emotive reporting (MacKellar, 2006). In general, Nordin (1979) has pointed to the ways in which the penny press included a larger amount of sensationalized coverage of everyday life matters.

While the 19th century saw the establishment of newspaper sections dedicated to matters of everyday life, the acceleration of these processes—in particular the emergence of consumption cultures during the 20th century—meant such matters were ever more present in the media. Eide and Knight (1999), for example, argue that the development of mass consumption in the 1950s was a precondition for the rise of service journalism and the focus on everyday life in Norwegian journalism. Thus, the decades following World War II saw a renewed push by newspapers for new markets, and the spread of television saw the development of new forms of everyday life coverage. This included the emergence of lifestyle media, which has attracted attention in media studies more generally. Such analyses tend to focus on reality television formats that have taken hold across the West, but also more recently in other regions, such as Asia (Lewis, Martin, & Sun, 2012). In the US, magazines like *The National Enquirer* and *People* were established, becoming foundational publications for the kind of celebrity journalism that exists today (Petersen, 2011). For journalism more specifically, the period from the 1960s onwards was particularly important in this regard. Women’s pages during this time slowly gave way to more generally titled “style” or, later, “lifestyle” sections, which would deal with issues such as food, fashion, fun, and culture for all audience members. Colbert (2009) notes that the number of editors of such sections would grow from nine in 1976 to 221 in 2006.

In fact, lifestyle journalism, as a key area dealing with matters of everyday life, has been experiencing immense growth in recent decades. Hanusch (2012) notes that newspapers around the world now have specialist lifestyle sections, while other platforms have followed suit. For example, entire television channels exist to produce content on everyday life matters, such as Discovery Channel’s suite of programs related to health, cooking, and travel. Even traditional media such as the BBC have introduced lifestyle programming into their schedules (Brunsdon, 2003), while the venerable news agency Reuters established a wire service devoted to “entertainment, leisure, lifestyle, food, music, arts, human interest and health stories” (Brook, 2006). These developments can also be identified in other societies that are economically advancing. An increasing number of studies in China, for example, have identified the ways in which the rise of the middle-class and the development of a consumption culture have gone hand in hand with an explosion of lifestyle magazines that focus on values of self-fulfillment and hedonism (Chen & Machin, 2013). Further, the accelerated growth in digital technologies has led to an enormous amount of citizen-produced lifestyle content online, particularly in the form of blogs (see, for example, Pirolli, 2014).

KEY AREAS OF SCHOLARSHIP

In reviewing the scholarship that deals with journalism and everyday life, this chapter follows Hanitzsch and Vos’ (2018) outline of the three major spaces of everyday needs referred to earlier in relation to definitional concerns. We can therefore distinguish between studies that explore aspects of consumption, identity, and emotion in journalism. In addition, given the criticisms, discussed earlier, of everyday life content’s civic value, attention is also paid specifically to the political utility and public quality of journalism in everyday life. While these four areas are discussed here separately to provide for a structured analysis, it is important to point out that they often overlap and should not be considered in isolation when analyzing journalism’s role in everyday life.

Consumption

The area of consumption, according to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018), is a particularly crucial aspect in today’s journalism ecology, with news media “increasingly addressing audience members in their capacity as consumers by featuring various kinds of purchasable products and patterns of leisure-time activities” (p. 12). Consumption is expressed through such aspects as journalism’s service and advice function. Lifestyle journalists, for example, see it as a key part of their function to provide “news-you-can-use,” reviewing products and giving advice to audiences on how to live their lives (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013).

As the discussion of the history of journalism and everyday life has already demonstrated, there has long been a close connection to consumption, which has only accelerated in recent decades, in line with broader societal developments across industrialized societies. The emergence of celebrity journalism from the 19th into the 20th century, for example, shows how crucial a role this kind of journalism played in transporting the values of an emerging consumption culture (Marshall, 2006; Ponce de Leon, 2002). Further, in their analysis of service journalism, Eide and Knight (1999) highlight the particular relationship between the growth of mass consumption in the 1950s and the popularization of Norwegian newspaper *Verdens Gang*. This popularization, they argue, could be seen in the growth of sections devoted to women’s issues and concerns, articles on cars and driving, as well as new consumer goods. The introduction of a commercial television channel in Norway in the 1990s also contributed to the public service broadcaster NRK introducing more service-oriented programming, thus shifting “the notion of public service in the direction of addressing publicly the concerns of private life” (Eide & Knight, 1999, p. 529).

While much of the focus on the relationship between consumption and everyday life has traditionally been on the Western context, recent developments in other parts of the globe also show similar trends. In China, which has been experiencing accelerating wealth and industrialization for some time now, scholars are observing processes comparable to those that have been occurring for even longer in the West. In their analysis of contemporary Chinese lifestyle magazines, for example, Chen and Machin (2013) note how the magazine market in the country has continually changed since the 1990s, with the rise of a new middle-class and the arrival of advertising-driven content. This, they argue, has gone hand in hand with the growth of an advertiser-driven lifestyle culture. Analyzing in-depth the visual styles, linguistic genres, and language styles of women's lifestyle magazine *Rayli*, they find the publication increasingly acts as a vehicle for the values and identities of global consumerism, while less often referring to locally specific Chinese identities. This, they argue, is

> a neo-liberal world of enterprising selfhood and consumer-based individualism, where the tools of the trade are makeup, fashion, accessories, and comportment. The only "reality" in this world is the products themselves.
>
> (Chen & Machin, 2013, p. 83)

In a similar vein, Gorin and Dubied (2011, p. 616) point out that, in celebrity news,

> lifestyle and appearance are usually presented in a commercial perspective, promoting the figure of the star in association with a specific brand or product, not to mention formal agreements between globally recognized celebrities and the luxury sector.

The issue of consumption has also been explored in relation to other journalistic fields that have traditionally been more critique-focused. Kristensen and From (2012), for example, explored the development of cultural journalism in Danish newspapers over a period of 120 years and found that the boundaries between cultural, lifestyle, and consumer journalism are increasingly blurred. They argue that one reason for this development lies mostly with the increasingly commercialized media environment in Denmark. These changes also reflect the larger societal transformations and how

> media products, cultural objects and phenomena, mediatized culture and consumption—including lifestyle—are today linked to an economic, industrial logic which circulates symbolic and semiotic signs rather than fulfilling basic physiological needs.
>
> (Kristensen & From, 2012, p. 39)

In a similar way, Verboord and Janssen (2015) analyzed arts journalism in Dutch, French, German, and US elite newspapers at four time intervals over a 50-year time frame, finding a general shift away from "high-brow" arts coverage to more popular culture coverage. This was in line with a more general shift in cultural consumption over recent decades.

Identity

The aspect of identity is related to the earlier discussions about societal changes that have made it necessary for audiences to mold their own identities, as they are no longer born into them (Bauman, 2000, p. 31). Social origin or background are less important determinants of people's identity, but rather they need to choose from a whole range of options to establish who they are. "This is where they need orientation for the management of self and everyday life, and for developing a sense of identification and belonging" (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018, p. 158). One prime example in this regard is the frequent use of "celebrity experts" who may provide templates of identity in a very instructive fashion (Powell & Prasad, 2010), as well as, more broadly, celebrity journalism's focus on specific identities of the rich and famous that are transported through glossy magazines. In this context, reception studies points to some influence of celebrities, and the ways in which they are portrayed through the media, on audiences' formation of identities (Wicks, Nairn, & Griffin, 2007).

In their theorization of journalism's role in everyday life, Hanitzsch and Vos (2018) develop the journalistic role perception of the friend, who may act as a companion or even therapist to help audiences "navigate the difficult task of identity work" (p. 159), as well as the notion of connecting audience members with each other, and that of the guide who can provide orientation. In a recent empirical study, Hanusch (2019) identified such role perceptions as manifested in lifestyle journalists' accounts of the function they saw for themselves in society. In his study of Australian lifestyle journalists across a range of sub-genres, Hanusch (2019) noted a desire to help audiences navigate through their lives by providing motivational and practical life advice. This role dimension, which he called "life coach," closely resembled notions of a guide or friend. Further, study participants noted a desire to create communities of audiences and advocate for their interests, which Hanusch (2019) related to Hanitzsch and Vos' (2018) notion of the connector. In comparing the community advocate and life coach roles to others, however, Hanusch (2019) found they were considerably less valued than those which emphasized consumption through providing entertaining content or acting as information providers and advice-givers.

Instances of identity formation contributions in journalism can also be found in studies of representations. Gorin and Dubied (2011, p. 616), for example, note that celebrity journalism focuses on certain values "which are promoted or stigmatized through models embodied by the behaviour of celebrities." In a particularly incisive analysis, Duffy and Ashley (2012) were able to highlight the role that journalistic coverage of food has played in contributing to the formation of a national identity in Singapore. Highlighting the importance of food as a marker of cultural identity, they analyzed stories in both the news and lifestyle sections of Singaporean newspapers, finding that self-improvement was the most common feature across articles. This, they argued, correlated to "government policies that encourage self-reliance among the population, including the lack of a welfare state and enforced savings programmes" (Duffy & Ashley, 2012, p. 71). The second most common theme related to cosmopolitan attitudes, which were also in the interest of the state, leading Duffy and Ashley to argue that, predominantly, journalism about food contributed to national identity-making. However, they also found a significant number of items that related to food having an ethnic-cultural element, thus contributing to personal identity-building.

In a similar vein, Madsen and Ytre-Arne's (2012) qualitative content analysis of therapeutic ideals in two Norwegian women's magazines has shown how the presentation of certain motifs offers models of identity for audiences to select from. By exploring the range of ways these magazines offered therapeutic advice to their readers, they highlighted the role that they played in offering individualized templates for identities, quite literally in the form of a "how-to" guide. Comparing this kind of advice to old cooking recipes, Madsen and Ytre-Arne (2012) argued they were "simply instructions for self-esteem which is perceived just as natural and important for self-sustenance as food" (p. 35).

Emotion

According to Hanitzsch and Vos (2018), the area of emotion is an important component of journalism's role in everyday life, but one that also plays a central role more generally in terms of news consumption:

> In this view, journalism can contribute to affect regulation by helping individuals regulate mood and arousal and can stimulate rewarding social and cognitive experiences that contribute to emotional well-being in more complex and sustainable ways.
>
> (p. 158)

In journalism studies more broadly, the issue of emotion has come to the fore particularly in recent years, having typically been neglected in the past based on a normative bias that denigrated emotion because it was deemed irrational. However, a range of studies have demonstrated its growing centrality in journalistic practices and consumption, and thus its relevance for journalism scholarship (Beckett & Deuze, 2016; Pantti, 2010; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013).

Beckett and Deuze (2016) note how, because of the processes of mediatization mentioned earlier, journalism plays a central part in everyday life and in generating connection. Emotion, they argue, "is becoming a much more important dynamic in how news is produced and consumed" (Beckett & Deuze, 2016, p. 2). In advocating for emotional approaches to provide better news for citizens, they also attempt to break up a long-held dichotomy that saw emotionality as "one of the characteristics used to separate fact-based and neutral quality journalism from popular or tabloid journalism" (Pantti & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011). Similarly, Pantti (2010) has noted how emotions have always been deemed to belong to the realm of popular journalism, which puts emphasis on everyday life, and that emotionalizing of news is "usually seen as evidence of a decay in journalistic quality" (p. 170). Yet, as Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) has argued, much as there has been a strategic ritual of objectivity in journalism, there is also a strategic ritual of emotionality, which has always been a part of journalism.

In lifestyle journalism, emotion plays a particularly significant role because of the field's key goal of providing entertaining and inspiring news. In their interviews with Australian and German lifestyle journalists, Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) found these aspects to be particularly dominant role considerations among their respondents. Many journalists emphasized that it was important for them to put their audiences in a positive mood, to have fun while consuming their content. For example, a German parenting journalist said she wanted her stories to create laughter and provide relief for audiences, while a German travel journalist wanted to tell enthralling stories (in Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013, p. 951).

Indeed, providing entertaining content appears to be a particularly prominent function of travel journalism, with Hanusch's (2019) survey of Australian lifestyle journalists finding that travel journalists were significantly more likely than their colleagues in other beats to want to provide entertainment. Such a view also supports American travel journalist Elizabeth Austin's (1999, p. 10) argument that while it may be true "the writers of most junket-based pieces generally sing the praises of their hosts' accommodations, let's face it: Travel publications celebrate travel." At the other end of the spectrum, however, existing studies suggest that negative emotions are also consciously avoided (Hanusch & Hanitzsch, 2013). In their role as "inspiring entertainers," lifestyle journalists place "strong emphasis on providing entertaining, fun and inspiring content that lets audiences relax" (Hanusch, 2019, p. 206).

Political Utility and Public Quality

As has been noted throughout this chapter, journalistic coverage of everyday life is often denigrated by those who aspire for journalism to play an important role in political life. For these critics, the softer forms of journalism are too uncritical, too beholden to outside interests, or perhaps simply too ordinary to be considered worthy of serious analysis. Yet, much like everyday life itself cannot really be separated from the political (Gardiner, 2000), a number of studies have identified how what are often considered mundane or ordinary forms of journalism can have political utility. This is also important in considering the often-accepted dichotomy between citizenship and consumerism. Eide and Knight (1999) have argued that this dichotomy is problematic as it tends to "underestimate both the ways in which consumerism is implicated in citizenship and the extent to which the identity and subjectivity of the consumer are also complex and problematic" (p. 536). Instead, they believe we need to consider a hybrid identity, similar to Baudrillard's (1996) notion of the "citizen-consumer."

One such example is the field of travel journalism. Typically, travel journalists tend to focus predominantly on entertaining their audiences and producing positive stories, with relatively little interest in more critically analyzing the tourism industry (Hanusch, 2012). There are sometimes opportunities for critical coverage, but these depend to a large extent on context and the power of individual journalists. In her case study of the Australian island state Tasmania's brand promotion among journalists, McGaurr (2012) was able to identify how openings for nontraditional, critical travel journalism could arise. The state's tourism authority was aiming to promote Tasmania as a place with a natural, untouched environment, while at the same time there was political conflict over government-sanctioned logging of old-growth forests. Through detailed analysis of promotional material, published travel stories, and in-depth interviews with visiting journalists from the US and UK, McGaurr (2012) identified a number of instances in which travel journalists subverted government attempts to promote a positive brand and included aspects in their stories that highlighted the conflict within the state.

A further example is the area of "green lifestyle journalism," which, as Craig (2016) argues, is itself a contradictory field, given how it is closely tied to matters of consumption, while at the same time being concerned with practices that challenge this order of consumption. One reason for this is that the field is both related to lifestyle journalism and environmental journalism, and the latter is typically concerned with hard news topics. Through a critical reading of three British online news sites, Craig (2016) finds that green lifestyle journalism has two foci: the first focuses on green lifestyles as pleasure, while the other links it to political participation and environmental reporting. In this way, he argues, green lifestyle news is "either structurally connected to broader political and economic manifestations of environmental change, or as a simple epiphenomenon of consumer culture" (Craig, 2016, p. 136).

Other examples abound that identify critical discourses in journalism's coverage of everyday life matters. An analysis of celebrity news in Belgium has shown a hybrid genre, which mixes human interest stories with public interest stories (Van den Bulck, Paulussen, & Bels, 2017). Further, focus group discussions of how Finnish citizens viewed celebrities revealed that, while they were mostly seen as apolitical, celebrities could also trigger processes of politicization. Hence, "celebrities—particularly politician-celebrities—may become appropriate objects for mobilizing popular opposition for specific public policies" (Ahva, Heikkilä, Siljamäki, & Valtonen, 2014, pp. 197–198). Indeed, results of an experiment have shown that celebrity news has the potential to reduce racial and ethnic prejudice (Ramasubramanian, 2015).

In relation to journalists' perspectives, Usher (2012) noted in her interviews with personal technology journalists at the *New York Times* that these journalists considered themselves as guides to information directly relevant to audiences' lives. While this may imply a non-critical approach, Usher's (2012) respondents were at pains to point out that "they approach service journalism as having the same rigor as how they might approach a 'serious' story" (p. 119). Similarly, lifestyle journalists interviewed by Hanusch and Hanitzsch (2013) expressed a desire to be independent and critical in their practices, even if this was not always possible in reality.

Fürsich (2012) also points out the relevance of analyses of the politics of everyday life coverage in relation to lifestyle journalism. In particular, these can relate to issues of gender politics in areas such as fashion, food, or gardening journalism. Importantly, Fürsich (2012) also connects the study of lifestyle journalism to the concept of public quality developed by Costera Meijer (2001). She calls for an analysis of lifestyle journalism for its own value, and argues that in this way "researchers can help challenge problematic binaries such as public/private, altruistic/hedonistic, rational/irrational or civic/personal that tend to inform discussions on the public sphere" (Fürsich, 2012, p. 19). Through abandoning the duality between news and popular journalism, therefore, scholars could "develop more complex models of how issues of public concern are established and negotiated in the media" (Fürsich, 2012, p. 19). Finally, in his book aimed at journalists who report on everyday life, Harrington (1997) also recognizes the essential role this kind of work can play in society. He believes that journalism on everyday life can in fact help repair the torn social fabric: "It's a journalism that's needed today as much as reporting on greed, corruption and social injustice was needed at the turn of the century, perhaps more" (Harrington, 1997, p. xiv).

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As this chapter has outlined, journalism's role in reporting on matters of everyday life has only relatively recently gained substantial attention within the scholarly community, and—particularly in comparison to journalism's relationship with political life—remains undervalued, undertheorized and, more generally, under-researched. This situation opens up a variety of starting points for future research, making the field a fruitful avenue for exploring lifelines of journalism that go beyond democracy (see Zelizer, 2013). Researchers studying everyday life and journalism can therefore contribute innovative approaches that may lead to an overall improved and more comprehensive understanding of what journalism is in the 21st century, as well as what it may become. Existing work in the areas of lifestyle or service journalism and the growing interest in the role of emotion in journalism will undoubtedly have an important and valuable influence, but given the overall paucity of empirical research dealing specifically with everyday life from a production and content perspective, opportunities for new theories and approaches abound.

For example, we still require a better and much more nuanced understanding of various aspects of the production of journalism on everyday life. Studies are beginning to emerge in subfields, such as lifestyle journalism, which are shedding some light on journalists' approaches to work in this space, but much less work has been undertaken in terms of talking to journalists about how they deal with emotional aspects in their work. As matters of everyday life are also closely connected to growing consumerism, the various economic circumstances, dependencies, and influences need to be better understood.

Further, our knowledge is—much more than in journalism studies overall—still largely restricted to the usual suspects, i.e., Western industrialized nations. While some work is emerging from different contexts, such as China, more can be achieved in truly internationalizing this field of research. Doing so will be particularly crucial in improving our understanding of broader factors at the societal level, in particular those of an economic nature. Hence, comparative work that tests the universals and particularities of journalism and everyday life around the globe is sorely needed. In addition, our understanding would benefit from longitudinal and historicized analyses that can outline developments over time. These are generally rare in journalism studies but may help theorization of this part of journalism, which brings together the three key areas of consumption, identity, and emotion.

While there exists a tradition in journalism studies of exploring everyday life in the context of audience reception, this work has typically dealt with the ways in which audiences integrate journalism and mass communication into their day-to-day lives. What is of additional interest in the context of the issues outlined in this chapter is to explore how audiences deal with journalistic content on everyday life. For example, studies could explore to what extent audiences actually interact with, say, travel journalism. This audience perspective has been missing from existing research almost entirely, yet it could provide crucial insights into what audiences are looking for in such content, how they consider ethical aspects, or the extent to which consumer-focused articles may affect their consumption behavior.

Finally, as already outlined, digital transformations are no less relevant for this subfield of journalism. Hence, future studies ought to explore—as some already have—the impact of these developments on traditional journalism on everyday life, as well as in opening up spaces for new actors and new forms to enter the journalistic field. These will be particularly fascinating to explore in the context of consumerism and identity formation because of the special exigencies of the field. Much remains to be done in terms of future studies, then, making this an exciting field of scholarly endeavor, and one that will only gain in relevance in the foreseeable future.

REFERENCES

Adler, P. A., Adler, P., & Fontana, A. (1987). Everyday life sociology. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *13*(1), 217–235.

Ahva, L., Heikkilä, H., Siljamäki, J., & Valtonen, S. (2014). A bridge over troubled water? Celebrities in journalism connecting implicit and institutional politics. *Journalism*, *15*(2), 186–201.

Austin, E. (1999). All expenses paid. *The Washington Monthly*, *31*(7), 8.

Baudrillard, J. (1996). *The system of objects*. London and New York, NY: Verso.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Beckett, C., & Deuze, M. (2016). On the role of emotion in the future of journalism. *Social Media + Society*, *2*(3). doi:2056305116662395

Bell, D., & Hollows, J. (2006). Towards a history of lifestyle. In D. Bell & J. Hollows (Eds.), *Historicizing lifestyle: Mediating taste, consumption and identity from the 1900s to 1970s* (pp. 1–20). Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Bird, S. E. (2003). *The audience in everyday life: Living in a media world*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brook, S. (2006, June 1). Reuters moves into lifestyle journalism. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.guardian.co.uk/media/2006/jun/01/reuters.pressandpublishing

Brunsdon, C. (2003). Lifestyling Britain: The 8–9 slot on British television. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *6*(1), 5–23.

Campbell, V. P. (2004). *Information age journalism: Journalism in an international context*. London: Arnold.

Chaney, D. C. (2001). Rethinking culture as ideology and sensibility. In J. Lull (Ed.), *Culture in the communication age* (pp. 75–88). London: Routledge.

Chen, A., & Machin, D. (2013). Changing genres and language styles in contemporary Chinese lifestyle magazines. *Media International Australia*, *147*(1), 73–84.

Colbert, J. (2009). Lifestyle journalism. In C. H. Sterling (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of journalism* (pp. 851–854). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.

Costera Meijer, I. (2001). The public quality of popular journalism: Developing a normative framework. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), 189–205.

Craig, G. (2016). Political participation and pleasure in green lifestyle journalism. *Environmental Communication*, *10*(1), 122–141.

Duffy, A., & Ashley, Y. Y. (2012). Bread and circuses: Food meets politics in the Singapore media. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 59–74.

Eide, M., & Knight, G. (1999). Public/private service: Service journalism and the problems of everyday life. *European Journal of Communication*, *14*(4), 525–547.

Fürsich, E. (2012). Lifestyle journalism as popular journalism: Strategies for evaluating its public role. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 12–25.

Gardiner, M. E. (2000). *Critiques of everyday life*. London: Routledge.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Giffard, C. A. (1975). Ancient Rome's daily gazette. *Journalism History*, *2*(4), 106.
Gorin, V., & Dubied, A. (2011). Desirable people: Identifying social values through celebrity news. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(4), 599–618.
Hanitzsch, T., & Vos, T. P. (2018). Journalism beyond democracy: A new look into journalistic roles in political and everyday life. *Journalism*, *19*(2), 146–164.
Hanusch, F. (2012). Broadening the focus: The case for lifestyle journalism as a field of scholarly inquiry. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 2–11.
Hanusch, F. (2019). Journalistic roles and everyday life: An empirical account of lifestyle journalists' professional views. *Journalism Studies*, *20*(2), 193–211.
Hanusch, F., & Hanitzsch, T. (2013). Mediating orientation and self-expression in the world of consumption: Australian and German lifestyle journalists' professional views. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*(8), 943–959.
Harrington, W. (1997). *Intimate journalism: The art and craft of reporting everyday life*. London: Routledge.
Hjarvard, S. (2008a). The mediatization of religion: A theory of the media as agents of religious change. *Northern Lights: Film & Media Studies Yearbook*, *6*(1), 9–26.
Hjarvard, S. (2008b). The mediatization of society: A theory of the media as agents of social and cultural change. *Nordicom Review*, *29*(2), 105–134.
Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Inglis, F. (2010). *A short history of celebrity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Josephi, B. (2013). How much democracy does journalism need? *Journalism*, *14*(4), 474–489.
Kristensen, N. N., & From, U. (2012). Lifestyle journalism: Blurring boundaries. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 26–41.
Krotz, F. (2008). Network, connectivity and flow: Key concepts for media and cultural studies. In A. Hepp, F. Krotz, S. Moores, & C. Winter (Eds.), *Media connectivity: Concepts, conditions, and consequences* (pp. 13–31). New York, NY: Hampton Press.
Lefebvre, H. (2000). *Everyday life in the modern world*. New York, NY: Continuum.
Lewis, T., Martin, F., & Sun, W. (2012). Lifestyling Asia? Shaping modernity and selfhood on life-advice programming. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *15*(6), 537–566.
MacKellar, L. (2006). *The "double indemnity" murder: Ruth Snyder, Judd Gray, and New York's crime of the century*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
Madianou, M. (2009). Audience reception and news in everyday life. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 325–340). New York, NY: Routledge.
Madsen, O. J., & Ytre-Arne, B. (2012). Me at my best: Therapeutic ideals in Norwegian women's magazines. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *5*(1), 20–37.
Marshall, P. D. (Ed.). (2006). *The celebrity culture reader*. London: Routledge.
McGaurr, L. (2012). The devil may care: Travel journalism, cosmopolitan concern, politics and the brand. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 42–58.
McNair, B. (2006). What is journalism? In H. de Burgh (Ed.), *Making journalists: Diverse models, global issues* (pp. 25–43). London: Routledge.
Mellado, C., Hanusch, F., Humanes, M. L., Roses, S., Pereira, F., Yez, L., & Wyss, V. (2013). The pre-socialization of future journalists: An examination of journalism students' professional views in seven countries. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(6), 857–874.
Mills, K. (1988). *A place in the news: From the women's pages to the front page*. New York, NY: Dodd, Mead & Co.
Nordin, K. D. (1979). The entertaining press: Sensationalism in eighteenth-century Boston newspapers. *Communication Research*, *6*(3), 295–320.
Pantti, M. K. (2010). The value of emotion: An examination of television journalists' notions on emotionality. *European Journal of Communication*, *25*(2), 168–181.
Pantti, M. K., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2011). 'Not an act of God': Anger and citizenship in press coverage of British man-made disasters. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(1), 105–122.

Petersen, A. H. (2011). Towards an industrial history of celebrity gossip: The national enquirer, people magazine and 'personality journalism' in the 1970s. *Celebrity Studies*, *2*(2), 131–149.
Pirolli, B. (2014). Travel journalism in flux: New practices in the blogosphere. In F. Hanusch & E. Fürsich (Eds.), *Travel journalism: Exploring production, impact and culture* (pp. 83–98). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Ponce de Leon, C. L. (2002). *Self-exposure: Human-interest journalism and the emergence of celebrity in America, 1890–1940*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
Powell, H., & Prasad, S. (2010). "As seen on TV." The celebrity expert: How taste is shaped by lifestyle media. *Cultural Politics*, *6*(1), 111–124.
Ramasubramanian, S. (2015). Using celebrity news stories to effectively reduce racial/ethnic prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues*, *71*(1), 123–138.
Ramey, J. (2004). The bloody blonde and the marble woman: Gender and power in the case of Ruth Snyder. *Journal of Social History*, *37*(3), 625–650.
Reinemann, C., Stanyer, J., Scherr, S., & Legnante, G. (2012). Hard and soft news: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, *13*(2), 221–239.
Sjøvaag, H. (2015). Hard news/soft news: The hierarchy of genres and the boundaries of the profession. In M. Carlson & S. Lewis (Eds.), *Boundaries of journalism: Professional, practices and participation* (pp. 101–117). New York, NY: Routledge.
Sloan, W. D., & Stovall, J. G. (1999). *The media in America: A history* (4th ed.). Northport, AL: Vision Press.
Stephens, M. (2007). *A history of news* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Taylor, L. (2002). From ways of life to lifestyle: The 'ordinari-ization' of British gardening lifestyle television. *European Journal of Communication*, *17*(4), 479–493.
Usher, N. (2012). Service journalism as community experience: Personal technology and personal finance at the New York Times. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(1), 107–121.
Van den Bulck, H., Paulussen, S., & Bels, A. (2017). Celebrity news as hybrid journalism: An assessment of celebrity coverage in Flemish newspapers and magazines. *Journalism*, *18*(1), 44–63.
Verboord, M., & Janssen, S. (2015). Arts journalism and its packaging in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United States, 1955–2005. *Journalism Practice*, *9*(6), 829–852.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2013). The strategic ritual of emotionality: A case study of Pulitzer Prize-winning articles. *Journalism*, *14*(1), 129–145.
Whitt, J. (2008). *Women in American journalism: A new history*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Wicks, P. G., Nairn, A., & Griffin, C. (2007). The role of commodified celebrities in children's moral development: The case of David Beckham. *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, *10*(4), 401–424.
Zelizer, B. (2011). Journalism in the service of communication. *Journal of Communication*, *61*(1), 1–21.
Zelizer, B. (2013). On the shelf life of democracy in journalism scholarship. *Journalism*, *14*(4), 459–473.

27

Journalism and Memory

Keren Tenenboim-Weinblatt and Motti Neiger

INTRODUCTION

Journalism and memory have an uneasy relationship which has long kept this area of study outside the core of both journalism studies and journalists' own role perceptions (Zelizer, 2008). At the root of this tension is journalism's perceived orientation to the present in contrast to memory's inherent connection to the past. The absence of a chapter on journalism and memory in the previous edition of this handbook may be viewed as another indication of this strained relationship and the relative marginality of this area of research within journalism studies.

Yet, as an increasing number of scholars have argued and documented, journalism and memory are far more interwoven than common perceptions of these two domains suggest. The growing recognition that journalism's memory work goes far beyond the role of news as the first draft of history, and that understanding it can shed light on the workings of both journalism and memory, has led to the flourishing of this area of research. Dozens of articles focusing on the relationship between journalism and memory have been published over the past couple of decades in flagship journals of both journalism and memory studies, and in leading general interest communication journals (e.g., *Journal of Communication*, *Communication Theory*). Palgrave Macmillan's series on memory studies dedicated a book to the topic of journalism (Zelizer & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2014), as well as sections and chapters in other books in the series (Hajek, Lohmeier, & Pentzold, 2016; Neiger, Meyers, & Zandberg, 2011). Before the 2016 Annual Conference of the International Communication Association, 13 percent of the volunteers who reviewed papers for the Journalism Studies Division chose "collective memory" as a keyword to describe their expertise.[1] Now, with the full establishment of this subfield of journalism studies, questions arise regarding the way forward and the remaining gaps in our understanding of the complex relationships between journalism and memory.

The aim of this chapter is to consider the past, present, and future of journalism and memory in two senses: first, as time periods in the evolution of this area of research and, second, as thematic elements in the scholarship on journalism and memory. In other words, how does journalism address societies' past, present, and future through its memory work? Reflecting this twofold purpose, the chapter moves from the roots and founders of this subfield to four main contemporary areas of research focusing on: (1) journalists' direct engagement with the past through practices such as commemorative/anniversary journalism; (2) the various ways in which memory is used by journalists in their coverage of current events; (3) the relationship between memory and journalism's orientation to the future; and (4) the memory of journalism itself and how journalists use it to establish their identity, boundaries, and authority. In addition to surveying key studies and concepts with regards to these themes, each of these four sections also discusses remaining challenges and questions. The concluding section of the chapter presents a broad agenda for future research. We argue for the need to broaden and fine-tune investigations of journalism and memory in ways that take into account the full range of news temporalities and journalistic forms, systematically compare journalists' memory work across different journalistic cultures, and consider the interactions between journalists and other social actors in the construction of collective memories.

THE BEGINNINGS OF JOURNALISM AND MEMORY STUDIES

Mneme, the muse of memory, is one of the three original muses in Greek mythology, along with the muse of thought and meditation (Melete) and the muse of voice and song (Aoide). Indeed, the role of memory in the human experience has intrigued artists, writers, and philosophers ever since. In the last century, psychologists, historians, anthropologists, and sociologists, among other scholars, have developed a constructionist approach to understanding the concept of "memory," and many of them have critically observed its narratological characteristics. From this perspective, memory is not a mere faculty of the mind that encodes, stores, and retrieves information. Rather, it is a complex process of selection and reimagining that is affected by the social framework and by present perspectives on past events.

While uses of the term collective memory can be traced back to 1902 and the Austrian writer Hugo von Hofmannsthal (see Schieder, 1978, and Olick & Robbins, 1998), it is the French sociologist and philosopher Maurice Halbwachs who is considered the founder of the field of memory studies (Gensburger, 2016). Shifting from the psychological focus on individual memory to a sociological perspective, Halbwachs (1992 [1952]) suggested that collective memory, as a social activity, reconstructs the past according to a group's present needs and concerns. This understanding of the concept of collective memory suggests that societies, like people, can have shared perceptions of the past based on agreed collective perspectives on events. Halbwachs' writings on the topic were translated into English in the early 1980s, and his ideas have gained momentum ever since. The concept of collective memory has continued into other disciplines as well and has become important for scholars from both the social sciences and humanities.

In communication and journalism scholarship, one of the first studies to introduce the concept to the field was Kurt and Gladys Lang's article "Collective Memory and the News," published in 1989. The authors approached the exploration of collective memory from the perspective of public opinion in an attempt to understand how the mediation of public events shapes their meaning for the audience and reconstructs the past. They suggested that direct experience and mediation by the mass media are two complementary ways in which events shape people's collective memory: "One produces memories through the direct impact of the experience. With time and as these personal recollections fade, the second takes over. The more remote the event the more will memory of it be based on mediation" (Lang & Lang, 1989, p. 132). Beyond recognizing the role of the media and distinguishing between vivid-personal memory and mediated-collective memory (although today both are understood as constructed and interrelated), the authors offered four journalistic practices for the use of collective memory in the news: (1) defining "the limits of the memory span" (p. 127), i.e., helping the audience to identify and relate to a specific epoch; (2) providing a yardstick to estimate current events in light of past events; (3) invoking the past in order to draw analogies to current events; and (4) using the past as a "short-hand explanation" of events and to carry lessons for their understanding.

An important milestone was Barbie Zelizer's, 1992 book *Covering the Body: The Kennedy Assassination, the Media, and the Shaping of Collective Memory*. In this book and the ensuing papers (Zelizer, 1993, 1995), Zelizer explored the role of journalists in modern society as agents of collective memory who shape the way people remember mediated events, especially critical incidents of public life, and ascribe meaning to them. In order to serve as memory agents, journalists make use of their journalistic authority, "promot[ing] themselves as authoritative and credible spokespersons of 'real-life' events" (Zelizer, 1992, p. 8). Furthermore, journalists not only shape the collective memory of audiences; they also make use of collective recollections to define themselves as a professional community based on shared narratives concerning not only the events themselves but also their own role and practices when covering these events. Journalists thus function as "an interpretive community, a group that authenticates itself through its use of narratives and collective memory" (Zelizer, 1992, p. 9). The distinction and interplay between memory by and of journalists has been central to the development of memory and journalism studies and the study of memory and media more generally.

Another significant work that marked the beginnings of the exploration of memory work in journalism was Michael Schudson's book *Watergate in American Memory: How We Remember, Forget, and Reconstruct the Past*, also published in 1992. In this book, Schudson observed how American society remembered the Watergate scandal and discussed the impact of these recollections on American politics, journalism, and public discourse. Journalism is viewed in this analysis as having a double role in regard to collective memory: on the one hand, the news media serve as the stage where many political actors promote their understanding of events in order to influence how the past is narrated and understood in the public arena; on the other hand, journalists themselves act as political actors on the "collective memory" stage. In this particular case, for example, they not only exposed the break-in at the Watergate building and the involvement of the American president and "all the president's men" in the scandal, but they were also one of the main agents to preserve and shape the scandal in public discourse, determining what would be remembered and serve as the takeaway from the event and what would be omitted from these recollections.

In a later influential article, Schudson (1997, p. 3) offered a useful distinction between commemorative and non-commemorative forms of public memory:

> memory studies suffer from the drunk-looking-for-his-car-keys-under-the-lamppost phenomenon: we look for effective public memory at self-conscious memory sites not because that is where we will find what we are looking for but because that is where the illumination makes looking most convenient.

Thus, while most studies on shared recollections focus on intentional commemorative activities (such as museums, monuments, textbooks, or historical films), they should also examine non-commemorative forms of memory, which keep the past alive through various social, political, linguistic, and psychological processes.

This approach to memory studies exposed an array of potential opportunities for research in communication studies, as media professionals, and specifically journalists, make use of past narratives on a daily basis. Kevin Barnhurst and Diana Mutz (1997) highlighted the importance of looking at the role of the past in journalism, showing the changes in newsmaking over the last century: "news stories grew longer, included more analysis, expanded from specific locations to broader regions, placed more emphasis on time frames other than the present, and named fewer individuals and more groups, officials, and outside sources" (p. 27). Accordingly, this process of change has led to the inclusion of more references to the past and collective memories in routine journalistic practices.

JOURNALISM AND THE COMMEMORATION OF THE PAST

Having discussed the distinction between commemorative and non-commemorative memory (Schudson, 1997), this part of our chapter centers primarily on journalistic work within commemorative contexts, when the news media purposefully focus on the past in order to mark and honor (or condemn) meaningful events and their protagonists.

An important type of such coverage is what Carolyn Kitch (2002) termed "anniversary journalism," namely when the news reporting marks the anniversary of historical events and thus directly engages with the past. Kitch explored how American magazines (such as *Time*, *Life*, and *Harper's*) commemorate and celebrate their own anniversaries, thus strengthening their journalistic authority as community storytellers and public historians who define the meaning of national events, including their moral and political lessons (see also Edy, 2006). Further research on "anniversary journalism" extended this idea and explored the theme of anniversaries of historical events such as conflicts, natural disasters, atrocities, and terror attacks, on the one hand, and positive occasions such as the fall of the Berlin Wall, on the other.

In her article regarding the anniversary coverage of the 2005 Hurricane Katrina in American newspapers, Sue Robinson (2009a) described how the national media "demonized New Orleans as an example of what the country needed to avoid politically, economically, structurally, morally" (p. 236), in comparison to local news outlets which focused on the community's reconstruction and the significance of the collective ritual. Both types of anniversary coverage promoted American values such as individual ingenuity, democracy, and responsible capitalism and positioned the media as a political actor alongside dominant institutions such as the government and the church. In another example of the study of anniversary journalism, Li and Lee (2013) scrutinized the coverage of the Tiananmen Square crackdown and the fall of the Berlin Wall in the elite US press over two decades and demonstrated the stability of the coverage's ideological, namely anti-Communist, structure. Song and Lee (2017) later demonstrated the persistence of this ideological structure in the anniversary coverage of these two events in the UK press, alongside an increasing use of cosmopolitan themes in both the US and UK coverage.

Research examining cross-media anniversary journalism can be found in *Communicating Awe: Media Memory and Holocaust Commemoration*, in which Meyers, Zandberg, and Neiger (2014) examined the Israeli press, radio, and television during Holocaust Remembrance Day since the establishment of the state in 1948. Using their previous definition of media memory as "a multi-directional process of concretizing a narrative of the past into a functional, socio-political construct" (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 9), they demonstrated the dynamics of memory narratives regarding the Holocaust, namely how different media outlets adapted and manifested their own version of the traumatic past and its lessons and how news stories that are part of the commemoration ritual aim to provide both news values and commemorative values (see also Zandberg, Neiger, & Meyers, 2011).

Another commemorative practice is the coverage of the death of public figures and the publication of obituaries in their memory. In Kitch's (2000, 2008) studies of the mourning rituals after the death of celebrities, she demonstrated recurring themes such as the notion that the celebrity was "one of us" and represented our societal values. This media ritual is characterized as blending emotional storytelling alongside factual information about the celebrities' public and private lives. In her exploration of US news magazines after 9/11, Kitch (2003) focused on the role of the media as a forum for national mourning and its centrality in the civil religion guiding the cultural ceremony that should lead to recovery and healing. Moran Avital (2019) explored these aspects in the coverage of the death of controversial Israeli public figures.

An important avenue of research concentrated on the visual aspect of journalists' engagement with the past. In *Remembering to Forget: Holocaust Memory Through the Camera's Eye*, Zelizer (1998) explored photojournalism as a significant practice in the coverage of important past occurrences and the role of images as vehicles of collective memory. Indeed, the materiality and texture of the visual distinguishes them from verbal manifestations of shared recollections: "Images help to stabilize and anchor collective memory's transient and fluctuating nature in art, cinema, television, and photography, aiding recall to the extent that images often become an event's primary markers" (p. 6).

By combining this approach to visuals and memory with the concept of anniversary journalism, Meyers (2002) offered an analysis of images published in commemorative newspaper supplements in Israel, tracking the selection of events and protagonists as well as the construction of the national group. The images that appeared in these supplements illustrate the attitudes of different media outlets toward the narratives of the state's past and the change from an authoritarian master narrative to varied interpretations of the past.

Julia Sonnevend (2013) examined the media coverage of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by connecting its visual and verbal messages. She demonstrated how Hungarian journalists constructed iconic people, objects, and places in order to frame the revolution, along Communist Party lines, as a counterrevolution. In *Stories Without Borders*, Sonnevend (2016) elaborated on the link between collective memory and iconicity by following the mythologization process that turns occurrences into global iconic events—stories that resonate across countries and become part of the collective memory reservoir.

Future research on commemorative journalism is likely to address the plethora of manifestations of collective memory in the digital age via tools such as social network analysis. One current example that highlights the potential of such analysis is the article "@todayin1963: Commemorative Journalism, Digital Collective Remembering, and the March on Washington" (Watson & Chen, 2016). The research follows the Twitter activity of US National Public Radio (NPR) in August 2013, which used the handle "@todayin1963" to refer to and commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (where Martin Luther King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech), as well as the network that developed around this coverage. Such network analysis approaches enable the study of new questions, especially regarding the complex interactions between journalists and audiences in the process of collective remembering.

THE ROLE OF MEMORY IN JOURNALISTS' ENGAGEMENT WITH THE PRESENT

While direct engagement with the past is an important part of journalists' memory work, in most cases, manifestations of collective memory appear as part of the coverage of current affairs. The use of the past in these cases carries various functions in the news. Following the early typology by Lang and Lang (1989) of the different roles played by collective memory in news coverage (see discussion above), several researchers have offered a mapping of these functions. In her article "Journalistic Uses of Collective Memory," Jill Edy (1999) suggested that, beside commemoration, collective memory is manifested in the news in two main forms: historical analogies and historical contexts. In both uses, the news media look back to the past as a resource for news narratives on current events. Likewise, Schudson (2014) offered three ways in which journalism makes non-commemorative use of the past: (1) by increasing the news value of a story in order to catch the audience's attention ("look at me!"); (2) by helping the public understand the news and its meaning ("let me explain"); and (3) by covering non-commemorative experiences of time, i.e., "cover[ing] some moment of human drama in which individuals or groups themselves employ non-commemorative practices that have some news interest" (p. 93).

Drawing analogies and using the distant past as a yardstick and context for the present always carries political significance. Journalists need to determine with which past events current affairs can be compared; what the basis is for the comparison; how the past makes the present more comprehensible; and what specific lessons should be learned from history, its protagonists, and antagonists. Edy (1999, 2006) explored how the Watts riots—the 1965 clashes between the Los Angeles police and the local African-American community—were used as a framework for understanding the 1992 riots that started in the city after a jury acquitted four officers of the Los Angeles Police Department of beating Rodney King. Analogies, she claimed, are

> powerful symbolic resources that are pressed into service by various political actors. They may be applied to events very distant in space, time, and circumstance. . . . Historical analogies can be constructed so that the outcome of certain courses of action in response to the current problem appear predictable. That is, they can be used to suggest that the course of the future will resemble the course of the past.
>
> (1999, p. 78)

As noted by Schudson (1992), analogies to the Watergate scandal led reporters a decade later to misinterpret the Iran-Contra affair and the involvement of the US political elites.

The use of collective memory for context provision is somewhat different. Unlike with analogies, providing a wider historical prism that brings information regarding past occurrences and relates it to current events does not call for a direct comparison between the earlier incidents and present happenings. However, as in the case of analogies, the question of what information to provide (and what to leave out) is a crucial part of shaping the meaning of current events.

Invocations of collective memory are particularly prominent in the coverage of collective traumas, as a way of giving meaning to the events and working through them. Zelizer (2002) demonstrated how the news photos of 9/11 were linked to images from historical events such as Iwo Jima, the Kennedy assassination, and the *Challenger* explosion. The most intriguing photographic linkage was between the events of 2001 and the liberation of the concentration camps at the end of World War II, despite the numerous differences between the two events. As explained by Zelizer:

> Journalism's response to September 11 was thus not a novel reaction to events even if it was based on a faulty parallel. Rather, historical record became its pedagogical template, an earlier precedent that had successfully employed photography to move collective sentiment from shock and horror into post-traumatic space demanding responsiveness and action.
>
> (p. 58)

The traumatic past also served as a narratological resource in the coverage of the 2007 Virginia Tech shooting (Berkowitz, 2010). Berkowitz showed how many of the news items regarding the attack referred to an ironic hero, Professor Liviu Librescu, who survived the Holocaust and was killed at Virginia Tech, when he held the doors of his class closed, allowing his students enough time to escape through the windows until the perpetrator killed him. The Holocaust—both as the personal background of the event's hero and as a shared framework for the story—becomes the tool for bringing a stronger positive message of healing.

Addressing the coverage of events whose very definition as a trauma was a subject of public controversy, Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2008) showed how the coverage of the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip used collective memory to emphasize the liberating and positive dimensions of the evacuation and work through a potential collective trauma in real time. To counter the narrative offered by the Jewish settlers, which linked the disengagement to prior collective traumas—specifically the Holocaust and the destruction of the Second Temple—some of the Israeli newspapers that supported the plan called upon positive collective memories, most notably the Jewish Exodus from Egypt, as an organizing interpretive framework for the disengagement.

The extensive use of shared recollections as part of the daily routine of news coverage can be linked in part to the decline in event-centered reporting (Barnhurst & Mutz, 1997) and the rise of contextual and interpretive journalism (Fink & Schudson, 2014; Salgado & Strömbäck, 2012). News stories, both print and online (Barnhurst, 2013), tend to provide more context, analysis, and interpretation (Barnhurst, 2013). Thus, although the present is still the anchor of news narratives (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016), news stories include references to a large spectrum of temporal manifestations, including various layers of the past. The prominence and uses of these past layers vary across journalistic cultures. For instance, US journalists tend to provide more contextual information within reports on current events than their Israeli counterparts, while the Israeli news media have a stronger tendency to use front/home pages for commemorative purposes (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016). However, there are many open questions regarding the differences between different journalistic cultures in their uses of the past.

In the digital era, the use of historical data and analogies in the coverage of current events is facilitated by technological developments. Journalists have immediate access to online archives across the globe and may therefore use large amounts of data and texts from different points in time to construct news narratives about current affairs. This "extended retrievability" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018), as one of the digital temporal affordances, is manifested in journalistic products such as hyperlinks to past stories and complex infographics that present longitudinal trends. Understanding the various ways in which different layers of the past interact with the coverage of current affairs in the digital era and contribute to people's perceptions of both the past and the present is one of the challenges for future research in this area.

JOURNALISM, MEMORY, AND THE FUTURE

News stories are oriented not only to the past and present but also, to a large extent, to the future (Hansen, 2016; Neiger, 2007; Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2015). While the present-past dyad has long been at the center of both general conceptualizations of collective memory and studies of journalism and memory, more recent literature has started to consider the complex relationship between memory and journalism's future orientation. This relationship can be divided into three major categories: the parallels between collective memory work and future work in the media, the uses of memory in journalistic projections, and the role of journalists as agents of prospective memory.

On one level, journalists' memory work and future work can be seen as functionally parallel. Neiger (2012) suggested the concept of collective vision as a mirror image of collective memory. While collective memory looks backward into the past, collective vision looks into the future and contains societal expectations, including both fears and hopes. Drawing on the characterizations of collective memory discussed above (in particular Zelizer, 1995), Neiger sees collective vision, similar to collective memory, as a continuous, multi-directional process which constructs functional, socio-political narratives (in this case about the future). Here, too, the news media play a central role in the formulation of narratives, and much is still to be learned about journalism's construction of collective vision using the tools developed in collective memory research.

Parallels between collective memory and future work in the media can also be found in Szpunar and Szpunar's (2016) development of the concept of "collective future thought," as well as in earlier complementary notions of remediation and premediation (Erll, 2008; Grusin, 2010; Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010). While remediation refers to "the fact that memorable events are usually represented again and again, over decades and centuries, in different media," the concept of premediation relates to how "existent media which circulate in a given society provide schemata for future experience and its representation" (Erll, 2008, p. 392).

However, future and memory work are not only parallel processes, they are also closely interwoven; premediation involves a remediation of the past. The schemata used for premediation constitutes "a kind of framework and standard, which the unit of memory (mind, group, society) forms from past experiences and by which new experiences are expected, measured and also reflexively shaped" (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2010, p. 90). In Richard Grusin's (2010) particular development of the concept of premediation, the focus is on the media's engagement with future scenarios in order to prevent the surprise and shock associated with past traumas (such as the events of 9/11).

Indeed, in our empirical analysis of the clustering of the various temporal layers in the news (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016), we found that the clusters of news stories that focus on the future—whether the near, foreseeable future or the distant, unknown future—almost always include various past layers. In contrast, the clusters of news stories that focus on the past—reporting on recent events or engaging with a distant past—do not necessarily address the future. In other words, while journalists do not necessarily need the future to tell stories about the past, they need the past to talk about the future. Projections are thus often justified and anchored through the use of memory, be it through concrete historical analogies (e.g., World War II as a basis for doomsday predictions) or through populist formulations about a return to some mythical, abstract past (e.g., "Make America Great Again," Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018).

The use of the past in making predictions is also evident in the area of computational and algorithmic journalism, in which big data and new technologies support "predictive journalism" (Maycotte, 2015) and create "anticipatory infrastructures" (Ananny, 2017). Notably, the quantitative and empirical orientation of this type of journalistic prediction does not mean that they are not constructed from past experiences. To a large extent, the more sophisticated the predictive models, the more they rely on interpretations of historical patterns (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2018). The use of memory in data journalism, however, remains a relatively unexplored field.

If the first two types of relationships between journalists' memory work and future work focus on representations of the future in the news, the third category focuses on future remembrance, that is, the role of journalists in shaping what will or should be remembered in the future. A central concept in this category is "mediated prospective memory" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013), which addresses the various ways in which the news media remind us not only of what happened (retrospective memory) but also of what still needs to be done (e.g., return MIAs home, fulfill a campaign promise for healthcare reform), based on past intentions, commitments, promises, and traumas. The idea of journalists as agents of prospective memory thus provides a bridge between the theoretical frameworks of agenda setting and collective memory and emphasizes the uniqueness of news stories as sites of memory that connect past, present, and future. It has been argued that, "in their location vis-à-vis the social nexus of time, and in the combination between their agenda-setting role and their functioning as agents of collective memory, the news media are uniquely positioned to serve as agents of collective prospective memory" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2013, p. 107).

The notion of mediated prospective memory has been broadened by scholars to account for the ways in which journalists shape forward-looking memories for various purposes: from commodifying and branding war memories (Volcic, Erjavec, & Peak, 2014), to generating digital records of past wrongs which will serve future generations as live reminders of the past and as a guarantee of "never again" (Lindgren & Phillips, 2016). A promising research direction concerns the relationship between prospective memory and alternative forms of journalism that characterize the new media environment, such as citizen journalism and other user-generated content. Shifman (2014), for instance, argued that unlike iconic news images in the old media environment, which are primarily past-oriented, photos of key current events in the contemporary digital participatory culture are far more prospective in nature, as they are increasingly viewed as the basis for the generation of new memetic versions (e.g., the many variations of the "Situation Room" image, taken originally during the operation leading to the killing of Osama bin Laden; see also Reading, 2014). In a similar vein, Smit, Heinrich, and Broersma (2017) illustrated the involvement of various actors in shaping the future memories of the Ghouta chemical attack in Syria through uploading and remixing witness videos on YouTube. The ways in which the affordances of the digital environment affect the roles played by traditional and new forms of journalism in relation to societies' future-oriented memories is an area that is likely to receive growing attention in the coming years.

THE MEMORY OF JOURNALISM

Journalism is, at times, not only the agent but also the object of memory. In particular, like other social and professional groups, journalists use memories of their own past to define and negotiate their identity, authority, boundaries, and values; to justify contemporary practices; and to project their future. Such memory work becomes particularly useful against the background of journalism's constant state of crisis and uncertainty about the future.

Studies in this area have explored the constructions of memories and journalistic authority in two main contexts. The first involves the roles played by journalists in key historical events and in the remembrance of these events, from the Kennedy assassination (Zelizer, 1992) and the Watergate scandal, in which the investigative role played by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein has remained a foundational myth of journalism (Schudson, 1992), to more recent events, such as Hurricane Katrina (Robinson, 2009b) and the Obama inauguration (Kitch, 2011). The second context has focused more specifically on the memories surrounding individual journalists and journalistic institutions, from studies on the remembrance and commemoration of deceased journalists (Carlson, 2007, 2012; Carlson & Berkowitz, 2012, 2014) to explorations of the construction of the past and legacy of specific news outlets (Gilewicz, 2015; Kitch, 2002; Meyers, 2007).

Both groups of studies have demonstrated the various ways in which journalists use memory to establish their cultural authority and professional ethos, both retrospectively and prospectively. While some of this memory work has addressed the merits and significance of journalism in general, other parts have focused on specific segments of the journalistic field, particularly those that struggle to reassert their authority in the contemporary information environment or to establish their legacy. For instance, the studies of Carlson and Berkowitz (2012, 2014) on the commemoration of television journalists showed that their deaths provided an opportunity for journalists to discuss the contemporary state of television news in relation to its golden era, assert its cultural centrality, and emphasize the active reporting done by the deceased (in response to common critiques of television anchors). In his examination of the final editions of newspapers that were closing down, Gilewicz (2015) demonstrated the retrospective and prospective techniques used to establish how and why the journalistic work of these newspapers should be remembered, while Robinson (2009b) examined the tension between mainstream and citizen journalists over the authority to tell the story of Hurricane Katrina in its anniversary coverage.

Conceptually, many of the works on the memory of journalism itself draw on the view of journalists as an interpretive community (Zelizer, 1992, 1993) and can be positioned within the framework of "metajournalistic discourse," defined as "public expressions evaluating news texts, the practices that produce them, or the conditions of their reception" (Carlson, 2016, p. 350). Accordingly, on the methodological level, such studies usually analyze publicly available journalistic discourse as expressed in venues such as trade journals, memoirs, anniversary journalism, and other commemorative and non-commemorative coverage. However, as with studies of metajournalistic discourse more generally (Carlson, 2016), little attention has been paid to constructions of the journalistic past by non-journalist actors. How do other social actors and institutions, from actors in the political and educational systems to the general public, remember and tell the story of journalism and its role in their communities?

In addition, while this strand of research has shed important light on the relationship between journalism and memory, it seems, more than any other subfield in the study of journalism and memory, to have remained mostly within the confines of the US journalistic community. How other journalistic communities tell their own stories about their pasts and how these stories (re) assert similar or different values, norms, and boundaries largely remains to be investigated.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This chapter has presented key themes and strands in the study of journalism and memory, which has established itself in recent decades as central for understanding both journalistic practices and collective memory. So what does the future hold for this area of research? Beyond the specific remaining challenges presented above in relation to the study of commemorative practices, the use of memory in the coverage of current events, journalists' future-oriented memory work, and journalism's own memory, we propose several directions for future investigation, which emerge as broad themes from the above discussion and from the gaps in the literature.

First, there is a need to consider journalism's memory work within the broader context of news temporalities. While the temporal dimensions of journalism were of major interest in early journalism scholarship (e.g., Schlesinger, 1977; Schudson, 1986; Tuchman, 1978), recent interventions have highlighted the surprising neglect over the years of an area which is vital for understanding what journalism is and could be in the contemporary media environment (e.g., Barnhurst, 2011; Bødker & Sonnevend, 2018; Zelizer, 2017). In particular, the relationships between memory and the multiple aspects of news temporalities are yet to be fully explored. One example is the relationship between memory and journalism's future work. While there are some beginnings in this area, as reviewed above, there is still much to be done in bringing the future closer to the core of journalism and memory studies. Another direction in positioning memory within the broader context of news temporalities concerns the relationship between journalism's memory work and the temporal affordances of different news media. Elsewhere we have defined temporal affordances in the news as "the potential ways in which the time-related possibilities and constraints associated with the material conditions and technological aspects of news production and dissemination are manifested in the temporal characteristics of news narratives" (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Neiger, 2018, p. 39). Like other temporal characteristics of news narratives (e.g., reporting on the recent past, analyzing the future implications of current events), the technological characteristics of various types of news media—from printed newspapers to tweets—and their different position on the news cycle support and constrain various mnemonic practices. An exploration of these temporal affordances is crucial for understanding the roles played by journalism in relation to collective memory in the digital information environment.

Second, the time has come for a wider and more systematic, cross-national comparative perspective in the study of journalism and memory. While recent years have seen important developments in this area (as demonstrated in some of the studies discussed above), research on journalism and memory has, for the most part, remained focused on case studies in specific national contexts, with a heavy emphasis on the US media. At the same time, while comparative journalism research has flourished over the past decade—for example, the Worlds of Journalism Study (Hanitzsch, de Beer, Hanusch, & Ramaprasad, 2019) and other projects focusing on journalists' role perceptions and role performance (Mellado, Hellmueller, & Donsbach, 2017)—these studies have usually overlooked the role of journalists as agents of collective memory. Some of the challenges in incorporating memory aspects into these types of studies are methodological; it is difficult to capture through surveys dimensions that are not part of journalists' self-conceptions, and quantitative content analysis is not well suited to grasping the symbolic and culture-specific dimensions that are at the core of mnemonic practices in the news. However, theory development in both comparative journalism research and journalism and memory studies could greatly benefit from the development of new approaches to comparing journalism's memory work in different contexts, using methodological approaches such as in-depth reconstruction interviews (Reich & Barnoy, 2016); nuanced manual content analyses of temporal dimensions (Neiger & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, 2016); and fine-grained automated approaches to discourse analysis (Baden, 2018).

Finally, in addition to the temporal and cross-cultural extensions of journalism and memory research, we need to broaden and deepen our investigations into the relationship between journalists and other social actors in shaping collective memories. Regarding the input into journalism, questions remain regarding the ways in which collective memory references in the news are co-constructed by journalists and their sources. In turning the statements of sources into news, journalists can select and highlight, ignore, or question collective memory references or, alternatively, add their own references. Such practices belong to the category of cultural journalistic transformations (Tenenboim-Weinblatt & Baden, 2018), but we know little about the conditions under which journalists use different kinds of such transformations in their relations with other social actors. Regarding dissemination, scant attention has been paid to the reception of journalism's memory work by audiences—an issue that gains new relevance in a fragmented information environment where the very term collective memory may lose its meaning (Edy, 2014). While a few research projects have started to examine the relationship between collective memory, news, and the public (e.g., Cohen, Boudana, & Frosh, 2018; Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011; Volkmer, 2006), we are still a long way from understanding the ways in which audiences process, negotiate, react to, and remember mnemonic representations in the news. In addressing this gap, the rich psychological literature on memory can be an important resource that has so far been largely disregarded in media memory studies. In order to account for the full cycle of journalists' memory work, from its production to its social implications, we may therefore need to bring the story of memory studies full circle by re-linking collective memory to the minds of individuals.

NOTE

1. Based on a survey run by the first author as the program planner for ICA's Journalism Studies Division. The survey was filled in by 129 members of the division.

REFERENCES

Ananny, M. (2017). *Anticipation infrastructures: Tracing networked technologies and practices of future news*. Paper presented at public time and media temporalities in an age of acceleration workshop, Jerusalem, March. Retrieved from www.media-tempo.com/

Avital, M. (2019). "Days of Mourning are Days of Reconciliation": An analysis of the coverage of the death of controversial Israeli public figures. *Journalism* (Online First). doi: 1464884918824234.

Baden, C. (2018). Reconstructing frames from intertextual news discourse: A semantic network approach to news framing analysis. In P. D'Angelo (Ed.), *Doing news framing analysis II: Empirical and theoretical perspectives* (pp. 3–26). London: Routledge.

Barnhurst, K. G. (2011). The problem of modern time in American journalism. *KronoScope*, *11*(1–2), 98–123. doi:10.1163/156852411X595297

Barnhurst, K. G. (2013). Newspapers experiment online: Story content after a decade on the web. *Journalism*, *14*(1), 3–21.

Barnhurst, K. G., & Mutz, D. (1997). American journalism and the decline of event centered reporting. *Journal of Communication*, *47*(4), 27–53. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1997.tb02724.x

Berkowitz, D. (2010). The ironic hero of Virginia Tech: Healing trauma through mythical narrative and collective memory. *Journalism*, *11*(6), 643–659.

Bødker, H., & Sonnevend, J. (2018). The shifting temporalities of journalism. *Journalism*, *19*(1), 3–6.

Carlson, M. (2007). Making memories matter: Journalistic authority and the memorializing discourse around Mary McGrory and David Brinkley. *Journalism*, *8*(2), 165–183.

Carlson, M. (2012). Rethinking journalistic authority: Walter Cronkite and ritual in television news. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(4), 483–498. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2011.642250

Carlson, M. (2016). Metajournalistic discourse and the meanings of journalism: Definitional control, boundary work, and legitimation. *Communication Theory*, *26*(4), 349–368.

Carlson, M., & Berkowitz, D. A. (2012). Twilight of the television idols: Collective memory, network news and the death of Walter Cronkite. *Memory Studies*, *5*(4), 410–424. doi:10.1177/1750698011432368

Carlson, M., & Berkowitz, D. A. (2014). The late news: Memory work as boundary work in commemoration of television journalists. In B. Zelizer & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and memory* (pp. 195-210). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cohen, A. A., Boudana, S., & Frosh, P. (2018). You must remember this: Iconic news photographs and collective memory. *Journal of Communication*, *68*(3), 453–479.

Edy, J. A. (1999). Journalistic uses of collective memory. *Journal of Communication*, *49*(2), 71–85. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02794.x

Edy, J. A. (2006). *Troubled pasts: News and the collective memory of social unrest*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Edy, J. A. (2014). Collective memory in a post-broadcast world. In B. Zelizer & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and memory* (pp. 66–79). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Erll, A. (2008). Literature, film, and the mediality of cultural memory. In A. Erll & A. Nünning (Eds.), *Cultural memory studies* (pp. 389–398). Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.

Fink, K., & Schudson, M. (2014). The rise of contextual journalism, 1950s—2000s. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Critique*, *15*(1), 3–20. doi:10.1177/1464884913479015

Gensburger, S. (2016). Halbwachs' studies in collective memory: A founding text for contemporary "memory studies"? *Journal of Classical Sociology*, *16*(4), 396–413.

Gilewicz, N. (2015). To embody and to embalm: The uses of collective memory in the final editions of failed newspapers. *Journalism*, *16*(5), 672–687. doi:10.1177/1464884914536840

Grusin, R. (2010). *Premediation: Affect and mediality after 9/11*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hajek, A., Lohmeier, C., & Pentzold, C. (2016). *Memory in a mediated world: Remembrance and reconstruction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Halbwachs, M. (1992 [1952]). *On collective memory* (L. Coser, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Hanitzsch, T., de Beer, A. S., Hanusch, F., & Ramaprasad, J. (2019). *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures across the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hansen, K. R. (2016). News from the future: A corpus linguistic analysis of future-oriented, unreal and counterfactual news discourse. *Discourse & Communication*, *10*(2), 115–136.

Hoskins, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2010). *War and media: The emergence of diffused war*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Kitch, C. (2000). "A news of feeling as well as fact": Mourning and memorial in American newsmagazines. *Journalism*, *1*(2), 171–195.

Kitch, C. (2002). Anniversary journalism, collective memory, and the cultural authority to tell the story of the American past. *Journal of Popular Culture*, *36*(1), 44–67. doi:0.1111/1540–5931.00030

Kitch, C. (2003). "Mourning in America": Ritual, redemption, and recovery in news narrative after September 11. *Journalism Studies*, *4*(2), 213–224.

Kitch, C. (2008). Placing journalism inside memory and memory studies. *Memory Studies*, *1*(3), 311–320.

Kitch, C. (2011). Obamabilia and the historic moment: Institutional authority and 'deeply consequential memory' in keepsake journalism. In M. Neiger, O. Meyers, & E. Zandberg (Eds.), *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age* (pp. 189–200). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kligler-Vilenchik, N. (2011). Memory-setting: Applying agenda-setting theory to the study of collective memory. In M. Neiger, O. Meyers, & E. Zandberg (Eds.), *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age* (pp. 226–237). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. (1989). Collective memory and the news. *Communication*, *11*, 123–139.

Li, H., & Lee, C. C. (2013). Remembering Tiananmen and the Berlin Wall: The elite US press's anniversary journalism, 1990–2009. *Media, Culture & Society*, *35*(7), 830–846.

Lindgren, M., & Phillips, G. (2016). Asbestos memories: Journalistic "mediation" in mediated prospective memory. In A. Hajek, C. Lohmeier, & C. Pentzold (Eds.), *Memory in a mediated world: Remembrance and reconstruction* (pp. 158–175). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Maycotte, H. O. (2015). Big data triggers predictive journalism. *Nieman Lab*. Retrieved from www.niemanlab.org/2015/12/big-data-triggers-predictive-journalism/

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., & Donsbach, W. (2017). *Journalistic role performance: Concepts, models, and measures*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Meyers, O. (2002). Still photographs, dynamic memories: An analysis of the visual presentation of Israel's history in commemorative newspaper supplements. *The Communication Review*, *5*(3), 179–205.

Meyers, O. (2007). Memory in journalism and the memory of journalism: Israeli journalists and the constructed legacy of Haolam Hazeh. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(4), 719–738. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00365.x

Meyers, O., Zandberg, E., & Neiger, M. (2014). *Communicating awe: Media memory and Holocaust commemoration*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Neiger, M. (2007). Media oracles: The political import and cultural significance of news referring to the future. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *8*(3), 326–338.

Neiger, M. (2012). *The future is present: The media as an agent of collective vision*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the international communication association (ICA), Phoenix, AZ.

Neiger, M., Meyers, O., & Zandberg, E. (2011). *On media memory: Collective memory in a new media age*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Neiger, M., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2016). Understanding journalism through a nuanced deconstruction of temporal layers in news narratives. *Journal of Communication*, *66*(1), 139–160.

Olick, J. K., & Robbins, J. (1998). Social memory studies: From "collective memory" to the historical sociology of mnemonic practices. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *24*, 105–136.

Reading, A. (2014). The journalist as memory assembler: Non-memory, the war on terror and the shooting of Osama bin Laden. In B. Zelizer & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and memory* (pp. 164–178). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reich, Z., & Barnoy, A. (2016). Reconstructing production practices through interviewing. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *Sage handbook of digital journalism studies* (pp. 477–493). London: Sage Publishers.

Robinson, S. (2009a). "We were all there": Remembering America in the anniversary coverage of Hurricane Katrina. *Memory Studies*, *2*(2), 235–253.
Robinson, S. (2009b). "If you had been with us": Mainstream journalists and citizen journalists jockey for authority over the collective memory of Hurricane Katrina. *New Media & Society*, *11*(5), 795–814. doi:10.1177/1461444809105353
Salgado, S., & Strömbäck, J. (2012). Interpretive journalism: A review of concepts, operationalizations and key findings. *Journalism*, *13*(2), 144–161.
Schieder, T. (1978). The role of historical consciousness in political action. *History Theory*, *17*(4), 1–18.
Schlesinger, P. (1977). Newsmen and their time-machine. *British Journal of Sociology*, *28*(3), 336–350.
Schudson, M. (1986). When: Deadlines, datelines, and history. In R. K. Manoff & M. Schudson (Eds.), *Reading the news* (pp. 79–108). New York, NY: Pantheon Books.
Schudson, M. (1992). *Watergate in American memory: How we remember, forget, and reconstruct the past*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Schudson, M. (1997). Lives, laws, and language: Commemorative versus non-commemorative forms of effective public memory. *The Communication Review*, *2*(1), 3–17.
Schudson, M. (2014). Journalism as a vehicle of non-commemorative cultural memory. In B. Zelizer & K. Tenenboim-Weinblatt (Eds.), *Journalism and memory* (pp. 85–96). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Shifman, L. (2014). The cultural logic of photo-based meme genres. *Journal of Visual Culture*, *13*(3), 340–358.
Smit, R., Heinrich, A., & Broersma, M. (2017). Witnessing in the new memory ecology: Memory construction of the Syrian conflict on YouTube. *New Media & Society*, *19*(2), 289–307.
Song, Y., & Lee, C. C. (2017). "Collective memories" of global media events: Anniversary journalism of the Berlin Wall and Tiananmen crackdown in the Anglo-American elite press, 1990–2014. *Journalism* (Online First). doi:1464884917720304
Sonnevend, J. (2013). Counterrevolutionary icons: The representation of the 1956 "counterrevolution" in the Hungarian communist press. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(3), 336–354.
Sonnevend, J. (2016). *Stories without borders: The Berlin Wall and the making of a global iconic event*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190604301.001.0001
Szpunar, P. M., & Szpunar, K. K. (2016). Collective future thought: Concept, function, and implications for collective memory studies. *Memory Studies*, *9*(4), 376–389.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2008). "We will get through this together": Journalism, trauma, and the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip. *Media, Culture & Society*, *30*(4), 495–513.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2013). Bridging collective memories and public agendas: Toward a theory of mediated prospective memory. *Communication Theory*, *23*(2), 91–111.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2018). Media projections and Trump's election: A self-defeating prophecy? In P. J. Boczkowski & Z. Papacharissi (Eds.), *Trump and the media* (pp. 111–118). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., & Baden, C. (2018). Journalistic transformation: How source texts are turned into news stories. *Journalism*, *19*(4), 481–499.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., & Neiger, M. (2015). Print is future, online is past: Cross-media analysis of temporal orientations in the news. *Communication Research*, *42*(8), 1047–1067.
Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K., & Neiger, M. (2018). Temporal affordances in the news. *Journalism*, *19*(1), 37–55.
Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the social construction of reality*. London: The Free Press.
Volcic, Z., Erjavec, K., & Peak, M. (2014). Branding post-war Sarajevo: Journalism, memories, and dark tourism. *Journalism Studies*, *15*(6), 726–742.
Volkmer, I. (2006). *News in public memory: An international study of media memories across generations*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Watson, B. R., & Chen, M. S. (2016). @Todayin1963: Commemorative journalism, digital collective remembering, and the March on Washington. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(8), 1010–1029.
Zandberg, E., Neiger, M., & Meyers, O. (2011). Past continuous: Newsworthiness and the shaping of collective memory. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, *29*(1), 65–79.

Zelizer, B. (1992). *Covering the body: The Kennedy assassination, the media, and the shaping of collective memory*. Chicago, IL and London: The University of Chicago Press.
Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretive communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *10*(3), 219–237.
Zelizer, B. (1995). Reading the past against the grain: The shape of memory studies. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *12*(2), 215–239.
Zelizer, B. (1998). *Remembering to forget: Holocaust memory through the camera's eye*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Zelizer, B. (2002). Photography, journalism, and trauma. In B. Zelizer & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism after September 11* (pp. 48–68). London: Routledge.
Zelizer, B. (2008). Why memory's work on journalism does not reflect journalism's work on memory. *Memory Studies*, *1*(1), 79–87. doi:10.1177/1750698007083891
Zelizer, B. (2017). *What journalism could be*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
Zelizer, B., & Tenenboim-Weinblatt, K. (2014). *Journalism and memory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

28

Citizen Journalism and Participation

Stuart Allan and Arne Hintz

In the aftermath of the South Asian tsunami of December 26, 2004, the term "citizen journalism" quickly gained currency with news organizations finding themselves in the difficult position of being largely dependent on "amateur content" to tell the story of what had transpired on the ground in the most severely affected areas. The term was widely perceived to capture the countervailing ethos of the ordinary person's capacity to bear witness, providing commentators with a useful label to characterize an ostensibly new genre of reportage. "Mainstream news organizations should consider the tsunami story as the seminal marker for introducing citizen journalism into the hallowed space that is professional journalism," Steve Outing (2005) of Poynter.org maintained at the time, an observation that has proven remarkably prescient.

This chapter begins by identifying a set of particularly important conceptual issues for citizen journalism, namely by tracing the shifting, uneven contexts of media participation. The first section addresses journalism's participatory cultures, providing a broader context of theoretical understandings of how technological drivers give shape to communicative platforms to make possible alternative, citizen-centered forms of reportage. Here, insights from media theorists situated across more conventional, pre-digital disciplinary boundaries are shown to have engendered a formative influence, helping to establish research agendas regarding participatory technologies that continue to prove salient today. The second section, "Activist Forms of Citizen Journalism," focuses on two historic cases—Indymedia and WikiLeaks—that draw from a (h)activist ethos and focus on developing alternative platforms and infrastructure for journalism, as well as questioning established approaches to journalism. These two prominent instances of activist journalism demonstrate the role of self-generated practices for media innovation in early forms of citizen journalism and highlight the ongoing negotiation of the tension between more traditional journalistic approaches and activist commitment.

The third section, "Citizen Journalism and Crisis Reporting," surveys scholarship focusing on the evolving forms, practices, and epistemologies of citizen journalism (or, as some prefer to label it "user-generated content," or "UGC"), showing how its gradual consolidation as a participatory phenomenon has served to recast what counts as journalism—and who can lay claim to the role of journalist. In the course of our discussion, we draw together a diverse array of studies which help to trace the contours of this consolidation over recent years. The fourth section, "Enabling Citizen Journalism? Challenges and Restrictions," problematizes notions of people-based information dissemination by investigating the various limitations to online communication which have dampened the earlier enthusiasm around the "liberation technology" (Diamond, 2010) of citizen journalism. Finally, in the concluding section, we interweave several of the chapter's principal themes to pinpoint pressing issues for scholars to explore in future work, recognizing the necessity of recalibrating our conceptual and methodological commitments to effectively engage with citizens' rapidly changing participatory opportunities—and the factors constraining them—in local, national, and global newscapes.

PARTICIPATORY CULTURES

During the early days of the World Wide Web's development, commentators found themselves immersed in lively debate over the possible implications for journalism. Opposing views revolved around imagined scenarios indicative of sharply divergent projections of the future. For some critics, the emergence of online journalism posed a grave threat, one portending to destabilize the financial viability—and undermine the professional integrity—of "mainstream" news organizations. For some advocates, in marked contrast, online journalism promised to usher in a new age of news reporting, one that would help to re-wire the planet into a virtual community of global citizens actively participating in collective, collaborative forms of news making. The celebrated theorist Marshall McLuhan's writings about electronic media, published decades earlier, proved influential for optimistic appraisals, particularly with respect to the way his concept of the "global village" invited confidence in online journalism's potential to transcend national boundaries. McLuhan (1962, p. 8) had boldly prophesized that "electro-magnetic discoveries" would one day bring together "the entire human family into a single global tribe."

This chimerical vision of the "global village" invited a radical rethinking of familiar assumptions regarding media culture, especially with respect to technology's capacity to engender new types of participatory interaction (Mabweazara, Mudhai, & Whittaker, 2014; Thorsen & Allan, 2014; Treré & Barranquero Carretero, 2018). While researchers, then as now, have been skeptical regarding the capacity of "electronic media" to underwrite a global public sphere, due credit is warranted for envisioning new opportunities for virtual participation decades before the internet became widely available (let alone mobile social networking platforms used by so many of us today). As Enzensberger (1970, p. 15) argued,

> For the first time in history, the media are making possible mass participation in a social and socialized productive process, the practical means of which are in the hands of the masses themselves. Such a use of them would bring the communications media, which up to now have not deserved the name, into their own. In its present form, equipment like television or film does not serve communication but prevents it. It allows no reciprocal action between transmitter and receiver; technically speaking it reduces feedback to the lowest point compatible with the system.

For Enzensberger, the immanent promise of democratic communication at the heart of electronic media represents a decisive turning point, once the contradiction between producers and consumers is properly recognized as an external imposition ("artificially reinforced by economic and administrative measures"), rather than presumed to be inherent principles of media processes. Means of consumption transformed into means of production open up alternative opportunities for "mass participation," but for such opportunities to be realized, new forms of social organization will be required. "Anyone who expects to be emancipated by technological hardware, or by a system of hardware however structured, is the victim of an obscure belief in progress," Enzensberger contends. "Anyone who imagines that freedom for the media will be established if only everyone is busy transmitting and receiving," he continues, "is the dupe of a liberalism which, decked out in contemporary colors, merely peddles the faded concepts of a pre-ordained harmony of social interests" (1970, p. 23). To advance social change through a collective method of production, it follows, technical devices—he cites "tape recorders, ordinary cameras and cine cameras" by way of examples—should be taken into workplaces, schools, offices, and the like; "in short, everywhere where there is social conflict." It is by "producing aggressive forms of publicity" to focus attention on such sites of conflict, Enzensberger believed, "the masses could secure evidence of their daily experiences and draw effective lessons from them" (1970, p. 23).

The participatory ethos, which would be slowly inscribed into strategic rationales for citizen journalism, was previewed, similarly, by German playwright Bertolt Brecht earlier in the 20th century as he recognized radio technology's potential to become a medium of collective participation. More specifically, Brecht's "Theory of Radio" from 1932 criticized the one-sided use of the medium as a means for disseminating content from a central sender to the many receivers, arguing that it should become a communicative and thus participatory technology. The goal should be to "change this apparatus over from distribution to communication," he observed. In other words, "if it knew how to receive as well as to transmit, how to let the listener speak as well as hear, how to bring him into a relationship instead of isolating him," then a new principle would be established, one where "the radio should step out of the supply business and organize its listeners as suppliers" (Willett, 1964, pp. 51–53). In his vision for the potential of a new technology, Brecht was aligned with hopes of "user" empowerment that have accompanied many cycles of technological innovation. The invention of the telegraph had already generated expectations for a new stage in human understanding as well as direct interaction between people, without central intermediaries, and so did a variety of new technologies, from printing to the internet (Lax, 2009).

Yet Brecht's idealism was rooted in the actual practices of radio use, which included diverse amateur experiments and explored the radio as an interactive transmission device for individuals. These approaches have lived on with the use of "ham" (or amateur) radios used by radio enthusiasts around the globe to exchange messages. "Pirate" (or unlicensed) radio has been a means for both individuals and communities to take media production into their own hands and develop programming outside large media institutions. In both urban and rural environments across the globe, pirate radios have held a significant presence on the airwaves, particularly (but not exclusively) before the wider availability of online infrastructures (Coyer, Dowmunt, & Fountain, 2007). "Community radio" has translated the participatory practice of pirate radio into a legally recognized institution. An increasing number of countries provide dedicated broadcast licenses for nonprofit, participatory radio organizations. Such local, community-owned and self-managed radio stations have proliferated even as the internet and social media became the most prominent means of communication (Coyer & Hintz, 2010; Hintz, 2014a).

With the rise of community radio, "community media" entered the realm of key concepts in media and communication studies, as part of a broader vocabulary to describe and make sense of participatory media practices. Within that specific research field, community media represent media structures owned by, operated for, and accountable to a community (which can be a community of interest, a geographical community, or a cultural community), and open to participation in program making and management by members of the community (Rennie, 2006). Other conceptual frames have included "alternative media" (Atton, 2001); "radical" and "social movement" media (Downing, 2000); and "civil society media" (Bailey, Cammaerts, & Carpentier, 2008; Hintz, 2009). Even the term "citizen's media" emerged before its wider usage in a digital environment to express people's self-enactment as citizens through their own media production (Rodriguez, 2001). While describing different facets of the field, these concepts have served to understand a wide variety of

> grassroots or locally oriented media access initiatives predicated on a profound sense of dissatisfaction with mainstream media form and content, dedicated to the principles of free expression

> and participatory democracy, and committed to enhancing community relations and promoting community solidarity.
>
> (Howley, 2005, p. 2)

Global academic networks (such as OURMedia) and associations (such as the International Association for Media and Communication Research, IAMCR) have increasingly offered recognition to these entities and spaces for relevant discussion.

The evolving interactivities of media participation, in general, and citizen-centered forms of journalism, in particular, assumed even greater resonance by the mid-1990s with the rise of the internet. Celebrated by some as "a world that all may enter without privilege or prejudice . . . where anyone, anywhere may express his or her beliefs, no matter how singular, without fear of being coerced into silence or conformity" (Barlow, 1996, paras 7–8), the internet was hoped to "help revitalize the public sphere" and provide a "citizen-designed, citizen-controlled worldwide communications network" (Rheingold, 1993, pp. 14–15). Mark Poster (1995), in his book *The Second Media Age*, noted that "an alternative to the broadcast model, with its severe technical constraints, will very likely enable a system of multiple producers/distributors/consumers" (1995, p. 3) and heralded the arrival of the "World-Wide Web," regarding the "simultaneous transmission of text, images and sound" to be "astounding" in its implications. Amongst the examples of "cheap, flexible, readily available, quick" technologies producing "decentralizing effects," he cited "desktop broadcasting, widespread citizen camcorder reporting, and digital filmmaking" as phenomena "transgressing the constraints of broadcast oligopolies" (1995, p. 37). As "[t]he people formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006) increasingly created their own content through these and other emerging means, researchers began exploring how journalism on the web started to transition into journalism of the web (Gillmor, 2006; Matheson, 2004; Pavlik, 2008). Both the "older" forms of community and alternative media and the "newer" instances of blogs and social media content increasingly became acknowledged as core features of a "networked fourth estate" (Benkler, 2013) which includes both traditional media organizations and participatory forms of nonprofessional media production.

The interest in the affordances of the internet expanded beyond its use as a means for communication towards a space of new forms of production. Based on the experiences of free software development, Benkler (2006) explored commons-based peer production as a participatory mode of creating goods and services in a collaborative networked economy. Cultural production, particularly, came to include creative contributions by audiences, nonprofessional producers, and fans. As part of a growing participatory culture, people interact with media in creative and often unforeseen ways as consumption of cultural commodities and news products merges with active engagement, production, manipulation, and development—from blogging to remixing to developing new genres (Jenkins, 2006; Bruns, 2008; Lessig, 2008). Renewed interest in participatory media-making has thus been embedded in a broader research agenda on participatory practices as well as deeper investigations into concepts and types of, and challenges to, participation (Carpentier, 2011).

ACTIVIST FORMS OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM

As the history of community, alternative and radical media tells us, participatory media practices have often started with the initiative of committed activists. Online citizen journalism has not been an exception. One of its birthdays may be November 30, 1999, when media activists, community journalists, and alternative media practitioners converged on Seattle, coinciding with protests against a meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO), to start the first "Independent Media Center" (IMC). Typically referred to as "Indymedia," this collaborative media operation aimed at representing demonstrators' perspectives and provide a different account of the protests from what was reported in the traditional media. It encompassed not only a daily newspaper, a radio broadcast, and video reports, but also a website that was open for anyone with internet access to upload text, images, audio, and video. Through this "open publishing" system, not only the media activists at the center but all protesters and concerned citizens with internet access could post reports and commentary to a global audience. Those participating in the protests and those witnessing events in the streets were encouraged to produce news and analysis, thereby creating a crowdsourced record of what unfolded during those days. Over the following years, several hundred IMCs were created around the globe and thus a global network of citizen journalism emerged.

The Indymedia concept, as expressed in the slogan "Don't Hate the Media—Be the Media!" revolved around two characteristics that became key components of the new citizen journalism sphere: a radical subjectivity that breaks with the attempts of objectivity and impartiality of traditional journalism and is instead explicit about its vantage point and a crowd-based journalism that seeks the truth through the multitude of voices, eyes, and comments. The local groups were connected through a common set of principles on openness and nonprofit alternative journalism, the shared use of technical resources, and the collaborative ethos of the free software movement. Both its journalistic innovations and its organizational model have been at the core of scholarly investigations into Indymedia. Its radical democratic practices of operating a global network through bottom-up decision-making and consensus have been investigated in the context of the internet's promise for democratizing media production and redistributing power to facilitate coordinated, cooperative action (Pickard, 2006). The prefigurative approach by Indymedia and a wider range of activist media initiatives of developing alternative technological infrastructures and institutional models, and thus attempting to develop a different society, has been highlighted as an important avenue towards social change (Milan, 2013a). Further, Indymedia inspired investigations into the shifting intersections between the online and offline world as the virtual IMC communities started to print magazines, built technical infrastructure for protest camps and created public access points in the middle of demonstrations, and shipped computers and other equipment to partner groups in the Global South (e.g., Latin America, Africa) in practical attempts to bridge digital divides (Hintz, 2014b).

As an early form of citizen journalism, the IMC network was confronted with many of the new challenges of this emerging field, including the trustworthiness of its content and pressures by governments to self-regulate (or face repression). The rise of Indymedia came to a halt as the protest waves which had carried it started to decline and as commercial social media platforms became more attractive for activists to post their stories, pictures, and videos. Yet it has been a milestone towards citizen journalism and social media—without the start-up capital of the more recent social media enterprises, and organized in a decentralized, democratic way. As new type of "commoners," as Kidd (2003) notes, Indymedia activists placed themselves at the center of contemporary struggles over the control of both resources and broader value systems on the internet. Indymedia offers a model of citizen journalism that addresses not only questions of information dissemination but also the underlying infrastructure and thus translates key concerns of community and alternative media to the online sphere.

Exploring the intersections of media activism and journalism further, WikiLeaks became a prominent model of citizen media from 2006. Like Indymedia, it emerged from an activist critique of the shortcomings of traditional media, particularly its explicit and implicit filters that affect what is published and how it is framed, and it asks the audience to become active investigators. However, unlike Indymedia, it focuses on raw data rather than citizen accounts of events; it thereby advances claims to objectivity that citizen journalism often rejects; it is not set up as a decentralized network; and it has collaborated heavily with classic media organizations. Reflecting its amalgamation of different practices and identities, WikiLeaks has presented itself, at times, as an activist and advocacy organization and, at other times, as a journalistic institution (Lynch, 2009).

The implications of WikiLeaks for changes in journalism, activism, and broader society have led to further interest. Journalism scholars have explored how WikiLeaks triggered an emerging "leaks journalism," characterized by the use of whistleblowers as sources, secure online communication methods, and collaborations between media organizations to share resources and expertise (Beckett & Ball, 2012; Eldridge, 2013). As such, it has advanced conceptualizations of contemporary media ecologies as a "networked fourth estate" in which diverse types of media organizations interact (Benkler, 2013). Social movement scholars and researchers on activism and democracy have dissected new forms of "leaktivism" (Karatzogianni, 2018) in which distinctive combinations of social and communicative action emerge. The increased role of the individual has received particular attention, not least due to the centrality of the whistleblower in leaks activism and journalism. McCurdy (2013) has observed a "democratization" of whistleblowing in the digital era as many of the recent whistleblowers were low-level analysts with access to huge databases and the opportunity to move large numbers of files quickly. Just as citizen journalism questions established institutional configurations, "citizen leaking" transforms what we know about who leaks and who processes and publishes leaks. Similarly, WikiLeaks has demonstrated how citizens can generate policy change and transform national legislation (Hintz, 2013). Milan (2013b) argues that the individualized forms of action revolving around WikiLeaks and other whistleblower initiatives point to a wider transition from organized collective action to activities of individuals who temporarily come together and disperse in forms of "cloud protesting." Yet the most immediate consequence of WikiLeaks for the field of citizen journalism may be the emergence of a wide variety of local and thematically oriented citizen initiatives that run their own leaks platforms, powered by new technology for secure and anonymous leaking created by hacktivist groups such as Globaleaks. Organizations such as Xnet in Spain, through its "Citizen Leaks" platform, have provided new opportunities for whistleblowers and helped uncover major cases of corruption (Siapera, 2016).

For some researchers, innovations such as these are suggestive of what they describe as a "fifth estate"; a nascent realm of digitally savvy citizens intent on fashioning alternative forms of reporting actively supplementing—and, in some instances, supplanting—the "mainstream" news media's fourth estate commitments (see Cooper, 2006; Dutton, 2009). Here, the rules of corporate journalism (where watchdogs seem content to behave like lapdogs much of the time) are rewritten as together they cajole, provoke, and inspire news organizations to fulfill their public service commitments (Franklin & Eldridge, 2017; Russell, 2016; Singer et al., 2011). In tracing the capacities of these alternative, social networked forms of reporting, the next section illuminates how journalism is evolving to recast the relationship between professionals and their citizen counterparts, particularly under the intense pressure of covering breaking news of crisis events.

CITIZEN JOURNALISM AND CRISIS REPORTING

More often than not in recent years, the person first on the scene of a violent crisis event with a camera has been an ordinary citizen. For varied reasons, priorities, and motivations, so-called "accidental journalists"—be they survivors, bystanders, first-responders, officials, law enforcement, combatants, activists, or the like—feel compelled to bear witness, often at considerable personal risk (Allan, 2013; Mortensen, 2015; Rentschler, 2009; Tait, 2011). Precedents of form, practice, and epistemology can be identified as they converged long before the term “citizen journalism” claimed its purchase. Amongst the most cited examples in pertinent scholarship are Abraham Zapruder’s 8-mm “home movie” footage of the assassination of US President John F. Kennedy in 1963, together with George Holliday’s “amateur camcorder video” of Rodney King being beaten by Los Angeles police officers in 1991 (Allan, 2013). More recently, the September 11, 2001, attacks proved to be a “watershed day” for impromptu “personal” reportage, with phrases such as “amateur newsies,” “DIY [Do-It-Yourself] reporters,” and “guerrilla journalists” being used in press accounts to describe citizen contributors to breaking news coverage (Zelizer & Allan, 2002). Researchers have similarly examined nonprofessional eyewitness reporting during the US-led military invasion of Iraq in 2003, such as the anonymous blogger posting under the pseudonym “Salam Pax,” who succeeded in documenting the lived experiences of besieged Iraqis caught up in the grisly horrors of conflict in Baghdad (Matheson & Allan, 2009; Bennett, 2013).

The term “citizen journalism” entered the journalistic lexicon in the immediate aftermath of the South Asian tsunami of December 2004. The remarkable range of first-person accounts, camcorder video footage, mobile and cell phone and digital camera snapshots—many of which were posted online through blogs and personal webpages—being generated by ordinary citizens on the scene (holidaymakers, in many instances) was widely prized for making a unique contribution to "mainstream" journalism’s coverage (see also Beckett, 2008; Belair-Gagnon, 2015; Riegert, Hellman, Robertson, & Mral, 2010; Williams, Wardle, & Wahl-Jorgensen, 2011). In the months to follow, the significance of bottom-up, inside-out contributions from ordinary individuals in relation to the top-down, outside-in imperatives of professional news reporting was being increasingly regarded as indicative of a broader “citizen journalism movement” (Schechter, 2005).

The word “crisis,” derived from the Greek *krinein* connoting “to separate, decide, judge,” invites a language of normative boundary making, and thereby one of framing in journalistic terms. Over the years, there has been no shortage of crisis events that have figured in appraisals of the changing nature of the relationship between professional journalism and its amateur, citizen-led alternatives. For those welcoming citizen journalism and its scope for recasting long-standing reportorial principles, a paradigm shift appears to be underway. Traditional news coverage, with its “he said, she said” formulaic appeals to objectivity, over-reliance on official sources, and dry, distancing, lecture-like mode of address, is looking increasingly anachronistic. Too often it is bland, its notions of fairness and balance contrived, even off-putting in its preoccupation with the esoteric world of elites. Citizen journalism, in marked contrast, inspires a language of democratization. Journalism by the people for the people is to be heralded for its alternative norms, values, and priorities. It is raw, immediate, independent, and unapologetically subjective, making the most of the resources of web-based initiatives—collective intelligence, crowdsourcing, wiki collaboration, and the like, within and across diverse, evolving virtual communities—to connect, interact, and share firsthand, unauthorized forms of journalistic activity promising fresh perspectives (see also Baker & Blaagaard, 2016; Belair-Gagnon, 2015; Russell, 2016). For critics, however, citizen journalism’s dangers outweigh its merits, with news organizations at risk of losing credibility in their rush to embrace forms of reporting they cannot always independently confirm or verify. Citizen journalism may be cheap and popular, hence its not inconsiderable appeal for cash-strapped newsrooms, but in a world where facts matter, ethical codes warrant respect, and audience trust is paramount, it continues to spark intense debate about how best to negotiate its benefits and hazards alike (see also Allan & Peters, 2019; Robinson, 2018).

In recent years, the term “media witnessing” has emerged as a way to describe how digital technologies are transforming this capacity to bear witness. Definitions tend to vary depending upon disciplinary priorities, but in its most general sense, as Frosh and Pinchevski (2009) pointed out, the term refers to "the witnessing performed *in*, *by*, and *through* the media. It is about the systematic and ongoing reporting of the experiences and realities of distant others to mass audiences" (p. 1). Confronted with crisis situations, major news organizations tend to mobilize certain ritualized strategies and procedures to process visible evidence that necessarily implicate them in a discursive politics of mediation. In striving to identify how individuals' precipitous involvement is reconfiguring this geometry of informational power, researchers have examined the evolving capacity of individuals to reclaim the discursive terrain of "the field of media witnessing," as Ashuri and Pinchevski (2009) designate it (see also Kyriakidou, 2014). Professional decision-making concerning the priorities of witnessing—routinely enabled and constrained by appeals to impartiality—proves open to contestation when the normative criteria that shape tacit rules of inclusion and exclusion are recast by citizen-centered perspectives rendered by mobile digital technologies harnessing the power of social networks. Bearing witness consistently encounters formidable difficulties; however, not least because incidents deemed "witnessable" will always prove unruly, disruptive, and frustratingly elusive. "Witnessing traffics in pieces, parts, and circumstantial details," Peters (2009) points out, "not in stories with beginnings, middles, and ends (which are the province of active witnessing, of saying rather than seeing)" (2009, p. 45). Yet, paradoxically, it is the invocation of storyness—news storyness—that underwrites the journalist's imperative to narrativize the fleeting realities of potentially traumatic events. The challenge for journalism, it follows, is to create spaces for what Allan (2013) terms "citizen witnessing" with the capacity to foster points of human connection and, in so doing, affirm principles of trust, responsibility, and emphatic engagement to counter the forms of social exclusion endemic to the "us" and "them" dichotomies otherwise permeating so much news reporting of other people's misery.

Citizen-centered approaches invite further questions about modes of citizen witnessing evolving across social networking platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Path, Flickr, Instagram, Tumblr, Reddit, and YouTube. Studies have investigated, for example, the cell phone video of Saddam Hussein's execution captured by an Iraqi security guard in 2006 (Zelizer, 2012); citizen reportage of the 2008 earthquake in Wenchuan, southwestern China, calling into question how local officials were managing the crisis (Nip, 2009); the importance of Twitter for making public firsthand citizen witnessing of the Mumbai terror attacks in real-time (Bahador & Tng, 2010; Ibrahim, 2014); the death of newspaper seller Ian Tomlinson after being struck by a police officer during the G20 summit in London in 2009, a tourist's recording of which contradicting police denials (Greer & McLaughlin, 2010); and YouTube footage of Neda Agha-Soltan bleeding to death during a Iranian election protest march the same year, effectively transforming her into a symbol of the popular opposition, galvanizing support in Iranian diasporas as well as focusing international attention (Anderson, 2012; Hänska-Ahy & Shapour, 2012). The Haitian earthquake of January 2010 saw live-blogging sites, in particular, serving as on-the-ground eyes and ears of the disaster (Chouliaraki, 2013; Pantti, Wahl-Jorgensen, & Cottle, 2012). In the months to follow, so many of the defining images of the Arab Spring uprisings were taken by ordinary citizens and relayed via social networking sites, not least Facebook and Twitter, across one national context to the next (Allan, 2013; Alper, 2014; Wall & El Zahed, 2014; Wardle, Dubberley, & Brown, 2014). In 2011, video imagery shot by rebel fighters of the capture and killing of Libyan leader Gaddafi called into question whether the "citizen" in "citizen journalism" included combatants, as well as disputes over the acceptable limits of depicting graphic carnage (Kristensen & Mortensen, 2013). In the same year, natural disasters such as the Japanese earthquake and tsunami (Utz, Schultz, & Glocka, 2013), as well as human made ones, such as the London riots (Fuchs, 2012; Lewis, Kaufhold, & Lasorsa, 2011), revealed how ad hoc forms of collaboration between professional journalists and citizens enriched reportorial scope and depth.

More recent studies of citizen news making, such as during the Boston Marathon attacks, the murder of off-duty soldier Lee Rigby on a London street by assailants who shouted "take my picture" to horrified passersby, or citizen videos of the Charlie Hebdo shootings in Paris, as well further attacks in the city later that year, similarly delve into the relative strengths and limitations and ethical quandaries at stake (Allan, 2014; Meikle, 2014; Mortensen, 2015). Several researchers have addressed the wider import of how social media networks serving as news platforms mobilized public opinion, pointing to the outpouring of support and sympathy online as people around the world expressed their solidarity with crises' survivors (Cottle & Cooper, 2015). Much of the research into citizen contributions to war and conflict reportage has focused on developments in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Ukraine (in contrast with crises which have not received the attention—both journalistic and scholarly—they warrant, such as conflicts unfolding in Yemen, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Myanmar). The sheer breadth of this scholarship makes apparent a number of the ways in which crises are mediated within a wider geometry of informational power, where their enactment recurrently projects a hierarchical othering of "us" and "them" (Harkin et al., 2012; Robinson, Seib, & Frohlich, 2017; Tumber & Waisbord, 2017). More specifically, the capacity of professional correspondents to serve as trustworthy, reliable witnesses in the heat of the moment—and to negotiate the terms delimiting the truth-claims of others—underpins the discursive legitimacy of war reporting, particularly for "us" interpellated as members of distant interpretive communities. When citizen war reporters lay claim to the authority of presence for themselves, however, what counts as crisis reporting undergoes *ad hoc* redefinition, its tacit rules of in/visibility often decisively recast (Allan, 2017; Chouliaraki, 2015). Amongst the disruptive contradictions thrown into relief, it is the "ordinary" citizen's precipitous invocation of eyewitness subjectivity relaying the graphic, grisly terrors of human misery (its "unfiltered," almost visceral immediacy too jarring to be contained within familiar institutional framings) that makes apparent the codified strictures of professionalized impartiality (Al-Ghazzi, 2014; Hoskins & O'Laughlin, 2010; Waisbord, 2013; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2016). That is, it disrupts the unspoken precept that the journalistic gaze is impersonal, detached, and dispassionate, revealing it to be an interested perspective, invested in sustaining a professional ethos responsive to state power in times of crisis.

Careful scrutiny of these and related examples, informed by self-reflexive journalist commentary (citizen journalism in crisis circumstances often being treated as a news story in its own right), has also helped to bring to light frictions besetting the maintenance and repair of professional-amateur boundary-making threatening to unravel under pressure (Carlson & Lewis, 2015). Of particular interest to some scholars concerned with questions of state power in this regard has been the efforts of citizens to wield portable, often wearable personal technologies to gather and share visible evidence. In contrast with "surveillance" (watching over), the term "sousveillance" (watching from below) has been elaborated in several studies to capture further dimensions of these processes, notably the reverse tactics employed to monitor those in positions of authority "by informal networks of regular people, equipped with little more than cellphone cameras, video blogs and the desire to remain vigilant against the excesses of the powers that be" (Hoffman, 2006; see also Bakir, 2010; Mann, 2002). Relevant here is Occupy Wall Street, which set in motion a fledgling network of activists intent on refashioning public media platforms to strategic advantage, prompting *The Economist* (2011) to observe at the time: "what's going on in America right now may be the world's first genuine social-media uprising" (see also Penney & Dadas, 2014). The Black Lives Matter movement has recurrently drawn upon sousveillant documentation in its campaigns against violence and systemic racism towards black people, recognizing the raw power of imagery to focus media—and thereby public—attention on instances of alleged police brutality, misconduct, or shootings. Such lens-reversal practices, studies have shown, have facilitated concerted efforts by afflicted communities to confront institutions of authority, in part by affording counter-narratives of racial discourse with the potential to disrupt what can otherwise seem to be a hegemonic politics of visibility in news reporting (Allan & Dencik, 2017; Bock, 2016; Steiner & Waisbord, 2017).

ENABLING CITIZEN JOURNALISM? CHALLENGES AND RESTRICTIONS

The Internet has offered significant opportunities for citizens to raise their voices and contribute to journalistic accounts of major events and developments, as the above examples briefly demonstrate. Online activists, citizen journalists, and civil society groups have made the most of its transnational, decentralized structures, and its relative immunity from direct governmental control. Academic work in fields such as digital culture, online activism, and digital citizenship has explored the varied, uneven dimensions, contexts, and implications (e.g., Benkler, 2006; Lessig, 2008; Mossberger, Tolbert, & McNeal, 2008). However, since the beginning of the new millennium, these initial characteristics have seen a gradual transformation as both state and corporate actors have advanced their own influence over previously unregulated spaces, and scholarship from, particularly, digital and internet studies, as well as political and other social sciences, has increasingly analyzed this shift. Goldsmith and Wu (2006) laid important groundwork in discussing how territorial law was increasingly introduced into the supposedly non-territorial online environments. Deibert,Palfrey, Rohozinski, and Zittrain (2008), in a series of books, have investigated the resulting restrictions to online content and services across the globe and the increasing efforts of governments to control content flows. In their crudest form, these controls have led to the demarcation of virtual national borders and the separation of national networks from the transnational internet, as exemplified most prominently by the "Great Firewall of China" where control over major backbones and access points has allowed the government to restrict access to both services and information from outside that territory. During times of protests and uprisings, governments are now routinely closing down online services in their country or interrupting connections to the outside world. The Egyptian government, at the height of the Arab Spring uprising in January 2011, tried and tested this approach successfully. Such blocks have hindered the transnational publicity role of citizen journalism, and often "the targets (victims) are active domestic civic society movements" (Howard, Agarwal, & Hussain, 2011, p. 220).

Yet filtering and blocking content that transcends moral, religious, or political limits set by governments has become common practice within national territories, too (Deibert et al., 2008). Citizen journalism may be either openly or indirectly affected by such efforts, as the creation of an extensive censorship architecture for widely accepted forms of content restrictions (such as, blocking child pornography) can lead both to the technical problem of blocking unrelated content and to demands for wider restrictions. As Deibert notes, "once the tools of censorship are in place, the temptation for authorities to employ them for a wide range of purposes are large" (Deibert, 2009, p. 327). Complementing these technically enforced forms of content regulation, citizen journalism has been subject to the tightening of legal rules for online speech, which have emerged, as Greenwald (2015) notes, from shifts in the boundaries between democratic forms of contentious communication and illegal hate speech. This has further complicated the traditionally precarious position of citizen journalism, which, as a "non-professional" practice, does not enjoy the privileges of professional journalists and is not protected in the same way against, e.g., libel and defamation charges (Salter, 2009).

Growing scholarly interest in what has been termed the "platform society" (van Dijck, Poell, & de Waal, 2018) has increased attention to the widespread use of commercial social media platforms by citizen journalists and to content restrictions based on that infrastructure choice. Large platform companies (e.g., Facebook) and infrastructure providers (e.g., Amazon) can act as gatekeepers that allow, prevent and regulate content and, more broadly, internet uses (Hintz, 2016). These forms of "private ordering" (Belli & Venturini, 2016) have led to "a shift of the responsibility for monitoring and policing internet conduct onto strategically positioned private sector intermediaries" (Mueller, 2010, p. 149). The interaction between state and corporate actors in policing content is reflected, moreover, in the surveillance and monitoring of internet users. The "data mine" (Andrejevic, 2012) of online platforms enables the detailed collection and analysis of internet user data that is at the core of the emerging mode of "platform capitalism" (Srnicek, 2017). Scholars from the fields of surveillance studies and critical data studies have investigated how states use this data to develop detailed knowledge about their citizens (e.g., Lyon, 2015). This has serious implications both for the security and for the free expression of citizen journalists. On the one hand, they have been targets of governmental surveillance, as authorities have used social media platforms for intense surveillance operations (Villeneuve, 2012). On the other hand, and more broadly, the "chilling effect" of surveillance has undermined critical debate and dissident voices (Penney, 2016).

Moreover, contemporary policy debates, such as on net neutrality and on responses to online misinformation ("fake news"), may affect citizen journalism significantly. Restrictions to net neutrality—i.e., changes to the principle that all content is delivered without discrimination—would threaten noncommercial and small content providers that may lack the resources to pay for speedy delivery and may therefore see their content slowed down, and it would provide further risks to oppositional and dissident news sources (Balkin, 2009). As Löblich and Musiani (2014) have pointed out, discrimination based on commercial considerations is a threat to the online public sphere. Efforts to address the problem of "fake news" by outlawing false and misleading information, meanwhile, may curb free expression and thereby lead to inadvertent censorship (Henley, 2018). As these challenges demonstrate, both the infrastructure for, and the practice of, participatory citizen journalism are highly contested and constrained by policy decisions that either enable or limit the actions of citizen journalists. Scholarship has increasingly addressed these struggles between the expansion and the restriction of citizen journalism, as well as the ongoing transformation of underlying concepts. As Hintz, Dencik, and Wahl-Jorgensen (2018) have claimed, the notion of "digital citizenship" which has underpinned much citizen journalism requires a new understanding as digital infrastructures have come to both enable and restrict citizen activities.

CONCLUSION

In charting how citizen-based and participatory forms of news making—often described as citizen journalism—have reconfigured the relationship between "mainstream" news organizations and the public, this chapter has offered an appraisal of several case studies and a diverse array of academic studies. Our aim has been to discern the basis for an alternative heuristic to prompt further investigations of journalistic mediation, not least the myriad ways the reportorial process of negotiation maintains, repairs, and at times reverses the interstices of professional-amateur boundaries (Allan & Peters, 2019; Baker & Blaagaard, 2016). Correspondingly, as shown above, related participatory initiatives and strategies launched by news organizations tend to foreground the necessity of handling—which is to say appropriating and repurposing—these impromptu, ad hoc forms of reportage for consolidating breaking news coverage, even though the challenges for institutional management, curation, and control continue to prove formidable (Domingo &

Paterson, 2011; Lewis, 2012; Williams et al., 2011). A willingness to recast journalism anew by making the most of this potential to forge cooperative relationships between professionals and their citizen counterparts represents a vital opportunity to reinvigorate news reporting at a time of considerable skepticism about future prospects.

Journalistic and citizen reportage mutually imbricate in a relationship which, at its best, is one of respectful reciprocity, yet even then beset with uncertainties. In recognizing the value of holding in conceptual tension the normative politics of citizenship (that is, citizen as journalist, journalist as citizen), the evolving nature of this relationship invites further interrogation. Just as the availability of news and information does not in itself ensure an informed citizenry, no corresponding relationship can be presumed to exist between people's awareness of—or even potential involvement in—purposeful citizen witnessing and their aptitude for civic participation. Citizen reportage as a form of political intervention may be read as broadly indicative of an emergent, frequently contested ethos of digital citizenship. Yet this is not to suggest that those involved self-identify with specific roles, duties, or obligations consistent with traditional (that is, prescriptive) ideals of democratic responsibility. Nor do discourses of citizenship necessarily claim a purchase with people's performative identities, let alone their sense of belonging within a shared community of affect. Rather, we wish to suggest, efforts to attend to the variegated structuring of such experiences will be rewarded with insights into the prospects for reimagining human connectivity—and social responsibility—across digital mediascapes, near and distant.

Such efforts of reimagining will have to take note of the different approaches to journalistic participation that we have seen in this chapter—from activist media alternatives to the inclusion and incorporation of citizen witnesses—and understand the variety in underlying purposes. Further, they will need to consider the technological and regulatory restrictions which increasingly affect online communication and constrain the potential of citizen journalism. As the earlier enthusiasm for digital participation has given way to more measured perspectives, its promise nevertheless resonates not just for the future of journalism but the wider challenges and opportunities of digital society.

REFERENCES

Al-Ghazzi, O. (2014). "Citizen journalism" in the Syrian uprising: Problematizing Western narratives in a local context. *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 435–454.

Allan, S. (2013). *Citizen witnessing: Revisioning journalism in times of crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Allan, S. (2014). Witnessing in crisis: Photo-reportage of terror attacks in Boston and London. *Media, War & Conflict*, *7*(2), 133–151.

Allan, S. (2017). *Photojournalism and citizen journalism: Co-operation, collaboration and connectivity*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Allan, S., & Dencik, L. (2017). "It's not a pretty picture": Visualizing the Baltimore crisis on social media. In L. Steiner & S. Waisbord (Eds.), *News of Baltimore: Race, rage and the city* (pp. 103–119). London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Allan, S., & Peters, C. (2019). Journalism's digital publics: Researching the 'Visual Citizen.' In L. A. Lievrouw & B. D. Loader (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of digital media and communication in society*, in press.

Alper, M. (2014). War on Instagram: Framing conflict photojournalism with mobile photography apps. *New Media & Society*, *16*(8), 1233–1248.

Anderson, R. S. (2012). Remediating #Iranelection: Journalistic strategies for positioning citizen-made snapshots and text bites from the 2009 Iranian post-election conflict. *Journalism Practice*, *6*(3), 317–336.

Andrejevic, M. (2012). Exploitation in the data mine. In C. Fuchs, K. Boersma, A. Albrechtslund, & M. Sandoval (Eds.), *Internet and surveillance: The challenges of web 2.0 and social media* (pp. 71–88). Abingdon: Routledge.

Ashuri, T., & Pinchevski, A. (2009). Witnessing as a field. In P. Frosh and A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 133–157). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Atton, C. (2001). *Alternative media*. London: Sage Publications.

Bahador, B., & Tng, S. (2010). The changing role of the citizen in conflict reporting. *Pacific Journalism Review*, *16*(2), 178–194.

Bailey, O., Cammaerts, B., & Carpentier, N. (2008). *Understanding alternative media*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Baker, M., & Blaagaard, B. B. (2016). *Citizen media and public spaces*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Bakir, V. (2010). *Sousveillance, media and strategic political communication*. London: Continuum.

Balkin, J. M. (2009). The future of free expression in a digital age. *Pepperdine Law Review*, *36*(2), 427–444.

Barlow, J. P. (1996). A declaration of the independence of cyberspace. Retrieved from www.eff.org/cyberspace-independence

Beckett, C. (2008). *SuperMedia: Saving journalism so it can save the world*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Beckett, C., & Ball, J. (2012). *WikiLeaks: News in the networked era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Belair-Gagnon, V. (2015). *Social media at BBC news: The re-making of crisis reporting*. London: Routledge.

Belli, L., & Venturini, J. (2016). Private ordering and the rise of terms of service as cyber-regulation. *Internet Policy Review*, *5*(4), 1–17.

Benkler, Y. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Benkler, Y. (2013). WikiLeaks and the networked fourth estate. In B. Brevini, A. Hintz, & P. McCurdy (Eds.), *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the future of communications, journalism and society* (pp. 11–34). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, D. (2013). *Digital media and reporting conflict: Blogging and the BBC's coverage of war and terrorism*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Bock, M. A. (2016). Film the police! Cop-watching and its embodied narratives. *Journal of Communication*, *66*(1), 12–34.

Bruns, A. (2008). *Blogs, Wikipedia, second life, and beyond: From production to produsage*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Carpentier, N. (2011). *Media and participation: A site of ideological-democratic struggle*. Bristol: Intellect Books.

Chouliaraki, L. (2013). *The ironic spectator: Solidarity in the age of post-humanitarianism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chouliaraki, L. (2015). Digital witnessing in conflict zones: The politics of remediation. *Information, Communication & Society*, *18*(11), 1362–1377.

Cooper, S. D. (2006). *Watching the watchdog: Bloggers as the fifth estate*. Spokane, WA: Marquette Books.

Cottle, S., & Cooper, G. (2015). *Humanitarianism, communications and change*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Coyer, K., Dowmunt, T., & Fountain, A. (2007). *Alternative media handbook*. London: Routledge.

Coyer, K., & Hintz, A. (2010). Developing the "third sector": Community media policies in Europe. In B. Klimkiewicz (Ed.), *Media freedom and pluralism: Media policy changes in the enlarged Europe* (pp. 275–298). Budapest: CEU Press.

Deibert, R. J. (2009). The geopolitics of internet control: Censorship, sovereignty, and cyberspace. In A. Chadwick & P. Howard (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of internet politics* (pp. 323–336). London: Routledge.

Deibert, R. J., Palfrey, J. G., Rohozinski, R., & Zittrain, J. (2008). *Access denied: The practice and policy of global internet filtering*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Diamond, L. (2010). Liberation technology. *Journal of Democracy*, *21*(3), 69–83.

Domingo, D., & Paterson, C. (2011). *Making online news*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Downing, J. D. H. (2000). *Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Dutton, W. H. (2009). The Fifth Estate emerging through the network of networks. *Prometheus*, *27*(1), 1–15.

Eldridge, S. (2013). Perceiving professional threats: Journalism's discursive reaction to the rise of new media entities. *Journal of Applied Journalism and Media Studies*, *2*(2), 281–299.

Enzensberger, H. M. (1970, November–December). Constituents of a theory of the media. *New Left Review*, *64*, 13–36.

Franklin, B., & Eldridge, S. (2017). *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Frosh, P., & Pinchevski, A. (2009). *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Fuchs, C. (2012). Social media, riots, and revolutions. *Capital & Class*, *36*(3), 383–391.

Gillmor, D. (2006). *We the media: Grassroots journalism by the people, for the people*. Sebastopol, CA: O'Reilly Media.

Goldsmith, J., & Wu, T. (2006). *Who controls the internet? Illusions of a borderless world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenwald, G. (2015, January 6). With power of social media growing, police now monitoring and criminalizing online speech. *The Intercept*. Retrieved from https://firstlook.org/theintercept/2015/01/06/police-increasingly-monitoring-criminalizing-online-speech/

Greer, C., & McLaughlin, E. (2010). We predict a riot? Public order policing, new media environments and the rise of the citizen journalist. *British Journal of Criminology*, *50*(6), 1041–1059.

Hänska-Ahy, M. T., & Shapour, R. (2012). Who's reporting the protests? Converging practices of citizen journalists and two BBC World Service newsrooms, from Iran's election protests to the Arab uprisings. *Journalism Studies*, *14*(1), 29–45.

Harkin, J., Anderson, K., Morgan, L., & Smith, B. (2012). *Deciphering user-generated content in transitional societies: A Syria coverage case study*. Center for Global Communication Studies, Annenberg School for Communication. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Henley, J. (2018, April 24). Global crackdown on fake news raises censorship concerns. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com/media/2018/apr/24/global-crackdown-on-fake-news-raises-censorship-concerns

Hintz, A. (2009). *Civil society media and global governance: Intervening into the world summit on the information society*. Münster: Lit.

Hintz, A. (2013). Dimensions of modern freedom of expression: WikiLeaks, policy hacking and digital freedoms. In B. Brevini, A. Hintz, & P. McCurdy (Eds.), *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the future of communications, journalism and society* (pp. 146–165). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hintz, A. (2014a). Towards community and non-profit media legislation in South America: Challenging media power through citizen participation. In C. Martens, R. W. McChesney, & E. Vivaraes (Eds.), *The international political economy of communication: Media and power in South America* (pp. 46–64). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hintz, A. (2014b). Independent media center. In K. Harvey (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of social media and politics* (pp. 653+). London: Sage Publications.

Hintz, A. (2016). Restricting digital sites of dissent: Commercial social media and free expression. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *13*(3), 325–240.

Hintz, A., Dencik, L., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2018). *Digital citizenship in a datafied society*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Hoffman, J. (2006, December 10). Sousveillance. *The New York Times*. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/2006/12/10/magazine/10section3b.t-3.html

Hoskins, A., & O'Loughlin, B. (2010). *War and media: The emergence of diffused war*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Howard, P. N., Agarwal, S. D., & Hussain, M. M. (2011). When do states disconnect their digital networks? Regime responses to the political use of social media. *The Communication Review*, *14*(3), 216–232.

Howley, K. (2005). *Community media: People, places and communication technologies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Ibrahim, Y. (2014). Social media and the Mumbai terror attack. In E. Thorsen & S. Allan (Eds.), *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives* (Vol. 2, pp. 15–26). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Jenkins, H. (2006). *Fans, bloggers, and gamers: Exploring participatory culture*. New York, NY: NYU Press.
Karatzogianni, A. (2018). Leaktivism and its discontents. In G. Meikle (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to media and activism* (pp. 250–258). Abingdon: Routledge.
Kidd, D. (2003). Indymedia.org: A new communications commons. In M. McCaughey & M. Ayers (Eds.), Cyberactivism: Online activism in theory and practice (pp. 47–69). New York, NY: Routledge.
Kristensen, N. N., & Mortensen, M. (2013). Amateur sources breaking the news, metasources authorizing the news of Gaddafi's death. *Digital Journalism*, *1*(3), 352–367.
Kyriakidou, M. (2014). Media witnessing: Exploring the audience of distant suffering Media. *Culture and Society*, *37*(2), 215–231.
Lax, S. (2009). *Media and communication technologies: A critical introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Lessig, L. (2008). *Remix: Making art and commerce thrive in the hybrid economy*. London: Bloomsbury.
Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society*, *15*(6), 836–866.
Lewis, S. C., Kaufhold, K., & Lasorsa, D. L. (2011). Thinking about citizen journalism: The philosophical and practical challenges of user-generated content for community newspapers. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(2), 163–179.
Löblich, M., & Musiani, F. (2014). Net neutrality and communication research: The implications of internet infrastructure for the public sphere. In E. L. Cohen (Ed.), *Communication yearbook 38* (pp. 536–565). London: Routledge.
Lynch, L. (2009). We're going to crack the world open: WikiLeaks and the future of investigative reporting. *Journalism Practice*, *4*(3), 309–318.
Lyon, D. (2015). *Surveillance after Snowden*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Mabweazara, H. M., Mudhai, O. F., & Whittaker, J. (2014). *Online journalism in Africa: Trends, practices and emerging cultures*. London: Routledge.
Mann, S. (2002). Sousveillance, not just surveillance, in response to terrorism. *Metal and Flesh*, *6*(1), np. Retrieved from http://wearcam.org/metalandflesh.htm
Matheson, D. (2004). Weblogs and the epistemology of the news: Some trends in online journalism. *New Media & Society*, *6*(4), 493–518.
Matheson, D., & Allan, S. (2009). *Digital war reporting*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
McCurdy, P. (2013). From the Pentagon Papers to Cablegate: How the network society has changed leaking. In B. Brevini, A. Hintz, & P. McCurdy (Eds.), *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the future of communications, journalism and society* (pp. 123–145). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
McLuhan, M. (1962). *The Gutenberg galaxy: The making of typographic man*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Meikle, G. (2014). Citizen journalism, sharing, and the ethics of visibility. In E. Thorsen & S. Allan (Eds.), *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives* (Vol. 2, pp. 171–182). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Milan, S. (2013a). *Social movements and their technologies: Wiring social change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Milan, S. (2013b). WikiLeaks, anonymous and the exercise of individuality: Protesting in the cloud. In B. Brevini, A. Hintz, & P. McCurdy (Eds.), *Beyond WikiLeaks: Implications for the future of communications, journalism and society* (pp. 191–208). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mortensen, M. (2015). *Journalism and eyewitness images: Digital media, participation and conflict*. London: Routledge.
Mossberger, K., Tolbert, C. J., & McNeal, R. S. (2008). *Digital citizenship: The internet, society, and participation*. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press.
Mueller, M. (2010). *Networks and states: The global politics of internet governance*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Nip, J. (2009). Citizen journalism in China: The case of the Wenchuan earthquake. In S. Allan & E. Thorsen (Eds.), *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives* (pp. 95–106). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
The Economist (2011) *#Occupytheweb: Social media and the Wall Street protests. Democracy in America blog. The Economist, 11 October*. Retrieved from https://www.economist.com/democracy-in-america/2011/10/11/occupytheweb
Outing, S. (2005, January 6). Taking Tsunami coverage into their own hands. *Poynter.org*.
Pantti, M., Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Cottle, S. (2012). *Disasters and the media*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Pavlik, J. V. (2008). *Media in the digital age*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Penney, J. (2016). Chilling effects: Online surveillance Wikipedia use. *Berkeley Technology Law Journal*, *31*(1), 117–182.
Penney, J., & Dadas, C. (2014). (Re)Tweeting in the service of protest: Digital composition and circulation in the Occupy Wall Street movement. *New Media & Society*, *16*(1), 74–90.
Peters, J. D. (2009). An afterword: Torchlight red on sweaty faces. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 42–48). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Pickard, V. (2006).Assessing the radical democracy of indymedia: Discursive, technical and institutional constructions. *Critical Studies in Media and Communication*, *23*(1), 19–38.
Poster, M. (1995). *The second media* age. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Rennie, E. (2006). *Community media: A global introduction*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Rentschler, C. (2009). From danger to trauma: Affective labor and the journalistic discourse of witnessing. In P. Frosh & A. Pinchevski (Eds.), *Media witnessing: Testimony in the age of mass communication* (pp. 158–181). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rheingold, H. (1993). *The virtual community*. Boston, MA: Addison-Wesley Longman.
Riegert, K., Hellman, M., Robertson, A., & Mral, B. (2010). *Transnational and national media in global crisis: The Indian Ocean tsunami*. Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Robinson, P., Seib, P., & Frohlich, R. (2017). *Routledge handbook of media, conflict and security*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
Robinson, S. (2018). *Networked news, racial divides: How power and privilege shape public discourse in progressive communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Rodriguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the mediascape: An international study of citizens' media*. New York, NY: Hampton Press.
Rosen, J. (2006, June 27). The people formerly known as the audience. *Pressthink*. Retrieved from http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html
Russell, A. (2016). *Journalism as activism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Salter, L. (2009). Indymedia and the Law: Issues for citizen journalism. In S. Allan & E. Thorsen (Eds.), *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives* (pp. 175–186). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Schechter, D. (2005, January 5). Helicopter journalism. *Mediachannel.org*.
Siapera, E. (2016). Digital citizen X: XNet and the radicalisation of citizenship. In A. McCosker, S. Vivienne, & A. Johns (Eds.), *Negotiating digital citizenship* (pp. 97–114). London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
Singer, J. B., Domingo, D., Heinonen, A., Hermida, A., Paulussen, S., Quandt, T., . . . Vujnovic, M. (2011). *Participatory journalism: Guarding open gates at online newspapers*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
Srnicek, N. (2017). *Platform capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Steiner, L., & Waisbord, S. (2017). *News of Baltimore: Race, rage and the city*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
Tait, S. (2011). Bearing witness, journalism and moral responsibility. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(8), 1220–1235.
Thorsen, E., & Allan, S. (2014). *Citizen journalism: Global perspectives, volume two*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
Treré, E., & Barranquero Carretero, A. (2018). Tracing the roots of technopolitics: Towards a North-South dialogue. In F. Sierra Caballero & T. Gravante (Eds.), *Networks, movements and technopolitics in Latin America* (pp. 43–63). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tumber, H., & Waisbord, S. (2017). *The Routledge companion to media and human rights*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Utz, S., Schultz, F., & Glocka, S. (2013). Crisis communication online: How medium, crisis type and emotions affected public reactions in the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster. *Public Relations Review*, *39*(1), 40–46.

Van Dijck, J., Poell, T., & de Waal, M. (2018). *The platform society: Public values in a connective world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Villeneuve, N. (2012, April 20). Fake Skype encryption software cloaks DarkComet trojan. *Trend Micro Malware Blog*. Retrieved from http://blog.trendmicro.com/fake-skype-encryption-software-cloaks-darkcomet-trojan

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2016). Emotion and journalism. In T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of digital journalism* (pp. 128–143). London: Sage Publications.

Waisbord, S. (2013). *Reinventing professionalism: Journalism and news in global perspective*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Wall, M., & El Zahed, S. (2014). Embedding content from Syrian citizen journalists: The rise of the collaborative news clip. *Journalism*, *16*(2), 163–180.

Wardle, C., Dubberley, S., & Brown, P. (2014). Amateur footage: A global study of user-generated content in TV and online news output. In *Tow center for digital journalism*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Willett, J. (1964). *Brecht on theatre*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang.

Williams, A., Wardle, C., & Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2011). Have they got news for us? Audience revolution or business as usual at the BBC? *Journalism Practice*, *5*(1), 85–99.

Zelizer, B. (2012). Journalists as interpretive communities, revisited. In S. Allan (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to news and journalism* (Rev. ed., pp. 181–190). London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Zelizer, B., & Allan, S. (2002). *Journalism after September 11*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

29

Gender, Sex, and Newsroom Culture

Linda Steiner

In the late 19th century, women began entering UK and US newsrooms in great numbers, usually to support themselves and their families. They met with several challenges. Men said news work would defeminize and even desex women. A UK women's magazine reader warned that "girls will rush into journalism, teaching or the stage . . . and neglect really useful branches of employment, by which they might earn a steady, if not luxurious livelihood" (in Onslow, 2000, pp. 15–16). This worry about women's invasion had little to do with beliefs about women's inherent inability to report, as evident in silence regarding women journalists during World Wars I and II, when women were urged to substitute for men going off to battle. Rather, the issue was men's interest in preserving a monopoly on reasonably well-paid work of relatively high status.

In any case, these concerns indicate that women were managing to compete in this masculine space. Women continued to demand newsroom jobs, despite their oft-expressed complaint that male editors, colleagues, and sources refused to take them seriously and relegated them to the women's angle, except for a very few "front-page girls" whose work was admired for being "just like men's." Indeed, women continued and continue to work as journalists despite many challenges, including, inter alia, sexual harassment by sources, colleagues, and supervisors.

Both working journalists and scholars have largely equated gender with women, indicating the "Otherness" of women. Maleness is the taken-for-granted, "unmarked" standard. The conflation of women, femininity, and gender issues also relies on a problematic notion of men and women as polar opposites, an unhelpful dichotomy that ignores gender minorities and, with reference to journalism, overlooks the impact of professional socialization. Scholarship on gendered practices in journalism rarely challenges assumptions about gender or sex differences per se. Instead, gender is collapsed into femaleness and treated as a distinctive, fixed, self-evident category. Equally implausibly, the shifting formations of masculinity are also largely ignored; with John Beynon (2002) the prominent exception, scholars rarely attend to how media help produce and bolster shifts in versions of hegemonic masculinity. Whether the newsroom is treated as a literal site, an institution, or a set of cultural practices, the attention to gender as an attribute somehow possessed only by women overlooks fundamental problems of power, sexism, and the intersection of sexism with racism. As this chapter will show, the notion that journalism is practiced by "journalists" and "women journalists" ignores ideological formations both inside and outside newsrooms that misleadingly assess people's potential by virtue of a single feature of identity.

Women in journalism have tended to take a practical view of this, rather than struggling with it. The few early 20th century women who wrote journalism textbooks (and these were aimed at women students) encouraged women to write women's news for women audiences. Ethel Brazelton (1927), who taught journalism for women at Northwestern University, insisted: "The fact of sex, the 'woman's angle,' is the woman writer's tool, but it must never be her weapon. . . . But being a woman, she is possessed of a real advantage in the business of doing, recording, interpreting women's interests, ways and work" (p. 8). Yet, women reporters' autobiographies and other self-reports increasingly emphasized how they avoided becoming "sob sisters" or "agony aunts." Thus, the ancient history of gender in the newsroom begins with initial consensus that, at best, women could use their distinctive womanly sensibility to cover women—only women—whose interests were dichotomously different from men's. Men, for their part, were uninterested in covering women. In the 1960s, many women began to claim that they could produce the same "unmarked" journalism as men, despite men's efforts to protect their status, jobs, and salaries. Even then, however, women's topics remained women's entry point. This was especially true in radio news, where women's voices were assumed to irritate audiences (Franks, 2011); women were only heard on shows for women audiences about domesticity. Women's topics were not, however, women's goal. Women understood that forms explicitly marked as female or feminine or aimed at women audiences represented professional ghettoization, not natural instincts (Steiner, 1998). Then, with television, women understood the individual and collective downsides to exploiting their appearance to get jobs and attract audiences.

Scholars offer an increasingly complicated picture. Feminist standpoint epistemologists such as Sandra Harding (1998) and Nancy Hartsock (1987, see also essays in Alcoff & Potter, 1993) suggest that ways of thinking and knowing are highly influenced by social identity, in turn, affected by experiences, differences in socialization, and social history. That is, standpoints reflect experiences that are over-determined by race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, class, and gender or gender nonconformance. Such standpoints explain what questions we regard as important, what methods we use to answer those questions, and what kinds of solutions we deem useful and ethical. This body of theorizing thus clarifies the importance of gender without treating it as an independent, much less encompassing explanation for professional practice.

THE IMPACT OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Sympathetic women reporters at legacy news outlets, because they sounded objective to their sexist editors, managed to cover the women's liberation movement of the 1960s, as well as feminist issues, such as anti-abortion and rape laws. The National Organization for Women mobilized material resources (money, skills, technology, labor, and especially information)—so it could serve as a news source for journalists; members used their knowledge of news routines to develop effective media strategies (Barker-Plummer, 2002). Moreover, the women's movement had major consequences for newsrooms. First, emboldened by the movement, women used regulatory and legal channels to challenge exclusionary hiring and promotion practices at several news organizations. The so-called second wave brought so many women into newsrooms that some (men) journalists and journalism educators expressed concern that journalism would become a "pink-collar ghetto" (Beasley & Theus, 1988). More positively, many observers claimed the increased presence of women reporters changed (and challenged) journalism, with women reporting on social issues and subjects that were previously marginalized and using more women, feminist organizations, and "ordinary people" as sources (see, e.g., Mills, 1990). This brought about new-found respect for women audiences and topics of concern to women.

The long-term consequences for content are less clear. Subsequent increases in the percentage of women to one-third of the newsroom staffs—thus achieving what would be called critical mass—did not significantly change coverage patterns. According to one global monitoring project (Gallagher, 2010) women appeared as subjects in 25 percent of the stories reported by women, 20 percent of men's stories. Women did disproportionately more stories on gender (in) equality, but such stories represented only 4 percent of the total. Nor did women's successes solve the problem of the double bind, such that women journalists, especially in leadership positions, are criticized for qualities that are expected of men.

The women's liberation movement inspired many more women to earn PhDs, enter academia, and to study women's culture and work, including journalism. Some of that early research involved bringing women *Up from the Footnote*, as the title of Marian Marzolf's (1977) pioneering history put it. Consistent with Gerda Lerner's (1975) critique of "compensatory" or "contribution" history as the first two stages in women's history, early feminist scholars went to pains to discover women firsts whose accomplishments were omitted from journalism history textbooks and to credit, as another title put it, *Great Women of the Press* (Schilpp & Murphy, 1983). Eventually scholars addressed distinct categories—black women (Streitmatter, 1994); war reporters (Elwood-Akers, 1988); and sob sisters (Abramson, 1990). A second stream of research involved content analysis of news stories, finding that women received less coverage, were more often described in terms of marital status and appearance, and were less often used as expert sources. "Effects" researchers speculated that the newsrooms' literal or perceived absence of women (the same was later said of people of color and LBGTQ journalists) resulted in inadequate and insufficient coverage of such groups. Denis McQuail (1994, p. 203), for example, explicitly linked "the relatively low numbers and the lower occupational status of women in news media organizations and the underrepresentation or stereotyping of women in the news." In 1979, sociologist Gaye Tuchman said that researchers were "blinded" by their anger at the blatant sexism of mediated depictions of women, and "crippled by dependence" on mass communications research, "a field hardly known for its intellectual vigor" (p. 528). Sexism and discrimination in hiring and promotion of women were real—but not the cause of the trivialization and even erasure of women in news stories. Rather, the symbolic annihilation of women served economic interests of advertisers and commercial media women and accurately revealed women's lack of power.

Newly hired and emboldened second-wave feminists also attacked women's pages, whose editors in the 1950s and 1960s had tried to expand, albeit in limited and inconsistent ways, the political, social, and racial scope of women's sections. In the 1970s, however, feminists in the US and in Europe criticized these sections for symbolically erasing women, analogous to other sexist forms that condemned or trivialized women. Women's pages were dismantled, first at elite papers and, later, smaller papers. As several oral histories (see http://npc.press.org/wporal) underscore, the immediate effect of eliminating women's pages was to eliminate the single editorial slot reserved for women.

Meanwhile, subscribers have avidly supported women's magazines—that feature beauty, fashion, and/or domestic and family guidance. To various extents, women's magazines have embraced social and political controversies, including birth control, health, and workplace and food safety legislation. Not unimportantly, the popularity of women's magazines showed newspaper executives and advertisers that women were desirable—i.e., exploitable—consumers (Harp, 2007; Zuckerman, 1998). Many women's magazines in the US, Europe, and Asia were at least initially published and/or edited by men. Eventually, as at the women's pages, women managed to achieve high levels of responsibility at women's magazines, even if women editors adopted and promoted sexist stereotypes. Nonetheless, journalists and feminists worldwide largely disdained women's magazines, given concerns about women's magazines' increasing power to tell women what to think and do (Ferguson, 1983). As with newspaper coverage of women, women's magazines were said to limit how women see themselves and how society views them (Weibel, 1977). Reviewing 50 years of scholarship on women's magazines, Amy Aronson (2010) described three positions: the feminist accusation that women's magazines push a relentlessly conservative view of women as homemaker; the ultra-conservative accusation that they push an overly progressive notion of a working wife and mother; and the accusation that, for all their entertaining "mental chocolate" (Winship, 1987), women's magazines offered a disabling, confusing "schizophrenic mix." Suggesting that the inherent dynamics of their complex form offer a wider range of gender discourse and reader opportunities than previous analyses allowed, Aronson herself treats women's magazines as potentially able to provide opportunities for creativity, agency, and critique.

WOMEN'S ALTERNATIVE MEDIA

Given the evidence that commercial media aimed at women regarded their audiences primarily as consumers, one key research area has been media owned and led by women for the purposes of promoting a cause or movement. Mid-19th century periodicals of young US textile workers represented women's first consistent efforts to produce their own news and thereby redefine themselves (Leary, 2012). Of continuing interest are proto-feminist and feminist periodicals, given their importance in explaining, justifying, and sustaining women's liberation and transformation; in debating new models for womanhood; and often experimenting with newsroom structures and policies, including regarding advertising, accommodating family responsibilities, commitment to journalism training, and demolishing newsroom hierarchies. Mid-19th century suffrage editors, for example, insisted that women be the ones to produce, edit, and even print those periodicals and to write on a wide variety of topics. This included voting and other women's rights, but also professions, education, and health and exercise (Steiner, 1983). Similarly, women-run UK political papers published in 1856–1930 facilitated an effective activist public sphere (DiCenzo, Ryan, & Delap, 2011; Tusan, 2005).

The 20th century feminist periodicals that proliferated in the US and UK in the 1970s were usually narrower in scope than the "first wave" suffrage papers. They were for, about, and generally by a niche: ecofeminists, prostitutes, celibates, older women, Marxists, feminist witches, and a host of other special interests. They were also wittier in decrying sexist stereotypes, and more self-consciously creative in rejecting conventional definitions of newsworthiness and newsroom structures, and in finding new ways to fund and distribute their work (Endres & Lueck, 1996). Evolving distinctively feminist ways of working often was equally important, although developing collective, noncompetitive modes proved difficult. Women producing these alternative or crusading media rarely identify themselves foremost as journalists. They are primarily activists, reformers, and campaigners. Uninterested in profit, they typically limit advertising to goods and services that they deemed compatible with feminist causes. *Ms*., representing popular US feminism, and the UK-based *Spare Rib*, both launched in 1972, drew praise as well as criticism for efforts to reach women outside the liberation movement, and also united conflicting factions within feminism. *Emma*, a German monthly published since 1977 "by women, for women," aggressively covers abortion, equal rights, pornography, and prostitution. Canada's *Herizons*, begun in 1979, earns revenue from subscriptions, donations, advertising, and sales of music and clothing, as do many activist organs (see Zobl & Drüeke, 2012). General criticisms of alternative media apply to feminist political papers, given their amateurish writing, inattention to aesthetics, lack of long-range business strategies, and inefficiency caused by collective or horizontal organization and obsession with principle. However, feminist reception studies and the increasingly important area of black feminist criticism both underscore how audiences actively engage their mediascape (Watkins & Emerson, 2000).

These approaches suggest the value of research on new platforms, including streaming radio, public access cable channels and Vimeo, internet blogs and zines, and now especially social media and Twitter, for global coverage of feminist and gender issues difficult to discuss elsewhere. Online sites such as Feministe and Jezebel, feminist public affairs programs, and even women-run radio stations operate with varying degrees of feminist commitment in several countries, as do formal organizations to distribute global flow of feminist news and foundations that collect and share data about gender equity in news media (Steiner, forthcoming). Meanwhile, postfeminists and third and fourth wave feminists draw on seemingly wholly new principles in using their news outlets to redefine gender or eschewing it altogether.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN VALUES

Some scholars argue that women apply different ethical concepts and professional practices and the fact that women and men think and act differently in the newsroom has feminized journalism. Others suggest that because critical mass has still not been achieved, newsrooms remain organized around a "man-as-norm and woman-as-interloper structure" (Ross, 2001). Data are inconclusive. But, as time passes, the case for strong gender differences looks less convincing. According to one large-scale national survey (Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007), men and women understand journalism ethics and the role of news in similar ways, although data showed some differences in opinions on political issues (firearms and abortion, for example). Cross-national data on journalists' role conceptions turned up meaningful gender differences at neither the individual level nor in newsrooms dominated by women (Hanitzsch & Hanusch, 2012). They found substantial disagreement among professionals regarding journalism's normative and actual functions. Nonetheless, undermining the suggestion that journalism will become more "feminized" once women represent half or more of the newsroom staff, this comparative study found no meaningful differences by gender even in newsrooms dominated by women (as the critical mass theory would have predicted). Women and men did not differ more greatly in societies where gender roles tend to be more differentiated, compared to countries where women enjoyed empowerment. That is, conformity to prevailing journalism standards appears to be important to all reporters.

Several smaller studies likewise found that gender was not a significant predictor of journalists' perceptions of their professional roles in Indonesia (Hanitzsch, 2006) and Tanzania (Ramaprasad, 2001). Rodgers and Thorson (2003, p. 659) contend, "men and women socialize differently into the workplace because men and women have different values and priorities." Their content analysis of three US newspapers found that women overall drew upon a greater variety of women and ethnic sources, especially in positive stories, but at the large paper, women and men similarly sourced and framed stories. War reporting has also provoked unusually intense debate among audiences, journalists, and scholars regarding whether women and men report differently. At least with respect to coverage of the Vietnam War, men and women wrote substantially similar kinds of stories (Elwood Akers, 1988). Analysis of reporters' tweets (Artwick, 2014) showed that women and men quoted far fewer women; women working at larger newspapers quoted fewer women than those in smaller outlets. Lavie and Lehman-Wilzig (2005) properly describe data from their content analyses of Israel's two major public radio stations as internally and externally inconsistent. They found "gender otherness" in topic selection: men preferred "hard" news while women tended to emphasize soft news. But their questionnaire yielded minimal differences in how men and women editors defined the functions of news. So the authors attribute the wide gap *among* women between declared news values and actual editorial behavior to women's ambivalence about new trends toward more feminine journalism. They conclude that women must "overcome their 'professional-psychological block' about being true to their innate value system" (p. 84). An alternative would be to abandon the idea of an innate gender value system.

The Global Media Monitoring projects conducted every five years cast doubt on the assumption that additional numbers of women in journalism in most countries will radically transform content. Many journalists are unsympathetic to feminism as a movement and insensitive to historical changes accomplished by feminists. Many women say that they react differently from men because they have more sympathy for women and emphasize personal and emotional dimensions, but they also object to being assigned to write "as" women for women. Ross (2001) described many women journalists as blind to gender issues, having normalized and incorporated male-identified concerns, after finding that three-quarters of her respondents did not incorporate feminism into their reporting and many agreed that women managers are even more macho than men. In sum, women recognize that many of their male colleagues are sexist, but they largely adopt journalism's structures as part of the profession and choose to embrace its reward system. Gender socialization theory cannot settle the chicken/egg argument, largely because it ignores the key way to understand gender—not as a role, much less a static and dichotomous set of differences between women and men, but as a performance, a relational act (Butler, 1990). Men and women perform gender, sometimes creatively and often uncreatively, and provoke others to perform gender.

GENDER GAP DATA

Globally, glass ceilings constrain women from achieving management success (e.g., Byerly, 2011). In China, for example, women make up almost 46 percent of the journalism workforce (Wang, 2019). That is, women have achieved critical mass but are confined to the lower status beats; are paid less; have less job security; and are exposed to sexist jokes, pornography, and sexual harassment. Colleagues and families tell them that journalism is inappropriate for women, especially wives and mothers. So, on top of structural, institutional, and cultural obstacles, Chinese women journalists face self-doubt.

Historically in both the US and UK, the few women who achieved news outlets' highest ranks did so through family connections. In colonial America, women got involved in editing and publishing through their husbands, brothers, sons, and fathers. Nearly a century elapsed between when a woman first headed BBC News (1927) and the second woman to do so (Franks, 2013). In 2014, of the top 25 largest papers in the US, only three had women editors. The situation looks better at non-elite news outlets such as at the McClatchy chain, where women are executive editors at 13 of 29 papers. In 2014, the *Miami Herald* and its Spanish-language *El Nuevo Herald* had Hispanic women as editors and publisher; the editorial page editor is an African-American woman. Only 4 of the 18 major online news outlets have women as top editors (Griffin, 2014). According to the 2016 Diversity Survey of the American Society of News Editors, however, 77 percent of the 646 newspapers and 91 digital-only news sites surveyed reported having at least one woman in a top-three position; women were 37 percent of all supervisors. In 2016, women made up 38 percent of employees at daily newspapers (a percentage fairly constant for 15 years) and nearly 50 percent at online-only news organizations.

Indeed, understanding the dominance of women in particular job sectors is complicated. In 2012, although women were 23.3 percent of the leaders in journalism and media, this was 55 percent in social media (Lennon, 2013). Entry-level and intern job ads in social media call for workers to be ever-available, juggle various tasks and responsibilities, and engage in persistent emotional labor—both online and off; these expectations underscore the increasingly feminized nature of social media labor, characterized by invisibility, lower pay, and marginal status within the technology sector (Duffy & Schwartz, 2018). Meanwhile, women internationally describe audience engagement efforts as bringing on rampant online harassment—based on their gender or sexuality—that influences how they do journalism (Chen et al., 2018).

According to a recent Women's Media Center's annual report, in 2016, more than half of women's bylines were on lifestyle, health, and education news; men produced most stories on sports, weather, and crime and justice. Notably, men wrote a statistical majority of articles and opinion pieces about reproductive rights and about rape in the most widely circulated newspapers and news wires (Women's Media Center, 2017). At 100 US and Canadian newspapers and websites, women were 9.8 percent of assistant sports editors in 2014, down from 17.2 in 2012. Women comprised one-third of the radio and TV news directors in 2015, and 44.2 percent of all radio and TV news staffers but were more likely to work in the smallest markets. In comparison, minorities made up 17.2 percent of all radio and TV news directors, breaking the 2008 record of 15.5 percent.

Significant salary gaps continue for women, especially minority women. According to 2017 data, full-time women at the *Wall Street Journal* earned on average less than 85 percent of what men made; among union employees at the paper's publisher, Dow Jones, the gender salary gap averaged $11,678, and, on average, white women earned $18,514 more than black women (Mohajer, 2017). In 2017, the BBC had a 9 percent gender gap in salary (Zillman, 2017). In 2017, the *Mirror*'s editor-in-chief called its gender pay gap even worse than the BBC's (Sweney, 2017b). *Financial Times* journalists threatened to strike (but apparently did not) after discovering a 13 percent gender pay gap (Zillman, 2017).

The persistence of pay inequity is subject to some degree of monitoring, albeit not much scholarly attention. But the increasing precarity of communication workers—women are disproportionately among the freelance and outsourced nonpermanent journalism precariat—has prompted attention to the interventionist potential of labor/trade unions (McKercher, 2013; Mosco & McKercher, 2008).

TELEVISION REPORTING

Television news continues to emphasize and exploit women's physical appearance: the problem is not unique to television news but particularly acute there. The question, then, is whether they are taken seriously, given a double bind they face by virtue of being required to conform to a narrow and sexualized standard of appearance (Newton & Steiner, 2019) that is officially irrelevant to the production of high quality journalism—and is almost never demanded of men journalists. Decades ago, the sociologist Erving Goffman (1976, p. 318) acknowledged that, at least for jobs in public view, women are hired because they are "young and attractive beyond what random selection ought to allow." But the point is that what Goffman called *gender displays*—highly scripted strategic behavior—nearly always disadvantage women. Catherine Hakim (2010) argues that women generally can exploit their workplace "erotic capital" (because desirability is relative to scarcity). Nevertheless, women journalists' investments in make-up, clothes, and exercise programs to raise that erotic capital is time-consuming, expensive, and often unhealthy.

A British study found that for women viewers the appearance of male and female anchors had nearly equal importance, but men emphasized the necessity of attractive women (Mitra, Webb, & Wolfe, 2014). Grabe and Samson (2011) found that men who perceived women broadcasters as more sexually appealing also believed those anchors to be more professional generally, although they perceived less sexually attractive women as more competent to address typically masculine subjects such as war and politics; women viewers were less likely to differentiate in this way. In any case, the required "look" for women may change: the androgynous blazers and tasteful jewelry of the 1970s and 1980s have now been replaced with sleeveless sheath dresses and stiletto heels. Remaining unchanged is the close surveillance of women's appearance for purposes of determining who gets hired, how they are used, and how long they last on television.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Nearly every woman journalist who has written a memoir or autobiography has mentioned sexism; many mention sexual harassment (Steiner, 1997). Elizabeth Jordan (1865–1947), who wrote for the *New York World*, recalled "horribly degrading" winks and passes: "There was a period when I was wretched over them—when I felt that they not only smirched me but that, in a way, I might be responsible for them" (in Steiner, 1997, p. 152). Yet, until recently, women journalists rarely described themselves as victims or even defined behaviors that met the legal definition of sexual harassment as such. Some women seemed to accept the sexual attentions as inevitable or even flattering (Robertson, 1992). This problem continues around the world, as a Jezebel headline proclaims: "Female Journalists Harassed at Offices All Around the Damn Globe" (Dries, 2013). Jezebel was referring to an international survey finding that nearly half of women journalists around the world experienced sexual harassment; more than half of the abuse was perpetrated by a boss, supervisor, or coworker. They also experienced unwanted comments on dress and appearance (67.9 percent), suggestive remarks (60.6 percent), and sexual jokes (57.4 percent) (Barton & Storm, 2014).

Data from specific countries provides greater detail. More than one-third of women journalists surveyed in Israel, where approximately 37 percent of newspaper staffs are women, reported experiencing sexual harassment (mainly verbal) or sexist contempt from sources (Lachover, 2005). In India, women journalists face everyday sexism and gender discrimination at the hands of sources, colleagues, and editors; women describe Supreme Court guidelines designed to protect women as ineffective and rarely implemented, and they are reluctant to complain, perhaps because of job insecurity (Chadha, Steiner, & Guha, 2017). In Brazil, 70 percent of the women journalists responding to a survey said someone had made a pass at them at work that made them feel uncomfortable (Monnerat, 2018). The researchers concluded that sexist practices are naturalized in Brazilian newsrooms but also that women's work is severely impacted by the embarrassment they suffered.

In Australia, Louise North (2016) noted that scholars rarely studied sexual harassment, despite stories of harassment detailed in autobiographies and occasional new articles about individual incidents. Australian women whom North surveyed in 2012 tended to downplay the seriousness of harassment. They rarely report it formally out of fear, usually of retaliation; they also apparently believe they should work it out and that enduring harassment is the price for working in a male-dominated industry (North, 2016).

Sexual attacks on CBS chief foreign correspondent Lara Logan while covering the uprising in Egypt in 2011 provoked many women to reveal that they too suffered sexual assaults while covering conflict, often not telling their editors about the attacks lest the editors pull them off dangerous assignments. Similarly, in 2017, well-confirmed allegations of sexual harassment and sexual assault by film producer Harvey Weinstein unleashed a tsunami of complaints. First, journalists exposed harassment and assault by others, but soon came a torrent of news about men journalists committing it. Among the most prominent men to be fired for inappropriate behavior was *Today* co-host Matt Lauer; several women said that NBC executives had ignored their complaints about Lauer's behavior, apparently because of the lucrative advertising surrounding *Today* (Setoodeh and Wagmeister, 2017). A total of 35 women—most in their very early 20s at the time—have told the *Washington Post* that longtime PBS and CBS host Charlie Rose made unwanted sexual advances; repeatedly walked nude in front of them; and groped their breasts, buttocks, or genital areas. Other US journalists accused in the post-Weinstein period of sexually harassing multiple women include several magazine and newspaper publishers and editors, including two editors at the New York *Daily News* and several major journalists at National Public Radio (NPR) and Fox News.

The #MeToo movement by—and for—women journalists spread globally. In the UK, the allegations against Weinstein emboldened BBC staff women to speak out about sexual misconduct, including that of a Radio5 radio presenter who reportedly groped four women. The BBC announced shortly after that it was investigating 25 sexual harassment claims, although it usually gets "a handful" of sexual harassment complaints a year (Sweney, 2017a). In Italy, 125 women journalists published a manifesto promising to expose abuse of power and sexual assaults. Women journalists accused two Israeli journalists and several Israeli politicians, including the former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, of sexual harassment. In late 2017, some 200 Australian women publicly complained of indecent assault, sexual harassment, and bullying by the host and producer of a top-rated Australian lifestyle program, and a call for sexual predators' names quickly resulted a list of at least 40 Australian media and entertainment figures (Moran, 2017).

In Russia, five journalists accused a lawmaker in the State Duma, Russia's lower parliament, of sexual harassment. One woman said that victims keep silent about the sexual harassment rampant across government institutions because we "understand there's no point in this, you only risk incurring insults and accusations of lying" (Krasilnikov, 2018). Indeed, several high-level Russian officials expressed hostility to the women, even threatening to revoke their press accreditation (Isakova, 2018), although 20 Russian-language media outlets announced they would boycott the deputy, and a popular radio station even stopped covering the Duma entirely.

Journalists in Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines described unwanted sexual aggression by elected officials. A Chinese woman journalist, who once kicked a senior colleague in the crotch to prevent an assault, launched an online survey after hearing similar stories from fellow journalists. Nearly 84 percent of the survey's respondents said they had been sexually harassed, 18.2 percent more than five times. Over 40 percent of the perpetrators held a position of power over the victim, about 30 percent were colleagues, and under 20 percent were interview subjects. Few of victims said anything: they thought complaining would accomplish nothing and could affect their privacy, careers, or personal lives (Wen, 2018). In Southeast Asia, media "bigwigs" sanction or even encourage sexual harassment by men politicians who "are enabled and encouraged by the power structures that make it difficult, and sometimes nearly impossible, to speak out against, in addition to the public's general propensity of doubting sexual violence victims" (Kong, 2018).

METHODS AND PROBLEMS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Much of the 20th century gender scholarship was marked by a tendency to associate women with all "good" qualities—privileging readers' needs, emphasizing nuance and context; men were regarded as engaging in pack journalism and using objectivity as a shield against sympathy (Christmas, 1997; Van Zoonen, 1998). The same dichotomies seemingly emerged in leadership:

"feminine" management style was said to be more interpersonal, democratic, constructive, collaborative, while "masculine" management is more autocratic, competitive, and defensive (Arnold & Nesbitt, 2006). Notably, during the four years between 1999 and 2003, when the *Sarasota Herald Tribune*'s publisher, executive editor, managing editor, and two assistant managing editors were women, it carried the same content as other papers, with the same percentage of female sources. Yet, that paper's all-women management team was perceived as offering, as promised, an atmosphere of openness and transparency (Everbach, 2006). Celebrating women's styles in this way overstates women's preference for consensus and concord. Insisting that women express such sentiment is potentially distorting, both methodologically and affectively, and ignores crucial feminist insights on the arbitrary social construction of gender.

Both journalism history and studies of contemporary practice require contextualized critical research on how men and women work, including how maleness and femaleness has figured in the newsroom, how these have changed, how gender works, and how outdated or irrelevant gender conceptions can be worked against in the newsroom. Research can determine the extent to which the meanings of gender (and sexism) are consistent across countries and cultures. Persuasive discussions of gender identities at work in newsrooms in various countries (for example, see deBruin & Ross, 2004) treat gender as persistent and universalizable, but geographical and cultural differences referenced in those small-scale studies also suggest the need for much larger scale, comparative research. At a minimum, issues of national ideology would complicate the question of whether newsroom routines represent professional norms or a specifically white male prism.

Feminist methods suggest, inter alia, expanding the scope of research materials. Journalists' autobiographies, memoirs, and oral histories are unreliable as research materials, given the form itself and how authors edit these texts for a public audience, but they are no more unreliable than other forms. Especially when analyzed collectively, autobiographies and oral histories allow reporters to be self-reflective and self-critical and to explain why they entered or quit journalism (Steiner, 1997). If our behaviors reflect our sense of what others expect of us, then popular culture representations of journalists are also worth investigating. The Image of the Journalist in Popular Culture project (www.ijpc.org) maintains an extensive bibliography.

Ethnographic fieldwork informed by feminist theorizing and methodology is difficult but important in analyzing informal practices and cultures of mainstream and alternative newsrooms. Fieldwork may help explain newsroom culture and the intersections of work and family responsibilities. Whether ambitious women reporters are less likely than other women, and far less than men colleagues, to marry or to stay married requires more study. In the absence of total restructuring of all workplaces and of the stubbornly persistent expectations that women must be the primary care-takers, women—but also men—may have useful proposals for helping newsrooms to accommodate and support healthy interpersonal relationships, families, and working parents. Effective suggestions will emerge from fieldwork.

Conversely, surveys, especially online, are relatively straightforward, cheap, and popular but over-used and decreasingly productive, given the difficulty of determining the extent to which volunteer respondents represent the broad population. As much as sexual harassment warrants further research, especially regarding how it can be mitigated, Barton and Storm's (2014) very widely reported finding that approximately 64 percent of journalists around the world experienced "intimidation, threats or abuse" while working can be legitimately criticized for the researchers' inability to account for the likelihood of a disproportionate response from women who had been harassed. Content analyses of published or broadcast stories produce at best inconclusive, surface-level data, given that journalism is a complicated, institutional, thoroughly mediated and partly anonymous process. Bylines may be non-gendered or pseudonyms, so most large-scale studies of news representations of "gender" cannot effectively deal with who "actually" produces that news. Meanwhile, women continue to face a double bind: their editors "pinkwash" their writing to make it sound more "feminine," but writing attributed to women is discounted as feminine (Hallberg & Schneider, 2017).

Transnational approaches are crucial, despite the difficulties of language skills and other resources necessary for comparative research. Nearly everywhere more (new) women are being hired. The status of older women in journalism, meanwhile, is unclear. Are they getting fired, perhaps because women are not allowed to age? Are they moving into jobs permitting greater stability? Women are more likely than men to say they want to leave the profession (Reinardy, 2016; Weaver et al., 2007). The causes—burn-out, lack of support, over-work, family responsibilities, perceived lack of relevant new skills, online misogyny, or finally getting fed up with toxic newsrooms—may be changing, and thus the solutions, so this requires ongoing research.

The global parallels in sexism and gender are remarkable, as are global shifts toward new technologies, to celebrity and lifestyle reporting, and increased impacts of marketing and advertising. More to the point, numbers do not explain where (in terms of culture and geography) or how gender is meaningful, and when and how women have cracked the glass ceiling in terms of senior-level management. How does gender compound (or not) problems of caste, ethnicity, religion, marital, or domestic status? How does color bear on journalists' career trajectories? What about marital status? In Sweden, where women are almost 50 percent of journalists but 26 percent of senior managers, women top managers were more likely than men to marry other senior managers (i.e., gained professional and economic capital through marriage) and had more mentors (Djerf-Pierre, 2005). That is, since female capital is generally negative and maleness is positive capital (Moi, 1999), these Swedish women countered the negative gender capital by amassing social capital. When must women adopt distasteful professional values for the sake of career advancement? When can these norms be challenged or transformed? What are the consequences for resistance? Why do many women journalists distance themselves from feminism? Sophisticated histories and research need to be informed by theory with respect to the impacts of political economy (see Byerly, 2011) and national institutions, newsroom dynamics, and structures.

New technologies and digital contexts raised enormous questions for gender research. Social media and audience engagement editors are required to be "soft," often invisible team players who mediate between journalists and audiences; the concealed or invisible nature of digital labor connects it to "women's work," but the seeming devaluation of audience engagement work makes it much closer to public relations than, say, computer coding (Duffy, 2015; Jarrett, 2016). If these new jobs are becoming a pink or velvet ghetto, as in public relations, what does that bode for the status and legitimacy of that position? Is it even possible to avoid coding new jobs or technologies as pink or blue?

Furthermore, digital platforms suggest new ways for women journalists to be harassed, and this deserves serious inquiry. After more than a century of women treating workplace sexual harassment as an open secret—not to be discussed or researched—the flood of sexual harassment accusations suggests a host of issues about men's power, patriarchy, and sexism. It underscores questions about the unfairness of women being silenced, embarrassed, and about the loss to journalism when otherwise professional women are discouraged and literally pushed out. Newsrooms did not invent workplace harassment, of course, but it's worth considering whether so many of the harassment stories of 2017–2018 came from the journalism world merely because women journalists have access to publicity, or because newsrooms are particularly toxic. It remains to be seen whether the 2017–2018 furor has lasting implications or was a fleeting response that faded away after provoking a controversy.

If the former, the big research question is what would change newsroom culture? What are the solutions? In the post-Weinstein period, several news outlets promised policy or structural change. NBC News adopted a zero-tolerance policy, promised to require employees to take anti-harassment training, and undertook an assessment of the news division culture. NPR overhauled its structure after repeatedly failing to address sexual harassment allegations. Fox News established a Workplace Professionalism and Inclusion Council. Meanwhile, the UK-based The Second Source and the US-based Press Forward are new support networks that ensure women know their rights and help organizations bring about change. Whether these actions, in and outside the newsrooms, will change newsroom cultures, of course, is unknown, but this is a crucial researchable question.

CONCLUSION

Covert (1981) was among the first to observe that journalism history celebrated independence and individual autonomy, ignoring the impact of family and friendship networks. Journalism itself was written in terms of conflict, controversy, and competition, which Covert took to reflect men's interest in winning. Covert contrasted this masculine language to women's values: concord, harmony, affiliation, and community. But well before Covert's provocative essay, the debate has been whether sexual identity (i.e., of women) trumped professionalism.

While this continues to drive considerable research, claims about women's distinct news values have become internally and externally contradictory. First, the claim constructs women journalists as ever and always sharing a fixed standpoint as homemakers and parents. It ignores how gender may go in and out of focus. It ignores contemporary differences in experience by virtue of race, sexual orientation, and religion. Ann Marie Lipinski, the *Chicago Tribune*'s first woman editor (serving 2001–2008), suggested: "Being a woman gives you access to some experiences in life that men don't have, just as the reverse is true" (Ricchiardi, 2011, p. 31). But being a woman intersects with all sorts of standpoints.

Melin-Higgins (2004) quotes a European journalist who argues that newsrooms are so wracked by gender-based power, conflict, and culture clashes that they require guerilla warfare. Women journalists can take on the role of the "woman journalist" as defined by the dominant culture; challenge male supremacy by becoming one of the boys; or challenge the very "doxa" of journalism by becoming one of the girls, making journalism more feminine. However, not only have feminists changed newsrooms and privileged soft news and women's forms, but the very forms that Melin-Higgins promotes as oppositional are precisely the ones marketers seek. Historical work must take seriously how women have changed journalism, in part, by inventing forms never credited to women. Perhaps once these softer forms became normalized and "hardened," they were redefined as conventional: sob sisters and front-page stunt girls morphed over the century into civic journalists and enterprise journalists. Even discarding the essentializing and universalizing dynamic, to conclude from data showing few sex differences that organizational constraints force women to reproduce existing masculinist practices ignores widespread social changes, including in journalism, where hard/soft binaries have been radically blurred.

Claims about gender differences in reporting and editing may involve perception far more than evidence and thus are caught in philosophical, empirical, and methodological traps. In the 1980s and early 1990s, a series of studies addressed gender differences in writing and the widespread belief that articles by men were judged (these studies used college students) to be more credible and accurate than those attributed to women. For example, experiments comparing responses to stories when the first name of a byline is clearly associated with women or men (e.g., Christine versus Christopher) found that, at least when the topic was stereotypically associated with neither men nor women, students deemed the story more accurate, informative and credible when they thought a man had written it, but more interesting when they thought a woman had written it; men were more extreme in their reliance on stereotypes (Shaw, Cole, Moore, & Cole, 1981). With syndicated political columns, too, overall bylines did not significant affect credibility, but men students trusted male bylines more than female bylines (Andsager, 1990).

Assumptions about gender remain important, from war reporting (where the stress of putting bodies are on the line is marked by problems in intimate relationships and substance abuse among men and women) to political cartooning (where, women remain under 5 percent of those employed). These problems intersect with other structural and economic problems that compound the likelihood of exploitation of women. For example, the increase in the women, who are especially likely to be stringers or freelancers even as foreign correspondents, may reflect a profit-driven shift to cheaper workers. Certainly, sexism and using women sexually continues in society and in newsrooms. Indeed, accusing women of reproducing masculinist assumptions does not solve the problem of using women on air to add spice, drama, and sex appeal as well as encouraging women to express disdain for women (say, for their dress or sexuality) and feminism.

Instead of describing a female journalism, which depends on hard/soft and neutrality/subjectivity binaries and which sentimentalizes women, we might imagine a feminist journalism. Feminist theorizing suggests the value of more contextual and situated journalistic forms that get at reasons, consequences, and impacts and of collaborative, noncompetitive, horizontal work structures that allow for integrating domestic responsibilities. Encouraging journalists to revise, if not reinvent, ways of understanding and representing human action is commendable. New kinds of newsrooms and new forms of print, broadcast, and online journalism require a new political sensibility. They require a feminist epistemology, not women's innate values. Experiments in newsroom structures, content, policy- and decision-making emerging from feminist theorizing and critique are necessary if journalism is to serve the ongoing political and social needs of inevitably embodied people, who may be particularly disadvantaged by class and race.

REFERENCES

Abramson, P. L. (1990). *Sob sister journalism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Alcoff, L., & Potter, E. (Eds.). (1993). *Feminist epistemologies*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Andsager, J. L. (1990). Perceptions of credibility of male and female syndicated political columnists. *Journalism Quarterly*, *67*(3), 485–491.

Arnold, M., & Nesbitt, M. (2006). *Women in media 2006: Finding the leader in you*. Evanston, IL: Media Management Center at Northwestern University.

Aronson, A. (2010). Still reading women's magazines: Reconsidering the tradition a half century after the feminine mystique. *American Journalism*, *27*(2), 31–61.

Artwick, C. G. (2014). News sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, *15*(8),1111–1127.

Barker-Plummer, B. (2002). Producing public voice: Resource mobilization and media access in the national organization for women. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *79*(1), 188–205.

Barton, A., & Storm, H. (2014). *Violence and harassment against women in the news media: A global picture*. New York, NY: Women's Media Foundation and the International News Safety Institute. Retrieved from www.iwmf.org/sexual-harassment/Beasley, B. H. & Theus, K. T. (1988). *The new majority: a look at what the preponderance of women in journalism education means to the schools and to the professions*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Beynon, J. (2002). *Masculinities and culture*. Maidenhead Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.

Brazelton, E. M. C. (1927). *Writing and editing for women*. New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls.
Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London: Routledge.
Byerly, C. M. (2011). *The global report on the status of women in news media*. Washington, DC: International Women's Media Foundation.
Chadha, K., Steiner, L., & Guha, P. (2017). Indian women journalists' responses to sexism and sexual harassment. *International Communication Research Journal*, *52*(1).
Chen, G. M., Pain, P., Chen, V. Y., Mekelburg, M., Springer, N., & Troger, F. (2018). 'You really have to have a thick skin': A cross-cultural perspective on how online harassment influences female journalists. *Journalism*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918768500
Christmas, L. (1997). *Chaps of both sexes? Women decision-makers in newspapers: Do they make a difference?* London: WIJ/BT Forum.
Covert, C. L. (1981). Journalism history and women's experience: A problem in conceptual change. *Journalism History*, *8*, 2–6.
de Bruin, M., & Ross, K. (Eds.). (2004). *Gender and newsroom cultures: Identities at work*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
DiCenzo, M., Ryan, L., & Delap, L. (2011). *Feminist media history: Suffrage, periodicals and the public sphere*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Djerf-Pierre, M. (2005). Lonely at the top: Gendered media elites in Sweden. *Journalism*, *6*(3), 265–290.
Dries, K (2013, December 2). *Female journalists harassed at offices all around the damn globe*. Jezebel. Retrieved from https://jezebel.com/female-journalists-harassed-at-offices-all-around-the-d-1475118268
Duffy, B. E. (2015). Gendering the labor of social media production. *Feminist Media Studies*, *15*(4), 710–714.
Duffy, B. E., & Schwartz, B. (2018). Digital "women's work?": Job recruitment ads and the feminization of social media employment. *New Media & Society*, *20*(8), 2972–2989.
Elwood-Akers, V. (1988). *Women war correspondents in the Vietnam war, 1961–1975*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.
Endres, K. L., & Lueck, T. L. (Eds.). (1996). *Women's periodicals in the United States: Social and political issues*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Everbach, T. (2006). The culture of a women-led newspaper: An ethnographic study of the *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *83*(3), 477–493.
Ferguson, M. (1983). *Forever feminine: Women's magazines and the cult of femininity*. London: Gower.
Franks, S. (2013). *Women and journalism*. London: I.B. Tauris in association with the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.
Franks, S. (2011). Attitudes to women in the BBC in the 1970s. Not so much a glass ceiling as one of reinforced concrete. *Westminster Papers in Culture and Communication*, *8*(3), 123–142.
Gallagher, M. (2010). *Global media monitoring project 2010*. London: World Association for Christian Communication.
Grabe, M., & Samson, L. (2011). Sexual cues emanating from the anchorette chair: Implications for perceived professionalism, fitness for beat, and memory for news. *Communication Research*, *38*(4), 471–496.
Goffman, E. (1976). *Gender advertisements. Communications and culture*. London: Palgrave.
Griffin, A. (2014, Summer). Where are the women? *Nieman Reports*, 28–43.
Hakim, C. (2010). Erotic capital. *European Sociological Review*, *26*(5), 499–518. doi:10.1093/esr/jcq014, available online at www.esr.oxfordjournals.org
Hallberg, N., & Schneider, M. (2017, March 17). Sexism in the workplace is real: A story from two perspectives. *Vox*. Retrieved from www.vox.com/first-person/2017/3/17/14950296/sexism-name-switch-tweets
Hanitzsch, T. (2006). Mapping journalism culture: A theoretical taxonomy and case studies from Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *16*(2), 169–186.
Hanitzsch, T., & Hanusch, F. (2012). Does gender determine journalists' professional views? A reassessment based on cross-national evidence. *European Journal of Communication*, *27*(3), 257–277.
Harding, S. (1998). *Is science multicultural? Postcolonialisms, feminisms, and epistemologies*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Harp, D. (2007). *Desperately seeking women readers: US newspapers and the construction of a female readership*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Hartsock, N. (1987). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In S. Harding (Ed.), *Feminism and methodology: Social science issues* (pp. 157–180). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
Isakova, A. (2018, February 23). *Russian lawmaker wants female journalists barred from state Duma after sexual harassment complaints*. *Moscow Times*. Retrieved from https://themoscowtimes.com/news/russian-lawmaker-wants-female-journalists-barred-from-state-duma-after-sexual-harassment-complaints-60620
Jarrett, K. (2016). *Feminism, labour, and digital media: The digital housewife*. London: Routledge.
Kong, L. (2018, January 15). *Female journalists, male politicians and the epidemic of sexual harassment in Asean*. Asian Correspondent. Retrieved from https://asiancorrespondent.com/2018/01/journalists-sexual-harassment-asean/#vAdqlDQ58acEfCwi.97
Krasilnikov, S. (2018, February 28). *Fourth journalist accuses Russian deputy Slutsky of sexual harassment*. *Moscow Times*. Retrieved from https://themoscowtimes.com/news/fourth-journalist-accuses-russian-deputy-slutsky-sexual-harassment-60649
Lachover, E. (2005). The gendered and sexualized relationship between Israeli women journalists and their male news sources. *Journalism*, *6*, 291–311.
Lavie, A., & Lehman-Wilzig, S. (2005). The method is the message: Explaining inconsistent findings in gender and news research. *Journalism*, *6*(1), 66–89.
Leary, C. (2012). Gold watches and old maids: The *Lowell Offering*'s role in the emerging social consciousness of 19th century factory girls, 1840–1845. *Atlanta Review of Journalism History*, *10*(1), 26–40.
Lennon, T. (2013). *Benchmarking women's leadership in the United States*. Denver: University of Denver—Colorado Women's College.
Lerner, G. (1975). Placing women in history: Definitions and challenges. *Feminist Studies*, *3*(1–2), 5–15.
Marzolf, M. (1977). *Up from the footnote: A History of women journalists*. New York, NY: Hastings House.
McKercher, C. (2013). Precarious times, precarious work: A feminist political economy of freelance journalists in Canada and the United States. In C. Fuchs & M. Sandoval (Eds.), *Critique, social media and the information society* (pp. 219–230). New York, NY: Routledge.
McQuail, Denis (1994). *Mass communication theory*. London: Sage Publications.
Melin-Higgins, M. (2004). Coping with journalism: Gendered newsroom culture. In M. de Bruin & K. Ross (Eds.), *Gender and newsroom cultures: Identities at work* (pp. 195–220). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Mills, K. (1990). *A place in the news: From the women's pages to the front page*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Mitra, B., Webb, M., & Wolfe, C. (2014, November) Audience responses to the physical appearance of television newsreaders. *Participations*, *11*(2).
Mohajer, S. T. (2017, June 26). A push for diversity encounters resistance at *The Wall Street Journal*. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from https://www.cjr.org/business_of_news/wall-street-journal-diversity.php
Moi, T. (1999). *What is a woman? And other essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Monnerat, A. (2018, December 5). *Brazilian journalists report daily sexual harassment and gender discrimination in newsrooms*. University of Texas Knight Center. https://knightcenter.utexas.edu/blog/00-19064-brazilian-journalists-report-daily-sexual-harassment-and-gender-discrimination-newsroo
Moran, J. (2017, November 3). *Tracey spicer casts net wider to put sex assaults under microscope*. Retrieved from www.dailytelegraph.com.au/entertainment/sydney-confidential/tracey-spicer-casts-net-wider-to-put-sex-assaults-under-microscope/news-story/da605bb69fca87877dc9ed4464adcae1
Mosco, V., & McKercher, C. (2008). *The laboring of communication: Will knowledge workers of the world unite?* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Newton, A. S., & Steiner, L. (2019). Pretty in pink: The ongoing importance of appearance in broadcast news. In C. Carter, L. Steiner, & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism, gender and power*. London: Routledge.
North, L. (2016). Damaging and daunting: Female journalists' experiences of sexual harassment in the newsroom. *Feminist Media Studies*, *16*(3), 495–510.
Onslow, B. (2000). *Women of the press in nineteenth-century Britain*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Ramaprasad, J. (2001). A profile of journalists in post-independence Tanzania. *Gazette*, *63*(6), 539–556.
Reinardy, S. (2016). *Journalism's lost generation: The un-doing of US newspaper newsrooms*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Ricchiardi, S. (December 2011–January 2012) Do women lead differently? *American Journalism Review*. Retrieved from http://ajrarchive.org/Article.asp?id=5198
Robertson, N. (1992). *The girls in the balcony: Women, men and the New York Times*. New York, NY: Fawcett Columbine.
Rodgers, S., & Thorson, E. (2003). A socialization perspective on male and female reporting. *Journal of Communication*, *53*(4), 658–675.
Ross, K. (2001). Women at work: Journalism as en-gendered practice. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(4), 531–544.
Schilpp, M. G., & Murphy, S. M. (1983). *Great women of the press*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
Setoodeh, R., & Wagmeister, E. (2017, November 29). Matt Lauer accused of sexual harassment by multiple women. *Variety*. Retrieved from https://variety.com/2017/biz/news/matt-lauer-accused-sexual-harassment-multiple-women-1202625959/
Shaw, D. L., Cole, L. P., Moore, R. L., & Cole, R. R. (1981). Men versus women in bylines. *Journalism Quarterly*, *58*(1), 103–106.
Steiner, L. (1983). Finding community in nineteenth century suffrage periodicals. *American Journalism*, *1*(1), 1–16.
Steiner, L. (1997). Gender at work: Early accounts by women journalists. *Journalism History*, *23*(1), 2–12.
Steiner, L. (1998). Newsroom accounts of power at work. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allan, (Eds.), *News, gender, and power* (pp. 145–159). London: Routledge.
Steiner, L. (forthcoming). In F. Hanusch (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of journalism studies*. Feminist Press.
Streitmatter, R. (1994). *Raising her voice: African-American women journalists who changed history*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
Sweney, M. (2017a, November 7). *Claims of sexual harassment at BBC spike after Weinstein scandal*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com/media/2017/nov/07/claims-sexual-harassment-bbc-spike-after-weinstein-scandal
Sweney, M. (2017b, November 19). Top mirror editor warns of deeper job losses if express deal fails. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com/business/2017/nov/19/top-mirror-editor-warns-of-deeper-job-losses-if-express-deal-fails
Tuchman, G. (1979). Women's depiction by the mass media. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *4*(3), 528–542.
Tusan, M. E. (2005). *Women making news: Gender and journalism in modern Britain*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Van Zoonen, L. (1998). One of the girls? Or the changing gender of journalism. In C. Carter, G. Branston, & S. Allen (Eds.), *News, gender and power* (pp. 33–56). London: Routledge.
Wang, H. (2019). Obstacles to Chinese women journalists' career advancement. In C. Carter, L. Steiner, & S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism, gender and power*. London: Routledge.
Watkins, S. C., & Emerson, R. A. (2000). Feminist media criticism and feminist media practices. *ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *571*(1), 151–166.
Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S., & Wilhoit, G. C. (Eds.). (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century: US news people at the dawn of a new millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Weibel, K. (1977). *Mirror, mirror: Images of women reflected in popular culture*. New York, NY: Doubleday Anchor.
Wen, Y. (2018, March 8). *Chinese women, inspired by #MeToo Movement, speak out on sexual harassment*. Radio Free Asia. Retrieved from https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/chinese-women-inspired-by-me-too-movement-speak-out-on-sexual-harassment-03082018122356.html
Winship, J. (1987). *Inside women's magazines*. New York, NY: Unwin Hyman.
Women's Media Center (WMC). (2017). *Status of women in US media*. Retrieved from www.womensmediacenter.com/reports/the-status-of-women-in-US-media-2017

Zillman, C. (2017, July 31). FT journalists threaten to strike as Britain's gender pay gap debate rages on. *Fortune*. Retrieved from fortune.com/2017/07/31/gender-pay-gap-ft-bbc/

Zobl, E., & Drüeke, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Feminist media: Participatory spaces, networks and cultural citizenship*. London: Transcript.

Zuckerman, M. E. (1998). *A history of popular women's magazines in the United States, 1792–1995*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

30

Covering Diversity

Elizabeth Poole

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is being written in a period of tumultuous politics, a phase in which it *appears* that the neoliberal status quo has been replaced by something abnormal, in which the "Western" world has been rocked by a shift to nationalist populism—in the US by the election of Donald Trump and in Europe by the decision by the UK to leave the European Union (popularly known as "Brexit").[1] Identity politics have been central to populist groups who have used this as a rallying point to shore up support for their political projects, by emphasizing the negative effects of diversity, blaming immigrants and ethnic minority groups (and the "elites" that support them) for a variety of social problems. The largely conservative mainstream media have followed their lead and placed these issues at the forefront of coverage. This chapter will examine how this has played out with particular reference to the UK as a case study and the media's representation of Muslims. Muslims have been a target for populist groups as the rise of political Islam and the influx of refugees from the Middle East, North Africa (MENA) region, particularly Syria, has increased their visibility in the news. This chapter will question this "newsworthiness" with reference to the political context and news values. The chapter aims to chart the representation of ethnic minority groups in contemporary Western news media, outline important concepts and theories for understanding these representations, introduce key thinkers and research that has analyzed the representation of Muslims, and explore the methodologies of these studies, before outlining future directions for research. The impact of digital technologies will also be considered, alongside the production context and the issues this raises for audiences. The aim of the chapter is to show how, using a case study of Muslims, due to the context in which news is produced, minority groups are Othered in the news. This dehumanization allows them to be scapegoated and subject to restrictive policies which favor dominant groups in society.

KEY CONCEPTS

Representation

"Representation" in a media context refers to the *process* of representing (Hall, 1997). This is a social process as representations are products of both their social environment (the political and economic context) and the way they are produced (the media context). Representation is also the process of producing *meaning* and describes how signs or signifiers are combined to create meaning. This process is not neutral but ideological; there is a mediating effect. An event is filtered through interpretive frameworks and acquires ideological significance. The media constitute one of many signifying systems. How the media represent different groups or ideas depends on contextual, structural, institutional, and organizational factors. Hence, representations change over time and across media due to variations in the context. Representations are not, therefore, straightforward reflections of some objective reality but constitute constructions of multiple "realities." The media often reproduce and circulate dominant ideologies, in this case about ethnicity, but they also construct their own meanings and values through signifying practices. These representations are imbued with power as those who have access to the media have the power to represent their values. Through their circulation, these dominant ideas become naturalized, and accepted as "common sense" (Fowler, 1991). Hence, the media provides audiences with particular "ways of seeing" (Berger, 1972). Examining the representation of minority groups in a certain time period tells us little about those groups but much about attitudes towards them at that time. Questions about representations should not focus on whether these are accurate portrayals but examine the discursive constructions in a text which relates to wider social processes.

From "Race" to "Ethnicity"

The terms *race* then *ethnicity* have been used at different points in history to describe highly differentiated "groups" of people (usually relating to descent) and should also be seen as signifiers relating to varying sets of beliefs. However, these descriptors have also been reformulated and used progressively to make identity claims, which have been important in political resistance and in combating discrimination (Banton, 2004b). We should understand these terms, therefore, not as describing any essentialized characteristics but think about how they are used discursively (through language to sustain power). The problem with their continued usage in the public idiom is that they reinforce difference, Otherness, and in doing so naturalize this. The academic studies featured here use the terms, not to refer to some distinct or fixed characteristics, but to demonstrate the historical and cultural construction (based on perceptions of shared attributes). In this chapter, I will use the term *ethnic minority groups*. This term recognizes that some people have consciously unified under conditions of depravation and exclusion while acknowledging the fluid and constructed quality of these categories (Bennett, 1998).[2] In the current context, "Muslim" has become a signifier for many negative connotations. Although denoting a religious identity, the term "Muslim" has become inflected with ethnic signifiers as Muslims minorities in the West are perceived as having their origins overseas, in the UK due to postwar immigration from former colonies such as Pakistan.

CONTEXT

There is a political, economic context to current attitudes to Islam that has given rise to a "clash of civilizations" thesis which dominates media discourse (Huntington, 1996). Since the 1980s, in a post-Cold War context, various neo-jihadist groups' responses to colonial practices have filled a political vacuum, replacing communism as the new enemy of the West (Halliday, 1996).[3] Correspondingly, neoliberal policies have accelerated economic and other forms of globalization, eroding national boundaries and increasing the fragmentation and political instabilities evident today. In the UK, this postmodern crisis of identity saw the reassertion of religious and national identities on the ground—the Rushdie Affair, 1989, is cited as an event which saw Muslims beginning to *mobilize around their religious identities*, for which their loyalty was questioned, furthering their politicization.[4] It is in this context that Muslims have been constituted as a security and cultural threat.

More recently, economic stress, brought about by neoliberal globalization, which is felt by the poorest in society, combined with a highly mediated refugee crisis has seen populist groups (in the US and Europe) capitalizing on these circumstances by blaming immigration for the demise of the nation. In the UK, the success of the Leave (the EU) campaign was based on its ability to shift political debate to immigration, linking this to a loss of sovereignty, brought about through membership of the EU. Research shows how this became central to the reporting of the EU referendum, particularly in the latter half of the campaign (Deacon, Downey, Harmer, Stanyer, & Wring, 2016). For Featherstone (2017), this tumultuous politics has become the new (ab)normal, but he questions whether this is a genuine rejection of neoliberalism or a rhetorical strategy to keep the establishment in power. Whichever is the case, there has been a shift to a new authoritarianism in which racism has become legitimatized. An outcome of this divisionary politics has been an increase in hate crime, particularly towards minority groups and Muslims (up 23 percent in the post-Brexit period; Bulman, 2017). An easy response to such uncertain times is to retreat to particularism and nationalism, blaming the Other for the current malaise. This is a key aspect of boundary making when identities are destabilized.

UNDERSTANDING THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF OTHERNESS

Identity and difference have been key to the dialogic process of Othering, and nationhood has been a central aspect of this in the post-Enlightenment Western world. “Knowing” the Other (and what this signifies) is key to understanding ourselves. Orientalism is a significant theory for understanding the historical production of knowledge about, in particular, the Islamic Other, in the Western world. Edward Said’s text on *Orientalism* (1978) was agenda-setting at a time when scholars were interested in negating imperialist cultural products across a range of disciplines. Said (1978, pp. 2–3) defined Orientalism as both “a style of thought” and “corporate institution for dealing with the Orient” in which “ontological and epistemological distinction”(s) are made between the Orient and Occident in which the Occident is perceived as inherently superior. Said placed Foucault’s notion of *discourse* at the center of his analysis, arguing that it is through the production of language and culture in the West that the Orient and its people became known. This has had real-life implications for the way the West has managed its relations with the East historically and, it could be argued, still informs these interactions, both internally and externally. Through institutionalization, this knowledge has attained authority which has been central in maintaining hegemony. Said studied academic texts and showed how they produced a specific Western *Ethnocentric* discourse which has become *naturalized* to a scientific level. This allowed cultural generalizations to be made, reproducing a reductive and essentialized idea of the Orient as backward, irrational, deviant, despotic, barbaric, and static. A key aspect of this Othering is subjectivity: it was essential for the West to constitute the Other in order to form its own identity. This was a necessary precursor for the imperialist policies of the colonial period. Said’s theory was subject to a number of criticisms not least because it produced a converse construction of the West as monolithic, which potentially invalidates all work produced within that context (Ahmad, 1992).[5] It was also based on a geographical and temporal distance from its subject and globalization has diminished many of those boundaries. However, this chapter will show the continued legacy of a *neo-Orientalist* framework of knowledge, that is modified through different relations and contexts, and persists as an instrument of policy (Sardar, 1999). An Othering discourse, which uses a mutually reinforcing self/Other dichotomy, is therefore key in maintaining power relations by providing a resource for identity politics that works in the interests of dominant groups. While identities are fluid and multiple, these regimes of knowledge are central in attempting to fix identity when this appears to be under threat. Notions of race, religion, language, culture, and nation intermingle in this process and the media is a key player in defining the insiders and outsiders in these conceptions, given that the majority of mainstream media outlets in the West operate in a commercial system, so tend to reproduce dominant (consensual) discourses to maximize audiences for advertisers.

NEWS REPORTING OF ETHNIC MINORITY GROUPS

Studies on the reporting of ethnic minority groups have developed in a wider context of media research, with early approaches focusing on the ideological role of the media in securing social consent.[6] Research was generally informed by an over-simplified conceptual framework of "race" based on a postcolonial race relations paradigm. This institutional categorization (based on Commonwealth countries) defined both legislation, representation, and social relations with perceived Others (Silverman & Yuval-Davis, 1998), what Hall (1997) termed a "system of representation" similar to Said's (1978) "discourse regime."

Early studies showed coverage was limited to the criminalization of minorities, particularly focusing on black youth and immigration as a source of problems "within" (for example, Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clark, & Roberts, 1978). A law and order discourse within a confrontational framework dominated, evident in the reporting of inner city disturbances of the 1980s in the UK. Research suggested that this reporting displaced attention from structural inequalities and discrimination derived from the policy framework and system of representation mentioned above (Cottle, 1992). There was some differentiation, according to stereotypes informed by colonial categorizations, but this was within a negativized framework of the Other. For example, there has been a prevalence of reporting about black minorities in sport and entertainment (Cottle, 2000). These representations are significant in their attempts to construct and sustain ideas about national identity (see Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009). Van Dijk's (1991) work has been particularly important in showing how news provides summaries—"semantic macrostructures"—reducing complex issues to ethnocentric headlines for easy consumption.

The "racialized boundaries" produced by this framework, which marginalized some identity markers (such as religion), were contested by some theorists who reformulated research along the lines of ethnicity (Gilroy, 1988; Hall, 1988). They argued that processes of globalization and postmodernism were creating increasingly fluid identities and research turned to the hybrid cultural expressions which give voice to the experience of those living a diasporic existence. Minority media and its challenge to established conventions became a focus for research (Mercer, 1988), but this was largely limited to popular cultural forms, and research on news has remained focused on mainstream media and its output. These studies highlighted the contradictions in news representations, as the news media interact dynamically with social and political change.

Minority media offers a form of cultural expression that has sought to intervene in and contribute to multicultural public spaces (Rigoni & Saitta, 2012). Studies on minority media have found it provides a space for self-representation, and identity and community building (Dayan, 1998). Potentially offering an alternative source for mainstream news organizations, Holohan (2014) and Poole (2014) found a "difference of perception" narrative whereby counter-narratives produced in (Muslim) minority media had very little impact in the mainstream. In "steering a difficult course between universalist appeals, market imperatives, and systems of patronage on the one side, and particularistic aims, community based expectations and felt obligations on the other" (Georgiou & Gumbert, 2006, p. 15), the result has often been dissatisfaction among minority audiences (Poole, 2014). Studies which have looked to minority news producers within mainstream organizations as an intervening factor have found a continued lack of diversity in personnel, the privileging of elite and majority news sources, and the persistence of dominant news values which marginalizes alternative voices. Minority journalists become institutionalized, carry the burden of responsibility, and experience conflicting loyalties in relation to personal, professional, and community expectations (Cottle, 1992; Muir & Smith, 2011).

However, the "struggle around the image" has been evident in mainstream news forms as the boundaries around representations are challenged and subsequently evolve and broaden (Hall, 1997, p. 257). Research from America suggests that this led to a new era of modern or "inferential racism" (Entman, 1990, p. 332; Hall, 1988), characterized by a more implicit protection of dominant interests. In this context, dominant discourse espouses notions of equality while continuing to support policies that sustain prevailing interests. Entman (1990) has shown how news is significant in promoting the idea that historically racist attitudes to minorities are no longer acceptable, partly due to a commercial imperative relating to audience demographics. Yet structural inequalities and ethnocentrism work together to reproduce a consensual and hegemonic "regime of truth" (Fiske, 1994). Here, assumptions are normalized with whiteness at the center (Dyer, 1997). For example, Campbell (1995) showed how a "racial mythology" is embedded in TV news where positive representations of black people in sport perpetuate the myth that equality is available to all.[7] These become a discursive resource, drawn on by producers and audiences to make sense of the world. More explicit prejudicial discourses have found a new enemy legitimized by a neo-Orientalist, neoliberal world order where there are vested interests in maintaining current "repertoires of representation" (Hall, 1997). This has been defined as "cultural racism," whereby culture replaces race as a functional equivalent (in a context where racism based on biological difference is outmoded; Banton, 2004a). In this conception, cultural difference is essentialized and prejudice is directed at a person or group's perceived cultural identity. Islamophobia is an example of this (Allen, 2010).

The "post-racial" acknowledges the complexities and contradictions in conceptions and representations of diversity which cannot be explained by any universalizing theories (Ali, 2004). This period has also been defined as the "cultural turn," as theorists shifted away from the previous identity politics which focused on race as an ontological category and towards recognizing the complexity and fluidity of identity (which incorporates religion) (Hall, 1988).

Using this conceptual framework which takes account of both context and shifting significations of race, we can see how Muslims have become the focus of current intolerances. However, it is important in examining news coverage of Muslims not to reduce this to institutional or individual racism, but to acknowledge the multiple dimensions of this.

REPORTING ISLAM

So far, I have established the case for examining the reporting of Muslims and Islam in the current political climate. Given the importance of studying representations in their context, I will be referring mainly to the UK's coverage here, but also to studies elsewhere, to illustrate convergences and divergences in content. This approach avoids a superficial, reductive analysis as it pays attention to the important "why" questions in content analysis. However, a recent cross-cultural analysis demonstrates the negative patterns of reporting across Europe and beyond

(Mertens & de Smaele, 2016). Other, now numerous, studies have shown there is a similarity in coverage relating to topics and meanings, at least in a Western context.[8] Differences tend to be proportional around the amount of space dedicated to an internal/external focus and representations of key themes. Mertens & de Smaele's (2016) study also showed the prevalence of national differences over ideological, so context is clearly significant.

In this section I will be drawing on the now extensive body of work from the UK, including my own, which spans over a 20 year period (Poole, 2002, 2006; Featherstone, Holohan, & Poole, 2010; Poole, 2011, 2012; Knott, Poole, & Taira, 2013) and other key authors (in chronological order)—Richardson, 2004; Khiabany & Williamson, 2008; Moore, Mason, & Lewis, 2008; Morey & Yaqin, 2011; Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013; Mertens & d'Haenens, 2013).[9] Important studies from Europe include Flood, Hutchings, Miazhevich, and Nickels' (2011) comparative analysis which contains contributions from France, Russia, and Germany; Mertens andde Smaele's (2016) cross-cultural analysis of five European countries (the Dutch and French speaking parts of Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France, and the UK) and single-country studies of Germany (Hafez, 2000); France (Rigoni, 2006); and Belgium (Mertens & d'Haenens, 2013). According to Ahmed and Matthes (2016), America has been the most significant site of focus (28.7 percent of studies) as a single country; Europe is the most researched continent. Focusing on North America, Karim H. Karim (2000) provides a significant pre-9/11 study and Kumar, a later example (2012), but important contributions have also examined Australia (Rane, Ewart, & Martinkus, 2014) and more recently Russia, China, and India. The expansion of research beyond Europe demonstrates that frameworks of representation do not automatically apply in non-Western contexts.

Most of these studies have focused on print media, particularly broadsheet newspapers, with some attention to TV news (Flood et al., 2011; Knott et al., 2013; Ichau & d'Haenens, 2016). While it is impossible to mention all the studies on this topic here, the chapter provides a substantial overview of prominent work in this area.

Studies have shown a shift since the pivotal moment that was 9/11 from a focus on cultural differences to a securitization discourse, from the global to more local coverage (or external/internal, Mertens & de Smaele, 2016), a reduction in the topics in which Muslims are considered newsworthy, their further homogenization, and the continued underrepresentation of Muslim voices, particularly non-institutional sources and women. I will further expand on these trends below.

Global/Local Islam

It is increasingly difficult to differentiate between the Internal and External Other. However, it remains a useful category of analysis as it demonstrates how the distant Other is subject to a more simplified, reductive representation. Historically, research shows that prior to 9/11 coverage of Muslims tended to occur within international reporting, predominantly because of its focus on war and conflict and the perceived association of Islam with this. However, following 9/11, there was a corresponding growth in coverage of Muslims and Islam, both external and internal, but with a rising proportion of this focusing on British Muslims, on an annual basis. This is due to a shift in focus to Internal terrorism. As a point of comparison, in 1999, there were 410 articles in *The Guardian* and *The Times* on *British Muslims* compared to 875 in 2003 (Poole, 2006). Despite this, Muslims are still mostly reported within an overseas context; in the UK, this is particularly high—in 2011–2012 this amounted to 85.1 percent of coverage in *The Times* and 91 percent in *The Guardian* (Mertens, 2016). Given that this representation is more likely to be constrained within a narrow framework associated with violence, conflict, and terrorism, this is of particular concern (d'Haenens & Bink, 2007). This international focus has been found cross-culturally and points to a more differentiated picture of Muslims in a domestic context. This is demonstrated by Poole (2002), particularly prior to 9/11. However, given the homogenization described below, understandings of all Muslims will be informed by global coverage.

Homogenization

The homogenization of Muslims, disregarding that Islam is a religion of many nationalities and ethnicities, is a common practice in news journalism. The conflation of Muslims with other South Asian minorities was especially evident in the tabloid press before Muslims gained greater visibility after 9/11 (Poole, 2002). This "collectivization" is especially problematic given that the dominant topic of coverage is terrorism. This is particularly evident in coverage of external Islam (in 46.5 percent of coverage compared to 34.3 percent in Mertens and de Smaele's 2016 cross-cultural analysis). If we relate this trend to the overrepresentation of institutionalized groups and actors, it further contributes to their dehumanization (Mertens, 2016; Poole, 2002), a significant factor in the process of scapegoating. Homogenization is further applied to cultural practices such as veiling creating a dichotomous relation of "us" and "them" (Khiabany & Williamson, 2008).

Topics

The topics that dominate in coverage of Islam tells us something about the "frameworks of interpretation" of different, particular elite groups and nations. Evidence shows how a framework of reporting has developed and shows that news will be selected if it fits with preconceived notions of who Muslims are and an issue's significance to dominant groups. The consistency of the topics associated with Islam found by these studies (despite their differing methodologies) demonstrates the strength of this news framework, which has dominated news reporting for several decades. The topics, consistently associated with Islam and Muslims, are terrorism, extremism, conflict and violence, and cultural difference.

Terrorism

Research pre-9/11 found that conflict, violence, and terrorism dominated *world news* about Muslims and Islam, with many stories focusing on conflict zones (Richardson, 2004). British Muslims defined as extremist tended to be labeled "fundamentalist" and linked only to terrorists abroad through fundraising activities (Poole, 2002). Evidence from cross-cultural studies demonstrates that this pattern continues in all countries, except the UK, which has experienced "traumatization" as a result of experiencing more terrorist attacks (Davier, 2009, as cited in Mertens, 2016, p. 149). This has increased the focus on "home-grown terrorists," yet they continue to be Othered via an over-simplified linear process of radicalization to groups located externally via technology (Knott et al., 2013). Categorization and decontextualization are key components of this reporting. In their corpus-driven linguistic analysis, Baker et al. (2013) found that "terror" was the term most frequently associated with *Islam* and *Muslims*, followed by other conflictual words such as extremism and militancy. The term is more likely to be coupled with *Islam* rather than *Muslim* and used more often by the tabloids. The authors suggest this could be a legitimization strategy, allowing the press to attack Islam without criticizing anyone individually. In their corpus, the tabloids used the word *terror* 22, 188 times, compared with 22,032 in the broadsheets. This seems equivalent until the authors remind us that there were

103 million words in the broadsheet sample and only 40 million in the tabloids. There is also slippage between terms: conservatism is interpreted as extremism, which is equated to militancy and, from there, an easy jump to terrorism. This conflation was evident in the UK's reporting of the "Operation Trojan Horse" case (2014). In the multicultural city of Birmingham, parents were encouraged to participate in their children's schooling as an issue of autonomy and to raise standards. Yet this was interpreted as Islamification and framed in the press as radicalization as in "Islamist plot dubbed 'Trojan Horse' to replace teachers in Birmingham schools with radicals" (Clark & Osborne, 2014). The subsequent acquittal of teachers in this case was only reported in brief by the liberal press. Yet the substantial coverage of this case allowed the conservative Government to shore up their policy of implementing "Fundamental British Values" (FBV) in schools and the PREVENT strategy across the public sector, both of which have been controversial in their limited definition of Britishness, excluding Muslims and casting them as a suspect community (Poole, 2016).[10]

Decontextalization takes place in the reporting of terrorism and conflict whereby religion is given as the casual factor and any political, historical, and economic factors, if mentioned, are quickly dismissed. In the days of wall-to-wall coverage in the recent aftermath of terrorist attacks in Manchester and London (2017), there was some evidence of community building in mainstream news however, an attempt by Labour leader, Jeremy Corbyn, to introduce the UK's foreign policy as a causal factor was widely dismissed as "politicizing" the attacks. The emotional, sensationalist, and consensual reporting of terrorism has not only a commercial imperative, it also amplifies feelings of risk, allowing for the implementation of more invasive domestic legislation, which affects civil liberties. A further consequence of this type of reporting is that it exacerbates the situation by representing incompatible, homogenized groups at war, reinforcing the ideology of extremists on both sides. According to police statistics, there was a fivefold increase in Islamophobic crime following the 2017 UK terror attacks (Travis, 2017). Yet Muslims are depoliticized in this context as any attempt to offer critique is labeled extremist.

Conflict and Extremism

Various studies have demonstrated the conflictual framework in which Muslims are represented. Externally, coverage focuses on world conflict zones (Richardson, 2004; Knott et al., 2013), while internally, the attention is on "ethnic tensions" (Mertens & de Smaele, 2016). Studies show the reduction in complexity in coverage of conflict abroad, with groups like The Taleban and ISIS reduced to the irrational, barbaric, and anti-modern; homogenized; and motivated by belief. Baker et al. (2013) found that the frequent use of collective nouns in this context contributed to the idea of a monolithic "Muslim world" in conflict with "the west." Similarly, 1in 20 references to the word *Muslim(s)* were directly next to a word that referred to extremist belief, 1in 6 for the word *Islamic* (Baker et al., 2013). Extremists at home are likewise reduced to one-dimensional caricatures. The UK's tabloid's reporting of "preachers of hate;" unrepresentative but overrepresented clerics such as Abu Qatada and Abu Hamza, is one example (Knott et al., 2013). Rarely, the term will be applied to someone outside Islam if they are deemed "extreme" enough. For example, it has been used to describe the leader of the extreme American Christian group, the Westboro Church, Fred Phelps, but not to describe Geert Wilders, the anti-Islamic Dutch MP, who could be accused of "hate speech" (this could be related to the religious/non-religious association). These stories serve two other agendas: to reinforce an anti-immigrationist stance and to attack the welfare system. In a period of austerity, Muslims are defined as part of a wider group of "unproductive Others," as a drain on resources. This displaces attention from and legitimizes the state's economic and welfare policies (Featherstone, 2017). "Preachers of hate" coverage reminds us of the internal threat, the intolerance espoused by the Other, brought about by the excesses of multiculturalism, which now requires a more "muscular" approach (Poole, 2016).

Cultural Difference

Coverage within this topic suggests that Muslims have (and are defined by) inherent cultural and religious beliefs that are incompatible with "British values" (a construction). This discourse has had strength and consistency over time, occasionally overtaking terrorism as the dominant topic of coverage in the UK (in 2008, according to Moore, Mason, and Lewis). This topic reinforces a binary exclusive relationship between "us" and "them" in which "our" over-tolerance has been abused as "they" seek to impose "their" way of life on us. This has been expressed through a range of subjects over time, more recently coverage of veiling, honor killings, conversion, integration, immigration, and freedom of speech. The source of ethnic tension here is Islamic practices which are perceived to be at odds with either a Christian (in the conservative press) or secular identity (in the liberal press). Essentialized, outmoded cultural practices and religious belief are perceived as the source of conflict at home, located within the Muslim community.

Discussions of gender, and in particular, veiling are also used to mark out cultural difference. While Muslim men are more likely to be represented (Poole, 2002; Moore et al., 2008), particularly in relation to conflict and radicalization (Baker et al., 2013), women are represented as victims of men's oppression (emanating from religion and culture), in 42 percent of articles on the veil. While there is a degree of inconsistency in these stories (with some broadsheets against veiling but unwilling to support a ban), the veil acts as a visible signifier of difference and contributes to the macro-discourse of a "hybridized" Islamic threat, both cultural and terrorist (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010, p. 289).

Actors and Sources

Many studies, across countries, have been consistent in finding an overrepresentation of non-Muslim elite and institutional sources in reporting, compared to an underrepresentation of Muslim voices, especially women (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004; Mertens & de Smaele, 2016). This is amplified in coverage of external Islam. For example, in their cross-cultural analysis, Mertens and de Smaele (2016) found that women featured as actors in 20.5 percent of domestic coverage but just 11.3 percent of global Islam (probably due to the emphasis in coverage on terrorism and conflict). Many organizations have been criticized for giving a platform to extreme voices (Anjem Choudary's appearances on the BBC's *Newsnight* for example). When represented, Muslims are usually the agents of negative actions, while non-Muslims are forced to be defensive (in articles on Islamification), heroic (terrorism) or as victims (in conflict) (Knott et al., 2013). However, more recently, Munnik (2017) has observed a greater plurality of sources engaging with the British news media, as well as the contribution of Muslims as co-creators of news, as interest in Islam increases.

Differentiation

What I have presented here is a very homogenous and static picture of coverage for the sake of summarizing. However, there are contradictions and divergences in representations based on national distinctions, ideological preferences, media forms, and across time periods. As Mertens and de Smaele (2016) suggest, while the lines between the liberal and conservative press are becoming increasingly blurred, there are still differences, with left-wing newspapers including less news about violence but more female actors than their right-wing counterparts in some national contexts. This was evident in Flanders and France, and even more pronounced in the British context (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004), though less so in Germany and the Netherlands. The larger European countries (France, Germany, and the UK) were more likely to represent institutional actors, possibly reflecting their elitism. If we extend the analysis beyond Europe, the differentiation widens. For example, de Smaele and De Booser (2016) report on a more disinterested Russian media (in 2011–2012, there were 201 articles on Islam in two newspapers compared to 1112 in the UK). These newspapers focused more on Islam abroad, especially the Middle East. Things become even more complex when considering different language newspapers within one county. In both China and India, the English-speaking press had more similarities with the Western context. Not surprisingly, Chinese-speaking papers dissociated terrorism from religion (to downplay opposition to religious/ethnic policies) while in India, religious dimensions of coverage were a key focus of the Urdu press (Lams, 2016; Verschooten, Amanullah, & Nijs, 2016).

Several studies have demonstrated differentiation across and within media forms. Television includes more diversity due to its variety of programming which enables it to "break the frame" (Morey & Yaqin, 2011, p. 171). For example, although the crime drama Spooks has been criticized for its lazy stereotyping (Al-Azami, 2016), Morey and Yaqin (2011) argue that it used these to raise questions about the UK's exclusionary policies that position Muslims outside national boundaries. In news, differentiation is evident in the reporting of Channel 4, which has a remit to represent minorities, and to some extent the BBC which, although subject to extensive criticism, does respond to this due to its role as a public service broadcaster (Poole, 2016). Local news appears to offer more inclusivity due to its target audience—the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, a newspaper that serves the multicultural cities of Leeds and Bradford, regularly includes positive coverage of community relations and interfaith activities (Knott et al., 2013). Recent reporting of Muslims in the UK (June 2017) has seen typical representations of Islamist-inspired terror attacks competing alongside supportive coverage following the Finsbury Park mosque attack, and the Grenfell tower fire which focused on community building amongst Muslim families (although reporting was still characterized by an aggressor-victim dichotomy). What this illustrates is the importance of fine-grained contextual studies to qualify any sweeping generalizations from meta-analysis. Nevertheless, this section shows how Islam is generally negativized in mainstream media and how the framework of reporting has consolidated over time (Holohan & Poole, 2011; Mertens & de Smaele, 2016). In this context, variety can merely amount to differentiating between "good" and "bad" Muslims, categorized as "moderate" only if they align themselves with dominant political policies and views (Kundnani, 2015).

METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Most studies examining issues of representation use a form of content analysis. The statistics used in this section come from Ahmed and Matthes' (2016) meta-analysis of 345 studies on Islam and the media as this provides a comprehensive overview of their methods as well as findings. According to this analysis, studies were mainly quantitative (53.6 percent) while 38.8 percent adopted an in-depth qualitative analysis. Only 7.5 percent used an advisable mixed-method approach. Large quantitative studies enable systematic representative samples to be analyzed which can provide an overview of patterns of representation across time and space. For example, Baker et al.'s (2013) corpus study of 200,037 UK newspaper articles between 1998 and 2008 allowed them to linguistically analyze the words most associated with Islam and Muslims and how these changed over time. Mertens and de Smaele's (2016) predominantly quantitative approach enabled a wide-ranging cross-cultural analysis. However, used alone, statistics can be deceiving; knowing that 42 percent of articles focus on violence does not reveal whether Muslims were the protagonists or victims of this. Readers should also be aware of the constructed and selective design of these studies and maintain a critical approach.

Qualitative studies have mostly utilized a thematic approach or framework analysis (a measure of importance placed on a subject). While often criticized for adopting a more subjective, small-scale methodology, Ahmed and Matthes (2016) meta-study substantiates the predominance of the themes discussed in this chapter. Critical discourse analysis can provide a more systematic qualitative approach and has been popular for examining the media's role in the cultural production of knowledge about Muslims (Poole, 2002; Richardson, 2004). Referring to the number of studies using these approaches, they argue that the use of "pre-constructed media categories" and "frequently used paradigms" limits innovation and encourages repetition, and call for new approaches to break the mold.

Many studies have also concentrated on press analysis (48.4 percent), mixed media (20.6 percent), and television (13 percent), with only 5.8 percent on the internet, and just 1 percent on radio (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016), predominantly due to the ease of access and coding of print forms; this has also limited the analysis of visual content (excluding the work of Fahmy, 2010).

These methodological differences sometimes result in contradictions in findings and highlight the need for longitudinal studies. Most studies have been short-term, from a month (26 percent), to between 6 to 24 months (24.5 percent). However, encouragingly, 16.5 percent of studies have examined a 5+ year period. These have shown the increasing volume of news on Islam and a greater focus on security, particularly within domestic contexts (Knott et al., 2013).

Only a few studies have examined the production of news about Muslims and audiences' reception of this (see Poole, 2002, 2014). Ahmed and Matthes (2016) found that only 5.2 percent of studies used focus groups, and 10.1 percent considered both media and audiences. Triangulation of methods is the best way to overcome the shortcomings of particular methodological approaches and provides a more holistic account of how meaning is produced in the communication process. If we understand texts as being polysemic and open to interpretation, audience studies are extremely important, particularly as the division between producers and audiences continues to collapse.

After providing an overview of the limitations of current scholarship, Ahmed and Matthes (2016) offer some pointers for future research. They note the limited geographical areas studied, with only 9.6 percent of studies focused on Muslim countries, particularly the Middle East, with virtually no attention to Africa, South America, and Asia. This is partly a product of their sample (English-speaking media), but also due to the structural bias in the development of social science research in these countries and depends on future investment in scholarship there. By addressing some of these gaps in scholarship, in extending cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary approaches, the geographical range could be also expanded.

Online digital media forms have been lauded as offering a place for self-representation, providing new possibilities to minority groups marginalized in the mainstream (Piela, 2010). Some authors have used the concept of "counter-publics" to demonstrate how political mobilizations can acquire influence in the mainstream public sphere under certain circumstances, particularly at times of crisis (Downey & Fenton, 2003). This has been illustrated by the visibility of various Twitter campaigns such as #blacklivesmatter. Foucault-Welles and Jackson (2015) showed how racialized minorities have intervened to counter dominant discourses when #myNYPD was "hijacked" as a way of demonstrating the treatment of minority groups by the police. A recent study of the #stopIslam campaign on Twitter following major terrorist incidents in Europe illustrates the dynamic patterns of interaction whereby initially negative propaganda, deriving from mostly alt-right opinion leaders in America, is countered by positive narratives supporting Muslims (Poole, Giraud and de Quincey, 2019). At times, this spilt over into mainstream news reporting before settling back into a predominantly negative campaign. This illustrates the complexities of communication in a global public sphere in which a myriad of voices are competing to be heard. While the limitations of these media forms have been well documented in both economic and structural terms (Dean, 2009), they also offer "new potentials for identity negotiation, visibility, and influence" (Foucault-Welles & Jackson, 2016) that require further, intensive investigation.

CONCLUSION

This chapter shows how ethnic minority groups have been represented within predominantly negative frameworks, such as conflict and criminality, in Western contexts. It demonstrates how at specific political moments of "moral panic" some groups are exposed to particularly explicit demonization. In the context of the "war on terror," historically racist tropes are repurposed, and Muslims have become the global Other in international news reporting. Perceived as both a security and a cultural threat, they have become a scapegoat for the insecurities and problems caused by post-Cold War neoliberal global economic and political restructuring. The shift in focus to "cultural" but not excluding ethnic difference has made Muslims a particular target; it has allowed for the construction of a narrative of cultural incompatibility, in which Muslims are perceived as the most problematic of minority groups within integrationist models of citizenship, and resulted in a "differentialist" racism according to Taguieff (quoted in Lentin & Titley, 2011).

In its reporting, the media offer a "preferred reading" of Islam, significantly contributing to public knowledge on a topic where it may be difficult to derive alternative interpretations. The lack of audience research in this area and the problem of correlating media content to public attitudes means it is difficult to measure the impact of media content.[11] Scholarship in this area has consistently shown how audiences actively negotiate with media texts and meaning is created through this process which has many socioeconomic intervening factors (Hall, 1980). However, given that many public surveys show increasing hostility to Muslims, especially after terrorist attacks, in both Europe (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2016) and the US (Ogan, Willnat, & Pennington, 2013), we can surmise some correspondence between this highly negative coverage and growing Islamophobia. Coverage that creates an "us and them" mentality is not only divisive in contributing to boundary making but can have a significant impact on Muslim identities, furthering alienation. Similarly, coverage creates a climate in which more repressive legislation can be enacted, both in domestic and international contexts, restricting civil liberties. Within this destructive environment, a securitization agenda has been widely adopted in Europe and the US and, with it, an integrationist approach to diversity which, it is argued, is necessary for security (Lentin, 2004).

In a time of intensely felt global instabilities, nationalist, and populist rhetoric appears to be on the rise; witness the call for a return to "British values" and to "Make America great again" in those countries, a nationalist specificity which combines with exclusivity according to Lentin (2004). And yet this apparently rightwards shift in politics has also been challenged by progressive movements: the defeat of populist parties in elections in the Netherlands, Austria, and France, as well as the recovery of the UK's Labour party in the 2017 election. In fact, Lentin and Titley (2011) argue that race has always been central to European political history. To suggest that current manifestations of racism are aberrations is not only to deny the racist legacies of the past but also to conceal its normative position across the political spectrum. However, the mediation of what appear to be fast changing circumstances fuels feelings of uncertainty. The terror news cycle contributes to this unease, sowing fear and division. In this context, an ethical journalism is required to provide an understanding of the political circumstances. Given the lack of political and economic will to change, this seems an insurmountable problem, but there have been some initiatives which have proven effective: educational projects—the teaching of media literacy in schools (Jackson, 2010, cited in Ahmed & Matthes, 2016); more contact between ethnic groups (Brockett & Baird, 2008); additional ethnic minority media workers; and anti-racist alliance building (Lentin, 2004). In a context where the underrepresentation of ethnic minority journalists is a key issue, Ewart and O'Donnell (2018) have developed a methodology for "transformative journalism." Journalists need to keep challenging the consensus politics in order to redefine and further diversify the stories about Muslims that need to be told.

NOTES

1. I use terms such as "Western" and "the media," that appear to overgeneralize, with the recognition that this simplifies a complex reality. The media is by no means a homogenous body that represents a particular minority group in one way. In using the term Western, I am referring to a geopolitical region, a set of countries that share similar economic, social, and cultural (and ideological) characteristics, which is sometimes now referred to (not unproblematically) as the Global North.
2. *Ethnicity* recognizes chosen affiliations based on heritage.
3. For further discussion of these complex political processes, see Poole (2002, pp. 32–41).
4. *The Satanic Verses* (1989), written by Indian-British author Salman Rushdie, was interpreted by some as being blasphemous against Islam. It led to an international outcry and a fatwa, issued by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, on Rushdie.
5. For more on these criticisms, see Poole (2002, pp. 28–32).
6. I am referring to studies largely from the UK not only due to the necessity of taking context into account but also due to a familiarity with this work. Some insight is also taken from studies of the US that have offered significant contributions to understanding the reporting of race and ethnicity.
7. Campbell (1995); Dayan (1998); Dyer (1997); Entman (1980); Fiske (1994) and Mercer (1998) all cited in Cottle (2000).
8. According to Ahmed and Matthes' (2016) meta-analysis of 345 studies on the media and Islam, a mean of 21.56 articles were published on the topic per year between 2000 and 2015.
9. In Ahmed and Matthes'(2016) study, 20.28 percent focused on the UK, the second largest researched country.
10. FBV defined as "democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs" (HM Government, 2013).
11. Some studies have tried to do this but are subject to immense criticism regarding their reliability and validity (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016).

REFERENCES

Ahmad, A. (1992). *In theory: Classes, nations, literatures*. London: Verso.

Ahmed, S., & Matthes, J. (2016). Media representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015: A meta-analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, *79*(3), 219–244. Retrieved from http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1748048516656305

Al-Azami, S. (2016). *Religion in the media: A linguistic analysis Hampshire*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ali, S. (2004). Post-race. In E. Cashmore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and ethnic studies* (pp. 323–325). London: Routledge.

Allen, C. (2010). *Islamophobia*. Farnham: Ashgate.
Baker, P., Gabrielatos, C., & McEnery, T. (2013). *Discourse analysis and media attitudes: The representation of Islam in the British press*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Banton, M. (2004a). Cultural racism. In E. Cashmore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and ethnic studies* (pp. 96–98). London: Routledge.
Banton, M. (2004b). Race: As classification. In E. Cashmore (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of race and ethnic studies* (pp. 331–335). London: Routledge.
Bayrakli, E., & Hafez, F. (2016). *European Islamophobia report*. Istanbul: SETA, Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research.
Bennett, D. (1998). *Multicultural states: Rethinking difference an identity*. London: Routledge.
Berger, J. (1972). *Ways of seeing*. London: Penguin.
Brockett, A., & Baird, P. (2008). Media influence on the attitudes and knowledge of York adolescents towards Islam, Muslims, the Middle East and Arabs. *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*, *1*(2), 165–185.
Bulman, M. (2017, July 7). Brexit vote sees highest spike in religious and racial hate crimes ever recorded. *The Independent*. Retrieved from www.independent.co.uk
Campbell, C. P. (1995). *Race, myth and the news*. London: Sage.
Clark, L., & Osborne, L. (2014, March 7). Islamist plot dubbed 'Trojan Horse' to replace teachers in Birmingham schools with radicals. *The Daily Mail*. Retrieved from www.dailymail.co.uk
Cottle, S. (1992). 'Race', racialisation and the media: A review and update of research. *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, *17*(2), 3–57.
Cottle, S. (2000). *Ethnic minorities in the media*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
Dayan, D. (1998). Particularistic media and diasporic communications. In T. Liebes & J. Curran (Eds.), *Media, ritual, identity* (pp. 103–113). London: Routledge.
Deacon, D., Downey, J., Harmer, E., Stanyer, J., & Wring, D. (2016). The narrow agenda: How the news media covered the Referendum. In D. Jackson, E. Thorsen, & D. Wring (Eds.), *EU referendum analysis 2016: Media, voters and the campaign, early reflections from leading UK academics* (p. 34). Bournemouth University: The Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture and Community.
Dean, J. (2009). *Democracy and other neoliberal fantasies: Communicative capitalism and left politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
De Smaele, H., & De Booser, D. (2016). The representation of Islam and Muslims in Russian Newspapers Kommersant' and Rossijskaya Gazeta. In S. Mertens & H. De Smaele (Eds.), *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis* (pp. 191–204). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
D'Haenens, L., & Bink, S. (2007). Islam in the Dutch press: With special attention to the Algemeen Dagblad. *Media, Culture and Society*, *29*(1), 135–149.
Downey, J., & Fenton, N. (2003). New media, counter publicity and the public sphere. *New Media & Society*, *5*(2), 185–202.
Dyer, R. (1997). *White: Essays on race and culture*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Entman, R.E. (1990). Modern racism and the images of Blacks in local television news. *Critical Studies in Mass Communications*, *7*(4), 332–345.
Ewart, J., & O'Donnell, K. (2018). *Reporting Islam: International best practice for journalists*. London: Routledge.
Fahmy, S. (2010). Contrasting visual frames of our times: A framing analysis of English- and Arabic-language press coverage of war and terrorism. *International Communication Gazette*, *72*(8), 695–717.
Featherstone, M. (2017). *Planet Utopia: Utopia, dystopia, globalisation*. London: Routledge.
Featherstone, M., Holohan, S., & Poole, E. (2010). Discourses of the war on terror: Constructions of the Islamic other in the wake of 7/7. *Journal of Media and Cultural Politics*, *6*(2), 169–186.
Fiske, J. (1994). *Media matters: Everyday culture and political change*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Foucault-Welles, B., & Jackson, S. J. (2015).Hijacking #myNYPD: Social media dissent and networked publics. *Journal of Communication*,*65*(6), 932–952.
Foucault-Welles, B., & Jackson, S. J. (2016). # Ferguson is everywhere: Initiators in emerging counter public networks. *Information, Communication & Society*, *19*(3), 397–418.

Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the press*. London: Psychology press.
Flood, C., Hutchings, S., Miazhevich., G., & Nickels, H.C. (2011). *Islam, security and television news*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
Georgiou, M., & Gumbert, G. (2006). *Diaspora, identity and the media: Diasporic transnationalism and mediated spatialities*. New York, NY: Hampton Press.
Gilroy, P. (1988). The end of antiracism. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.), *'Race', culture and difference* (pp. 49–61). London: Sage Publications.
Hafez, K. (2000). *Islam and the West in the mass media: Fragmented images in a globalizing world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In *Culture, media, language: Working papers in Cultural Studies, 1972–79* (pp. 128–138). University of Birmingham.
Hall, S. (1988). New ethnicities. In J. Donald & A. Rattansi (Eds.), *'Race', culture and difference* (pp. 252–259). London: Sage Publications.
Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage Publications.
Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., & Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state, and law and order*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Halliday, F. (1996). *Islam and the myth of confrontation: Religion and politics in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.
HM Government. (2013). Tackling extremism in the UK. *Report from the Prime Minister's task force on tackling radicalisation and extremism*. London. Retrieved from www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/263181/ETF_FINAL.pdf
Holohan, S. (2014). What is a cohesive community anyway? The role of mainstream media in narratives of (dis)integration. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, *7*(1), 27–45.
Holohan, S., & Poole, E. (2011). Three phases of representation 1994–2008: The reporting of British Islam. In S. Hutchings, C. Flood, G. Miazhevich, & H. Nickels (Eds.), *Islam in its international context: Comparative perspectives* (pp. 84–100). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press.
Huntington, S. P. (1996). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
Ichau, E., & d' Haenens, L. (2016). The representation of Islam and Muslims in Flemish TV news. In S. Mertens & H. De Smaele (Eds.), *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis* (pp. 91–108). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Jaspal, R., & Cinnirella, M. (2010). Media representations of British Muslims and hybridised threats to identity. *Contemporary Islam: Dynamics of Muslim Life*,*4*(3), 289–310.
Karim, K.H. (2000). *Islamic peril: Media and global violence*. Montreal: Black Books.
Khiabany, G., & Williamson, M. (2008). Veiled bodies—naked racism: Culture, politics and race in *The Sun*. *Race and Class*, *50*(2), 69–88.
Knott, K., Poole, E., & Taira, T. (2013). *Media portrayals of religion and the secular sacred*. Farnham: Ashgate.
Kumar, D. (2012). *Islamophobia and the politics of Empire*. Chicago, IL: Newmarket Books.
Kundnani, A. (2015). *The Muslim are coming: Islamophobia, extremism, and the domestic war on terror*. London: Verso.
Lams, L. (2016). Salience and representation of Islam and Uyghur Muslims in the Chinese communist party press. In S. Mertens & H. De Smaele (Eds.), *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis* (pp. 205–224). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Lentin, A. (2004). Multiculturalism and anti-racism? *Open Democracy*. Retrieved from www.opendemocracy.net/
Lentin, A., & Titley, G. (2011). *The crises of multiculturalism: Racism in a neoliberal age*. London: Zed.
Mercer, K. (1988). *Black film, British cinema*. ICA Documents 7. London: British Film Institute.
Mertens, S. (2016). European media coverage of Islam in a globalising world. In S. Mertens & H. De Smaele (Eds.), *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis* (pp. 59–74). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
Mertens, S., & De Smaele, H. (2016). *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Mertens, S., & d'Haenens, L. (2013). Cultural values in press reporting on Islam: The UK and Flanders compared. *Australian Journalism Review*, *35*(2), 35–45.

Moore, K., Mason, P., & Lewis, J. (2008). *Images of Islam in the UK: The representation of British Muslims in the national print news media 2000–2008*. Report published by Cardiff School of Journalism, Media, and Cultural Studies commissioned by Channel 4.

Morey, P., & Yaqin, A. (2011). *Framing Muslims: Stereotyping and representation after 9/11*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Muir, H., & Smith, L. (2011). Keeping your integrity and your job: Voices from the newsroom. In J. Petley & R. Richardson (Eds.), *Pointing the finger: Islam and Muslims in the British media* (pp. 152–168). London: Oneworld.

Munnik, M.B. (2017). From voice to voices: Identifying a plurality of Muslim sources in the news media. *Media, Culture and Society*, *39*(2), 270–281. Retrieved from http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0163443716686941

Ogan, C., Willnat, L., & Pennington, R. (2013). The rise of anti-Muslim prejudice: Media and Islamophobia in Europe and the United States. *International Communication Gazette*, *76*(1), 27–46.

Piela, A. (2010). Challenging stereotypes: Muslim women's photographic self-representations on the Internet. *Heidelberg Journal of Religion on the Internet*, *4*(1), 87–110.

Poole, E. (2002). *Reporting Islam: Media representations of British Muslims*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Poole, E. (2006). The effects of September 11 and the war in Iraq on British newspaper coverage. In E. Poole & J.E. Richardson (Eds.), *Muslims and the news media* (pp. 89–102). London: I.B. Tauris.

Poole, E. (2011). Change and continuity in the representation of British Muslims before and after 9/11: The UK context. *Global Media Journal—Canadian Edition*, *4*(2), 49–62.

Poole, E. (2012). The case of Geert Wilders: Multiculturalism, Islam and identity in the UK. *Journal of Religion in Europe*, *5*(2), 1–30.

Poole, E. (2014). 'Muslim media' and the politics of representation: Media and cultural responses to diversity issues in Britain. *Middle Eastern Journal of Communication and Culture*, *7*(1), 101–118.

Poole, E. (2016). Constructing 'British values' within a radicalisation narrative: The reporting of the Trojan Horse Affair. *Journalism Studies*, *19*(3), 376–391. Retrieved from www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1190664

Poole, E., Giraud., & de Quincey, E. (2019). #Contesting stop Islam: The dynamics of a narrative against right-wing populism. *Open Library of Humanities*. 5(1). Retrieved from https://olh.openlibhums.org/articles/10.16995/olh.406/

Rane, H., Ewart, J., & Martinkus, J. (2014). *Media framing of the Muslim world: Conflicts, crises and contexts*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richardson, J.E. (2004). *(Mis)representing Islam: The racism and rhetoric of British broadsheet newspapers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Rigoni, I. (2006). Islamic features in British and French Muslim media. In E. Poole & J.E. Richardson (Eds.), *Muslims and the news media* (pp. 74–86). London: I.B. Tauris.

Rigoni, I., & Saitta, E. (2012). *Mediating cultural diversity in a globalised public space*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Sardar, Z. (1999). *Orientalism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Silverman, M., & Yuval-Davis, N. (1998). Jews, Arabs and the theorization of racism in Britain and France. In A. Brah., M. Hickman, & M. Mac an Ghail (Eds.), *Thinking identities: Ethnicity, racism and culture* (pp. 25–48). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Travis, A. (2017, June 20). Anti-Muslim hate crime surges after Manchester and London Bridge attacks. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from www.theguardian.com

Van Dijk, T. (1991). *Racism and the press*. London: Routledge.

Verschooten, C., Amanullah, A., & Nijs, S. (2016). Framing ghar wapsi and Muslim identity in Indian print media. In S. Mertens & H. De Smaele (Eds.), *Representations of Islam in the news: A cross-cultural analysis* (pp. 225–244). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Wodak, R., de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Liebhart, K. (2009). *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Part VI

JOURNALISM STUDIES IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

31

History and Development of Journalism Studies as a Global Field

Liane Rothenberger, Irina Tribusean, Andrea C. Hoffmann, and Martin Löffelholz

INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the development of journalism studies by analyzing from a global viewpoint the dynamic construction, differentiation, and transformation of institutions relevant to the field, as well as the theoretical approaches employed and the paradigms, topics, and methods involved in research. It focuses on three main characteristics: (1) major methodological and conceptual schools; (2) seminal books or journals in the field; and (3) pioneering universities, colleges, or other academic institutions in offering journalism or communication studies.

Our discussion of the development of journalism studies as a field of research includes, to a limited extent, remarks on journalism education (see Chapter 4 for more details) and journalism practice as both of these relate to our topic. As we cannot describe every single achievement across the globe, we will focus on major trends accompanied by specific insights into various countries. Our descriptions and analyses are based on (1) literature in various languages on the development of journalism studies; (2) personal communications with researchers from countries where the literature is scarce; and (3) sources dealing with the development of the broader field of communication studies in various countries (e.g., Averbeck-Lietz, 2017; Simonson & Park, 2016). It is worth noting that this chapter is based on an extensive literature review; however, it may not always reflect the situation in each country in detail, which is partly due to language restrictions. We have used publications in English, French, German, Spanish, and Russian as a basis and have also consulted with colleagues from countries whose language we could not read in the original, such as China, Turkey, or the Philippines.

As starting points for tracing the development of journalism studies, we acknowledge the four-phase model of Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch (2009), which identifies its normative, empirical, sociological, and global-comparative phases, and the five-phase scheme suggested by Weischenberg and Malik (2008), which consists of beginnings, take-off, complexification, expansion, and current situation. However, as these developments vary greatly between countries, we decided to trace the development of journalism studies not chronologically but geographically, mindful that there are traditions and trends that go beyond any georegional classification. Some developments follow the confines of language, especially in the

English-speaking world. Other developments are linked to former colonial ties, particularly in some African, Asian, and Latin American countries. Moreover, there are striking differences in the development of journalism studies in the various world regions. Consider Western Europe, for instance, where in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, this is rooted in distinct traditions. The Europeanization of both journalism and journalism studies is a relatively new trend, and the nation-state, particularly the respective systems of higher education, is still crucial in determining the way journalism studies is organized. Space, however, prohibits us from devoting particular sections of this chapter to each country. Instead, we use a geo-regional classification while attempting at the same time to identify major trends that may run contrary to this scheme.

We examine the regions with the longest tradition of journalism studies starting with the United States and Western Europe. Subsequently, we describe the development of journalism studies in other regions, namely Russia and Central and Eastern Europe, the Arab world and Turkey, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, China, and India and other Asian countries. In the concluding section, we analyze whether there are global patterns in the development of journalism studies or whether there are regional differences that still dominate the field despite apparent economic globalization.

UNITED STATES

Journalism studies traces its roots to the United States. When the US industrialized in the wake of the Civil War (1861–1865), journalism, like other careers, experienced a wave of professionalization. Responding to the desire of journalists to become experts in their fields and to be distinguished from others, universities and colleges in the US introduced academic training for them (Folkerts, 2014).

In the 1860s, some universities began to experiment with journalism courses, with Cornell University and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) being the earliest among these pioneers. Journalism practitioners greeted the first academic trainees with great suspicion. However, the conflict over journalism education occurred within a society that was turning increasingly toward professionalization through university education. In fact, a key motivation for many journalism students was the promise of upward mobility. By the turn of the 20th century, many citizens perceived journalism as an emerging profession whose editors and writers now belonged to the middle class (Folkerts, 2014).

Between 1870 and 1900, the number of journalism courses at universities increased threefold. By 1900, public universities in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri also offered courses. In 1908, the University of Missouri was the first institution to establish a separate unit that awarded its graduates a specific degree in journalism. Universities in Wisconsin, New York, Washington, Georgia, Nebraska, and Ohio followed this example and established similar programs exclusively dedicated to journalism. By 1920, several private universities followed this trend as well. Following World War I, college enrollments increased dramatically in journalism schools, as they did in other programs. According to a report issued by the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1928, 430 individuals were teaching 5,526 students spread over 55 institutions in the country (Folkerts, 2014). The first academic journal, the *Journalism Bulletin*, was founded in 1924, and renamed *Journalism Quarterly* in 1928. Nevertheless, despite all this academic activity, the dominant belief among media scholars and practitioners was that a proper newsroom experience was of “undoubtedly greater value” for the formation of journalists than an academic institution (Higginbotham, 1924, p. 10). Indeed, academic papers were still discussing whether journalism ought to be considered a "profession" at all (Miller, 1924). As early journalism education programs concentrated on teaching journalistic skills like writing and editing, instead of providing a theoretical grounding, the challenge was to combine professional skills with the acquisition of social science techniques (Folkerts, 2014). Willard G. Bleyer introduced journalism as a social science during the 1920s, leading to a divide between "the 'professionals' and the 'researchers,' or what was in later years commonly referred to as the green-eye shades of the copy editor desk versus the chi-squares of the quantitative research world" (Folkerts, 2014, p. 234). Bleyer was also the leader of the group of 18 journalism educators who created the American Association of Teachers of Journalism on November 30, 1912, and was elected its first president. Today, the organization, now known as the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, has 3,700 members from 50 countries, 18 divisions, 10 interest groups, and 2 commissions.

Building on developments in the 1930s, journalism education and systematic empirical research on journalism began to take off in the following decade starting in the US and spreading to other countries. The establishment of a new world order after World War II, as well as the increasing US influence on international bodies like the UNESCO, further contributed to this development. However, whereas some countries, for instance, those in Scandinavia, very rapidly adopted the Anglo-Saxon role model (Hyvönen, Snickars, & Vesterlund, 2018), others, like Germany, took longer to leave their traditions behind. In 1956, Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm published the seminal work *Four Theories of the Press* (Kleinsteuber, 2004; Lambeth, 1995). Although scholars criticized this conceptualization for being too normative and lacking "explanatory power" (Ostini & Ostini, 2002, p. 45), it was widely discussed and had an enormous impact on the way the Western world regarded itself and others (see also Chapter 32 in this book). With the increasing importance of empirical research methods in sociology and other social sciences, journalism research changed its focus from normative approaches to empirical and sociological theories and to the question of professionalization (Schudson & Anderson, 2009).

Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman (1976) conducted the first representative survey of US journalists in 1971, focusing on occupations and contextual factors. David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit replicated and expanded their work in the 1980s with several follow-ups (Weaver & Wilhoit, 1986, 1996; Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes, & Wilhoit, 2007; Willnat, Weaver, & Wilhoit, 2017). As another analytical step, Weaver (1998) and, more than a decade later, Weaver and Willnat (2012) edited volumes compiling various empirical studies on journalists worldwide, finding more differences than similarities. In addition, the academic journals *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies* were introduced in 2000, to be followed in 2004 by the establishment of the first section specializing in journalism studies in international communication fora: the Journalism Study Interest Group in the International Communication Association (ICA) (Hanitzsch, Löffelholz, & Weaver, 2005), which became a division two years later. The idea came from German academic Thomas Hanitzsch, indicating an increasing international exchange in research activities. The Journalism Studies Section in the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA) was founded in 2005, followed by the Journalism Research and Education Section in the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) in 2008. In the same year, David H. Weaver and his German colleague Martin Löffelholz published *Global Journalism Research*. Taken together, these developments indicate that the time was ripe for the institutionalization of journalism scholarship at the international level, which was primarily driven by European and US researchers.

WESTERN EUROPE

At the onset of industrialization and the professionalization of journalism, interest in the latter as a field of study also emerged in Europe. In the United Kingdom, this professionalization started in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. With the foundation of the National Association of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists in 1907, British journalists became more visible as an occupational group that eschewed university training. The first journalism training course was founded in 1937 at the University of London but failed after two years because of industry criticism that it was too theoretical and out of touch with the reality of journalism (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008).

The media boom starting in the late 1960s and early 1970s resulted in an increasing number of university departments mainly due to the large numbers of interested students and a high demand for practical courses and applied media studies. In relation to this, reflections on the effects of commercialized media products on society began to develop (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). In 1962, the then Harris College, which later became part of the University of Central Lancashire, launched the first print journalism course. A new focus on audiences became part of journalism studies in 1964, when the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies was founded in Birmingham, followed by the Centre for Mass Communication Research in Leicester in 1966 by James Halloran, and the Centre for Television Research in Leeds by Jay Blumler in 1968. The latter showed a close connection with the emerging popular broadcasting culture that it resolved to analyze (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). Jeremy Tunstall's (1971) book *Journalists at Work* was "among the earliest research-based studies in journalism, exemplifying the approach of pioneering studies in the sociology of journalism" (Wahl-Jorgensen & Franklin, 2008, p. 175). Journalists and journalistic production processes as research objects also became prominent in the studies of scholars like Frank Esser (1999), who compared British and German journalists. Another theme, which spurred attention to the profession at the time, was a perceived threat to press freedom posed by increased media concentration—which, for example, led to a survey of Dutch journalists by Kempers and Wieten (1976).

In Germany, the first observed scholarly attempts to analyze journalism began as early as 1845, when Robert Eduard Prutz published *Geschichte des Journalismus* (History of Journalism). The German field of *Zeitungswissenschaft* (newspaper studies) developed in the tradition of these early studies and had a rather eclectic approach in analyzing selected journalists and exploring their outstanding personalities (Weischenberg & Malik, 2008). In so doing, they did not pay much attention to issues related to journalistic training and to journalism in general. Academic courses at German universities focused on individuals, their biographies, and journalistic talent for a long time (Dovifat, 1931). Emil Dovifat's normative remarks about the importance of journalistic talent and personality traits dominated journalism research well into the 1970s (Hanitzsch, 2005). Like Dovifat, the academic Kurt Baschwitz worked as a journalist in Germany. Due to the Nazi regime, he emigrated to the Netherlands in 1933 and founded the first European journal of communication studies, *Gazette*, in 1955 (Simonson & Park, 2016).

The first people appointed to serve as professors of *Zeitungswissenschaft*, such as Walter Hagemann, Fritz Eberhard, Leo Schlichting, Otto B. Roegele, Karl Weber, and Harry Pross, were chosen not because of scholarly achievements but because of their reputation and practical experience at various newspapers or broadcasting stations (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016). In 1969, Manfred Rühl adopted some of the US approaches in his work on the news desk as an organized social system. Additionally, some influences of Scandinavian scholarship on news values brought an empirical perspective to Germany (Hanitzsch, 2005; Weischenberg & Malik, 2008). Empirical studies by Kepplinger (1979) and Weischenberg, Löffelholz, and Scholl (1993) followed.

In France, it was not until 1975 that the *Sciences de l'information et de la communication* (information and communication sciences) were formally recognized as an actual discipline (Averbeck-Lietz & Löblich, 2016). The French state wanted to examine the intricacies and effects of the new "information society" heavily affected by new media technologies like the typical French Minitel (Wiedemann & Meyen, 2016, p. 67). This technological device, a videotext online service accessible through telephone lines, offered completely new possibilities of communication and enlarged the capacity of French citizens to socially network and access information on demand. Because of this, it was heavily resisted by the French press, which feared a loss of readership. The first theses dealing with the profession of journalism in France were written in the 1970s by Josianne Jouët and Francis Balle (Pélissier & Demers, 2014). The latter became director of the Institut des Sciences de la Presse in Paris in 1976. Starting in 1968, this institute opened up not only to Anglo-Saxon mainstream sociology of journalism but also to other approaches such as constructivist and interactionist paradigms (Pélissier & Demers, 2014).

In Spain, geographically close to France but politically different at the time, the Franco regime tried to influence journalism training. Besides the Church, which had its own training centers, the educational centers of the Ministry of Information offered vocational and technical training for audio-visual media. In 1962, the *Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía* (Official School of Film) was opened, followed by the *Escuela Oficial de Radiodifusión y Televisión* (Official School of Radio and Television) five years later (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017). In the 1970s, universities incorporated studies of journalism and communication into their academic programs, which therefore now depended on the Ministry of Education rather than the Ministry of Information (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017). Journals such as *Comunicación y Sociedad* (Communication and Society) were established in the 1980s. The first universities to offer majors in journalism were Universidad Complutense Madrid, University of Navarra in Pamplona, and Universidad Autónoma Barcelona. The professors were no longer practitioners, instead: "Most of the first associate and full professors in the field who got tenure in the second part of the 1970s (Benito, Desantes, Lara, Martínez Albertos, Nieto, Núñez Ladevéze, Orive) had a degree in law or in humanities" (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017, p. 88). As in other countries like Italy and France, politicians and scholars realized "the need for progress in the reform of media studies: the new media landscape and the new media professions demanded reform of communication education that could not be limited to training of journalists" (López-Escobar & Martín Algarra, 2017, p. 87).

In the 1990s and 2000s, research in communication studies, including journalism and television, increased in both Spain and Portugal. Empirical studies in particular gained momentum. US-born researcher Nelson Traquina, who became a professor at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa in 1982, made crucial contributions to the field owing to his involvement in empirical research projects and the translation of relevant Western scientific literature into Portuguese. Several research journals appeared and the first associations were founded. At the same time, Spain and Portugal strengthened their research ties with the international environment. This was exemplified by their increased participation in the annual meetings of the ICA, IAMCR, and ECREA, as well as the fruitful cooperation between Brazil and Portugal that clearly indicates the two countries' language ties (Ribeiro, 2016).

Looking at the north of Europe, we note a close cooperation in journalism research that could be due to geographical proximity. The journal *Nordicom*, for example, "provides a dedicated forum for articles that contribute to the wider understanding of media, mediated communication and journalism in the Nordic region of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden" (*Nordicom Review*, 2018, p. 1).

Even if the developments are diverse, Western Europe shows a rather coherent standard of empirical journalism research. Programs of ECREA conferences and cross-EU projects demonstrate a continuous exchange of ideas and joint research activities (e.g., Albæk, Dalen, Jebril, & De Vreese, 2014). However, the ECREA membership list indicates that institutions from Western Europe, particularly the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, or German-speaking countries, still dominate the association, while the Russian Federation or other Eastern European countries are less strongly represented.

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

According to Nordenstreng (1969), the first journalism-related research efforts in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were audience studies initiated in the 1920s by Lenin's wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya. However, broadcasting research suffered from a depression between the late 1930s and the early 1960s, perhaps due to the impact of World War II and the period of Stalinism from the mid-1920s until Stalin's death in 1953. From the early 1960s, sociological, social-psychological, and information-theoretical research related to broadcasting activities was increasingly carried out, mostly in the departments of sociology and journalism in universities and academic institutes in various parts of the Soviet Union. The largest single center of radio and television research was the Scientific and Methodological Section of the Radio and Television Committee in Moscow, with 20 permanent researchers trained in the School of Journalism at the Lomonosov Moscow State University (Nordenstreng, 1969).

After World War II, the USSR reorganized its journalism education in state universities, establishing it as a program in philological departments. The study programs were controlled by the Communist Party applying Soviet normative media theory, which justified strong ideological control (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). This ideological base was also applied to the establishment of media studies in other socialist countries, predominantly in Eastern Europe. Addressing this ideological bias, Western scholars heavily criticized Soviet research as nonscientific. Bayley (1966) claimed that no transparent methodology existed in Soviet research as the prescribed Marxist-Leninist analysis eliminated statistical formalism and empiricism: "In the Soviet Union, in fact, empirical social research which avoids the Marxist-Leninist social bases and methodology is strictly forbidden" (p. 736). In 1966, Moscow University published the inaugural issue of *Vestnik* (Herald), "the first truly scholarly Russian-language periodical devoted exclusively to topics in journalism" (Bayley, 1966, p. 733). Research was mainly theoretical, and, if empirical, was subjected to Marxist-Leninist analyses of socioeconomic issues (Bayley, 1966). Journalism education focused on language, opinion, and talent (Gross, n.d.). In the 1980s, however, libertarian and social responsibility theories became popular (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). Russian academics used the concept of *glasnost* (openness), standing for more transparency and autonomy in the USSR in the late 1980s, to "challenge previous theories and support media transformations based on Western ideals of free and open societies" (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017, p. 164). In the early 2000s, Russian researchers started to adapt Western concepts and research methods for empirical studies (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017). *Glasnost* and *perestroika* ("transparency" and "reformation") opened the doors for both Russian and Western scholars, encouraging mutual exchange of conceptual ideas and methodological considerations.

The new discourse on journalism theories in Russia commenced in the early 21st century, focusing on the relationship between journalism and society. Relevant here are, among others, sociological and political theories of journalism, which have developed successfully, especially in St. Petersburg. According to a report of a conference on journalism theories in Russia, progress in developing theoretical ideas is visible in research on the

> sociology of journalism, phenomenological issues of journalism (St. Petersburg & Moscow schools of studies), psychology of journalism, media discourse theory, media economics, typologies of media multimedia journalism (Moscow school), linguistic media studies (Moscow, Voronezh, & Ural schools), and the theory of genres (Voronezh & Moscow schools of studies).
> (Sidorov, 2011, p. 209)

In countries of Central and Eastern Europe, significant changes happened after the collapse of the USSR. Ruling communist parties no longer controlled journalism research and education. Borders were opened, offering opportunities for scientific exchange with Western countries and access to international publishing. Curricula for journalism academic studies were reorganized in many countries, including Bulgaria and Romania. In the Czech Republic, the Faculty of Journalism at Charles University was closed in May 1990 and replaced by a Faculty of Social Sciences, which continues to train journalists but—unlike under Soviet influence—with a stronger focus on social science research (Köpplová, Jirák, & Němcová Tejkalová, 2018).

In former Czechoslovakia, journalism studies was already present in the first half of the 20th century: here, the predecessors of the Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism of Charles University in Prague "played a crucial role" in establishing the field (Köpplová et al., 2018, p. 171). The Free School of Political Sciences was founded in 1928, providing academic training for journalists and others until the Nazis seized power. The Institute of Edification and Newspapering was established at Charles University in 1960. With the invasion of Soviet troops in 1968 and the end of the Prague Spring, the Institute was transformed into a Faculty of Journalism along Soviet lines (Köpplová et al., 2018).

In Poland, researchers initiated work in the 1960s and 1970s on methodological aspects of mass media research (Peplinski, 2009). Analytical approaches to problem formulation, data analysis, and interpretation gained momentum. Institutional aspects of mass communication, content, and functions of the mass media, as well as press freedom, were at the forefront of research, while audience research was neglected for political reasons. The authoritarian regime led by the Communist Party regarded media usage data from empirical studies as a political risk, fearing that there was a considerable gap between the normative claim that state propaganda exercised a broad impact in the media and how this influence was actually realized in practice (Peplinski, 2009). In 1995, the Polish Higher Education Council named the hitherto existing journalism-related study programs "Journalism and Social Communication," but journalism as a field of study was formally non-existent until 2009 (Adamowski, 2009). After the collapse of the communist regimes, in-depth research on national journalism has been seriously neglected primarily due to a lack of funding for empirical research (Nygren, 2012).

In Estonia, empirical research also began in the mid-1960s. At that time, the sociological laboratory of Tartu University organized annual conferences that "bridged the gap between empirical media studies, which were rapidly developing in Estonia as elsewhere in the Soviet Union, and the contemporary theoretical paradigms of Western mass communication research" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 80). However, collaboration with researchers from abroad was not welcomed by the communist regime and was limited to a few personal contacts with Finnish researchers. During the 1960s and until the 1980s, Estonian journalism researchers used various approaches and theories, such as structural functionalism and uses and gratifications theory. However, the findings of those studies, as well as the research of other Soviet scholars, did not reach the international scientific community because of the Iron Curtain. But even though the "original communication models and methodological schemes" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 88) developed by Estonian researchers long remained cut off from both international and Soviet scientific centers and debate, they increasingly gained visibility at the international level after 1990. At that time, new research projects were "primarily influenced by the theory of public sphere and critical media analysis, social constructivism, and the methodology of social representations and critical discourse analysis" (Vihalemm, 2001, p. 88). Taken together, the radical political changes affected both Eastern and Western European countries. Nevertheless, the consequences differed. While journalism researchers from Russia and Eastern Europe increasingly adapted theories and empirical studies from the US and Western Europe, the knowledge of many Western scholars about the traditions and developments in Eastern Europe and other regions outside the transatlantic bridge remained limited.

THE ARAB WORLD AND TURKEY

As in the case of communication studies in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe, communication studies, or "information studies" (Ayish, 2016, p. 747), in Arab countries also had its share of historical Western political influences, here mostly from France and the US. This resulted in a situation where journalism studies in Arab countries owes its identity "more to Western than to indigenous traditions" (Ayish, 2016, p. 747). The Ecole Nationale Supérieure de Journalisme (National School of Journalism), following the French model, was founded in Algiers in 1962, the year of Algeria's independence from France. Similarly, the US model of journalism studies was influential in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. The Egyptian model of education, combining more theoretical and practical journalism training and less influenced by the humanities and social sciences, defined the structure and contents of Iraq's first journalism program at Baghdad University in 1964 and at Sudan's Um Durman University in 1966. In Egypt itself, the faculty of Journalism and Mass Communication at Cairo University was established in 1975.

The first scholarly journals on journalism and media—*al magalaa al masreyaa lebehooth alalaam* (Egyptian Journal of Mass Communication) and *al magalaa al masreyaa lelbahth elraay el aam* (Egyptian Journal of Public Opinion Research)—appeared in the last decade of the 20th century. During this period, globalization and digitalization strongly influenced journalism education and research in the Arab world. At the beginning of the 1990s, the introduction of global media, especially satellite TV, generated discussions on its impact on the cultural and traditional landscape of the region. Further, curricula were adjusted and subjects related to digital communication and related topics were introduced, leading to a decreased number of courses about journalistic skills in favor of courses about new market-driven specializations (e.g., public relations, advertising, new media, and social networks). Similarly, these topics attracted the increasing attention of researchers, especially after the Arab Spring from 2010 to 2012 (Ayish, 2016). Besides participating in international associations, academics founded regional organizations, like the Arab Association of Communication Sciences in 2014, to address specific interests.

In Turkey, during the 1960s and 1970s, journalism studies focused on, among other subjects, media education and broadcasting. When the country liberalized its markets in the 1980s, there was an increase in the analysis of media corporations and journalistic behavior. The 1990s brought changes to the Turkish journalism education system. In 1992, colleges and institutes of journalism merged into Departments of Communication, which are chaired by Professors of Communication Science. Today, there are around 80 Departments of Communication Science in Turkey, both state-owned and private-owned. Until 2005, these departments had three specializations: Journalism; Public Relations; and Radio, TV, and Film. Since 2005, Advertising, Visual Communication and Design, and Media Systems have been added. The end of the state monopoly on the radio and TV market and the development of privately owned channels in the 1990s generated a rising interest in popular cultural studies and media ethics research. Additionally, the relationship between politics and media, including the developing public relations field, gained popularity among researchers. However, both journalism education and research have been affected by the dearth of original theory and methodology, according to one Turkish scholar's assessment.[1]

Since 2000, the regime of Turkey's authoritarian leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has gradually captured political control of the media landscape. Arrests of journalists, which started in 2008, and increasing pressure from the government have forced many journalists to resign or even leave the country (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012). While restrictions on media freedom can hardly be analyzed under these conditions, Turkish academics—like many researchers in other countries—are currently concentrating in particular on the consequences of digitalization for journalism (Çaba, 2018; Uçak, 2018).

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

British, French, Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Dutch colonizers, each bringing with them their own theoretical and methodological approaches, influenced journalism studies in Africa. Considering this diversity, a scholar cannot analyze African media research using a unitary framework (Kivikuru, 2009). Instead, experts should assess African countries and many regions cutting across national boundaries in their own political, economic, cultural, and ethnic contexts.

The first Westerners to engage in media research and journalism education in Sub-Saharan Africa were missionaries. In Namibia, for example, Finnish missionaries started the first media projects in the 19th century (Kivikuru, 2009). In West Africa, at the beginning of the 20th century, there "were some rudimentary research activities which can be best described as scanty in volume and scope and anecdotal in quality" (Edeani, 1988, p. 152). According to Edeani (1988), one of the first relevant books, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* by Frederick D. Lugard, published in 1922, described the press in the region and the public perception of journalists, but it was based on personal observation instead of systematic empirical research. The study "Broadcasting in Africa" by Hilda Matheson, published in the *African Affairs* journal, followed in 1935. In South Africa, H. Lindsay Smith conducted the first serious scholarly analysis of the press as a whole in 1946 (Beer & Tomaselli, 2000). In his book *An African Survey* (1957), Sir Malcolm Hailey published a 23-page account of the development, ownership, character, and influence of the print and electronic mass media in colonial Africa.

Independent of the colonial administration, there were also private citizens engaging in research. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who established the newspaper *West African Pilot* in Nigeria in 1937 (Ojomo, 2015), and E. Bankole Timothy from Sierra Leone were among the pioneers who conducted studies on their own and without the involvement of Westerners. Their approaches consisted of the historical method of exposition, polemical commentary, the gathering of personal impressions, and observations that resulted in a rather descriptive presentation of findings about the press in British West Africa (Edeani, 1988). Nevertheless, UNESCO's Report No. 21, which reviewed the state of mass communication research in the world in 1956, concluded that there was no single African country in which a scientific study in mass communication had been undertaken at that point (Musa, 2009). In the subsequent period up to the 1960s, research evolved due to the active involvement of the British colonial government and African nationalists, as they became increasingly aware of the power of the media before and during World War II (Edeani, 1988). US-based scholars promoting the paradigm of modernization, such as Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm, and Everett Rogers, shaped the emerging scholarship on media and communication studies in African universities, primarily disseminated through UNESCO journalism training programs at the beginning of the 1960s (Willems, 2014).

Studies became less sporadic and more systematic as the British Colonial Office began sponsoring research on the development and the functions of mass media. In that context, the BBC started researching on behalf of the Colonial Office (Edeani, 1988). More and more foreign scholars became involved in African communication research, and the number of studies increased rapidly—a phenomenon that ran in parallel with the independence movements of the same period. While early journalism research was strongly skills-oriented, it later diversified considerably, discussing a variety of topics (Kivikuru, 2009). Even though academic research had been developing during the previous decades, it was not until 1980 that a scholarly journal, *Ecquid Novi*, entered the market of scholarly publications. The beginning of the 1990s found African scholars "increasingly challenging and resisting Western epistemologies, while proposing new concepts such as 'oramedia' and 'indigenous communication' and designing alternative research methodologies and formulating normative ethical frameworks based on the principle of ubuntu" (Willems, 2014, p. 426). While the term *oramedia* refers to folk media based on indigenous culture, the term *ubuntu* is associated with the Zulu phrase *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* ("I am a person through other persons"), thus emphasizing the interconnectedness of human beings and forming part of a "broader humanist philosophy" (Willems, 2014, p. 428). Ubuntu is part of the ethics of African journalism by attributing moral decisions to human beings. Journalists must therefore take account of the community in their decisions and should promote harmonious coexistence through their reporting (Metz, 2015). However, many countries south of the Sahara are experiencing financial difficulties and are therefore still partly dependent on donors, especially from Western countries, for the further development of higher education and research. This dependence led to "a resurgence of epistemic domination . . . through an often uncritical application of normative, liberal-democratic theory to media and communication" (Willems, 2014, p. 426). For this reason, the neglect of indigenous traditions and ideas with which most African countries were confronted during colonial times still seems to exert a certain influence on today's research, even though many donors may explicitly not intend to do so (Kivikuru, 2009).

LATIN AMERICA

Since South and Central American countries mostly gained independence from their Spanish and Portuguese colonizers in the 19th century (e.g., Mexico in 1821 and Brazil in 1822), the colonial past of the continent did not have a direct impact on the establishment of journalism education and research. Close language ties remain and allow for easy cooperation and staff exchanges between the countries of the region and with Spain and Portugal as former colonizers. However, with the advent of empirical journalism research in the 1960s and beyond, US and other international influences have gained in importance.

In Mexico, the first journalism school, called "Carlos Septién García," was founded in 1949 (Hernández Ramírez & Schwarz, 2008). Besides journalistic practices and tools, the curricula included theory and methodology from a range of social science disciplines. Since the early 1960s, broadly conceptualized degrees in communication studies have replaced journalism programs in Mexico and other Latin American countries. The goal of education shifted from the formation of journalists to that of "social communicators," as recommended by UNESCO and promoted through the International Center of Superior Communication Science (CIESPAL) in Quito, Ecuador (Hernández Ramírez & Schwarz, 2008). The center was founded by UNESCO in 1959 and aims at contributing "to critical and plural reflection of the emerging problems of communication from an emancipatory perspective, promoting Latin American thought and critical theory in the fields of science, innovation and ancestral wisdom" (CIESPAL, Objectives of the Institution, 2018, para. 1).

Even though there is an observable transference of theory and methods from Portugal and Spain to the former colonies, the US journalism studies tradition exerted greater influence in the region in the 1960s, especially in Mexico, where US scholars conducted mostly quantitative empirical research (Fuentes-Navarro, 1996). During the next decade, Mexican scholars started to develop their own paradigms, with studies focusing, for instance, on press concentration, media structures, and organizational, ideological, and financial aspects of newspapers. Owing to the influence of UNESCO, which focused on the democratic and liberal aspects of the media, scholars then switched to research and discussion of media—government relationships and dependencies. In 1986, Gabriel González Molina introduced the concept of news values in Mexican journalism research (Hernández Ramírez & Schwarz, 2008) and triggered subsequent research about the sociology, processes, and routines of news production. At the beginning of the 1990s, Mexican journalism research was characterized by both a growing influence of sociological approaches and an increasing professionalization. In addition, more empirical studies were carried out, especially using content analyses and ethnographic methods. At the beginning of the new century, as expected, the internet became the most studied medium, followed by TV. This development, and the distancing of the press from political power, generated an interest in the transformation of journalism as a profession.

In Brazil, the first theoretical texts on journalism date back to the early 20th century. The first formal school of journalism was founded in São Paulo in 1942 and was named after its owner, Cásper Líbero, who was a media entrepreneur with an interest in professionalizing the emerging journalism market, under the influence of European and American models. The influence of UNESCO on the development of training in journalism schools was also visible in Brazil (Moreira & Lago, 2017), where journalism studies became a part of the field of applied social sciences. Hernández Ramírez and Schwarz (2008, p. 211) noted that "[d]espite the very heterogeneous conditions of Latin American countries, it can be stated that empiric investigation on communication and journalism in the launching period (the late 1960s and the early 1970s) was significantly influenced by the UNESCO developmental parameters."

The programs focused on a general professional "social communicator" profile, aiming to provide competences in journalism, advertising, public relations, film, or radio and television (Moreira & Lago, 2017). In the 1960s, periodical journals such as *Cadernos de Jornalismo* were established, postgraduate programs were developed, and José Marques de Melo wrote the first Brazilian doctoral thesis on journalism at São Paulo University (Meditsch & Segala, 2005). In the 1980s, the number of journalism schools grew from around 20 to 51, and all this happened under the military government (1964–1985) as part of a reorganization policy regarding selected professions, which increased the number of higher education degree programs. It is worth noting that in Brazil, from 1970 to 2009, a journalism diploma was mandatory in order to work in a newsroom (Moreira & Lago, 2017). For the Brazilian research environment, the 1990s and 2000s were a period where journalism expanded and consolidated, slowly following international trends (Meditsch & Segala, 2005). New academic publications appeared (e.g., *Pauta Geral*, *Estudos em Jornalismo e Mídia*, and *Brazilian Journalism Research*), the Journalism Studies Advanced Laboratory was created, and the Brazilian Society of Journalism

Researchers (SBPJor) was established in 2003—all indicators of a continuing institutionalization of the discipline.

CHINA

In China, journalists' first attempts at journalism research predated the 20th century. In 1895, for example, Liang Qichao published an article about the five press benefits (education of talents, protection of national boundaries, increasing the knowledge of elites, supervision of officials for the elimination of malpractices, and presentation of petitions). Moreover, in 1902, he published another article about the two functions of the press (watchdog of the government and guide of the masses; see Zhengrong, Deqiang, & Lei, 2016).

Journalism studies was officially introduced in 1918, when Xu Baohuang created the module "Outline of Journalism" at Peking University and contributed to the creation of the Association of Journalism Study. In the following year, he obtained the first professorship specifically devoted to journalism studies and published the textbook *Xin Wen Xue* (Journalism; influenced by US authors). The first academic journal in China devoted to research in this area, *Xin Wen Zhou Kan* (Journalism Weekly), was published in 1919. During the 1920s, five other universities in China (St. John's University and Fudan University in Shanghai, Xiamen University in Xiamen, and Pingmin University and Yenching University in Beijing) established journalism programs, mostly in the departments of political science or Chinese literature (Zhengrong et al., 2016).

There is no record of academic journalism research or journalism education in China throughout the civil war in the 1930s and 1940s (Pan, Chan, & Lo, 2008) and, later on, communication research was also limited during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Indeed it would be an American scholar, Judy Polumbaum (1990), who would conduct the first in-depth study of China's journalism (Pan, Chan, & Lo, 2008). Nevertheless, research in the field began to develop after the 1980s, when Western theories were imported (Simonson & Park, 2016) and social scientific methods were introduced. These were not widely taught until the end of the 1990s, however (Pan et al., 2008), and even then the basic research methods employed by Chinese scholars remained policy annotations and analytical arguments.

Journalism and communication studies officially became an independent discipline in academia in 1997, when all universities were required to operate a full range of degree programs (i.e., bachelors, masters, and PhD) (Zhengrong et al., 2016). The development of the media market has influenced the body of research being undertaken. Market-oriented journalism, such as urban newspapers or civic TV programs, has drawn considerable attention. Today, examining various facets of journalists and journalism using empirical methods is a mainstay in journalism research. However, some writings are still based on impressionistic observations and lack a theoretical perspective (Pan, Chan, & Lo, 2008). Indeed, during the last 30 years, journalism studies in China has lost popularity in favor of communication studies, partly following the argument that "journalism has no theory" (Zhengrong et al., 2016, p. 382).

INDIA AND OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES

In India, the colonial past largely influenced both the media industry and journalism research and education. Indian journalism began in 1780 with the founding of the first weekly political newspaper, the *Bengal Gazette*, by Irish businessman James Hicky. Journalism education started more than 160 years later in 1941 at Lahore's Punjab University with a 1-year part-time diploma course, which moved to New Delhi after 7 years (Dua, 2009). During India's struggle for independence, the institutionalization of journalism education stagnated. However, later, in 1948, journalism was instituted as an academic subject in various Indian universities, such as the University of Calcutta, the Osmania University in Andhra Pradesh, and Nagpur University in Maharashtra (Dua, 2009).

Several American universities offered help in advancing these programs. UNESCO, together with a team of US experts including Wilbur Schramm, supported the establishment of the Indian Institute of Mass Communication (IIMC) in New Delhi in 1965, which became a landmark in media and communication education in the country (Dua, 2009; Eapen in Murthy, 2011). Consequently, journalism education slowly moved away from the British system and toward the US model during that time (Murthy, 2011), with English being the lingua franca in Indian research.

In Indonesia, the term *publisistik*, originating from Dutch colonialists, was used for departments until then President Suharto issued a decree in 1982, advocated by Indonesian scholars who studied in the US, to have it replaced by the broader term *ilmu komunikasi* (communication studies).[2] Gradually, scientists applied theories and research methods that originated in the US, while at the same time Suharto's regime banned Marxist thinking not only in political but also in scientific discourses until the authoritarian leader was ousted in May 1998 (Taylor, 2003).

A recent challenge common to many Asian countries, including India, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Vietnam, is to maintain a high-profile quality professional body for journalism education and research (Muppidi, 2008). In the Philippines, there is still a strong Western (specifically US) influence in both journalism education and research. It can be partially explained by both the Philippines' colonial past under US authorities and later the efforts and popularity of US-funded programs, such as Fulbright scholarships or USAID projects.[3]

CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

Journalism studies throughout the world continues to face many challenges. The consequences of globalization or rapid technological developments, for example, have influenced the international research agenda for many years. Stephanie Averbeck-Lietz and Maria Löblich (2017) have identified different impulses triggering developments in communication studies that extend to journalism studies as well. These impulses include not just political or legal regulations (e.g., structure of universities) but also general forms of governments (e.g., liberal democracies versus authoritarian regimes); technological innovations (e.g., TV, Minitel); and the societal need for "communicators" (e.g., news journalists, radio anchors, and PR agents) in different industrial sectors. In addition, journalism studies are confronted with a number of specific regional constraints. In many countries, major social and political events interrupted the development of research and the growth of journalism studies as an academic subject (e.g., the Franco dictatorship in Spain, the communist era in the former USSR member countries, the fight for independence in Africa and South and Southeast Asia, or the Cultural Revolution in China). This chapter shows that these different roots have led to today's still heterogeneous research community with many traditions still palpable. Wiedemann and Meyen (2016) mapped these different traditions:

> journalistic disciplines in Eastern Europe, which are part of the Marxist-Leninist tradition, British cultural studies with its focus on questions of power, the post-Semiotic or semi-pragmatic forms of the subject in France, and the southern European concept of a communication science with a service character that is primarily oriented towards technology and working ability.
>
> (p. 72)

Although the relevance of globally oriented journalism research is growing for some years now (Löffelholz & Weaver, 2008), national socio-political and cultural aspects continue to play a major role and led to sometimes considerable differences in terms of human and financial resources in systems of higher education and consequently the quality and quantity of research. Despite these differences, it is possible to identify a number of general trends, which have shaped the development of journalism research and to some extent continue to do so.

Evident is the very early and ongoing influence of Anglo-Saxon (specifically US) journalism research and education on numerous media and journalism systems around the world. The aforementioned studies on US journalists by David H. Weaver and his colleagues, whose methodology has been adopted in many countries, are examples of this. Although US scholars continue to have a major influence on global journalism studies, the success of research conceived in other countries, such as the above-mentioned Worlds of Journalism Study, shows that US dominance is gradually being replaced by greater pluralization. Increasingly, theoretical approaches and empirical studies developed and conducted in different parts of the world are being put at the forefront.

For several decades, the Cold War influenced both media systems and journalism studies in the West as well as in the "Eastern bloc." Especially in the states of the former Soviet Union, there was a certain parallelization of the development of journalism studies, especially with regard to its Marxist-Leninist ideological foundation, a lack of empirical research, and a close connection of university education to the state apparatus. It was not until the collapse of the USSR in 1992 that journalism research in Eastern Europe became more pluralistic and increasingly oriented towards theoretical approaches and empirical studies originating in Western countries, especially in the US. However, in "the West, media researches are normally considered social and political disciplines, while in Russia they traditionally belong to philological branches" (Korkonosenko, 2014, p. 157).

The Cold War also influenced the countries of the Global South. Both the USSR and the United States intervened in many nonaligned states, including their respective media and education systems. Thus, the development of journalism research in several African, Asian, and Latin American countries was not only subject to structural imperatives of the former colonial powers, but also to political and ideological influences from the Soviet Union or the US. Since the 1960s, however, with the continuing success of the independence movements, resistance to the influence of former colonial powers has grown. Indigenous approaches and efforts to develop journalism studies independently complemented the complex development paths of the Global South. In some countries, such as India or Indonesia, a stronger orientation towards the US or Australia replaced the influence of former colonial powers. In this context, however, it would be interesting to examine to what extent journalism studies in the former colonial countries, for example, in Latin America, continue to be linked to the respective colonial powers, in this case, Spain and Portugal.

Another trend that has influenced the institutionalization and development of journalism studies particularly in African, Latin American, and Asian countries is the involvement of UNESCO and other organizations in development cooperation. In 1980, UNESCO launched the International Program for the Development of Communication, which aimed to strengthen journalism in developing countries by introducing community media, modernizing news organizations, and improving the qualifications of journalists (Thussu, 2018). To this day, governments, international organizations and private foundations have supported a wide range of initiatives to improve journalism and journalism education in the countries of the Global South. The German Konrad Adenauer Foundation, for example, has co-founded the Konrad Adenauer Asian Center for Journalism in collaboration with the Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines in

2000. The center offers continuing education programs and especially "M.A. in Journalism"—an opportunity that many journalists from all over Asia have already seized. For the years 2010 to 2015, for which the latest data are available, Asian countries were the biggest beneficiaries of worldwide media and journalism assistance, followed by sub-Saharan Africa (Myers & Juma, 2018).

Not only in terms of development cooperation but also in general, we observe an increasing collaboration among institutions and countries. Comparative cross-national journalism research, rare before the 1990s, has become easier and therefore more popular. A good example to illustrate the development of this kind of research is the aforementioned Worlds of Journalism Study, which started in 2007 as a collaboration of 21 countries and currently includes 67 nations (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019). The growing importance of cross-national journalism research is due to not only the internationalization of academic networks through increased mobility and more funding programs. The internationalization of journalism itself, for example, through increased cross-border cooperation such as the Franco-German cultural channel arte (Rothenberger, 2012) or cross-border investigative journalism projects such as the Panama Papers (Alfter, 2017), also increases the relevance of cross-border research. Örnebring (2012, p. 769) concludes that "digitalization and networked electronic communication has made access and storage of data easier, and has also facilitated research coordination." The intensified transnational research, however, does little to change the fact that the de-Westernization or decentralization of publication cultures, empirical research, and theoretical approaches is still underdeveloped (Waisbord & Mellado, 2014).

In retrospect, journalism studies led a niche existence in many countries until researchers applied empirical methods and the field increasingly asserted itself as a social science (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011). With regard to identifying temporal patterns in the development of journalism studies, we can therefore discern the fragmented beginnings of journalism studies until World War II and the take-off phase of empirical research from the 1940s to the 1960s. The phase of increasing theoretical and methodological complexity has commenced in the 1970s, while digitalization and increased research efforts at the global level are characterizing the current phase.

Since the launch of academic journals particularly dealing with journalism, and since the establishment of sections specializing in journalism studies in international communication associations, journalism research has partly become an area of self-government separate from communication science, at least in terms of institutionalization (e.g., university departments), although this process varies from country to country. However, across the globe, journalism is not only taught by specialized departments, but also in various disciplines, above all in communication and media studies, sometimes also in linguistics and other humanities. Furthermore, most of the theoretical concepts of journalism come from communication studies and other disciplines, especially sociology (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011; Löffelholz, 2008), many of which are currently being questioned and revised to adapt to new developments like social media, user-generated content, and globalization (Bruns, 2007; Reese, 2016; Witschge, Anderson, Domingo, & Hermida, 2016).

In sum, we defer to Stefanie Averbeck-Lietz and Maria Löblich (2017), who distinguished four models of communication science according to the different roots of the discipline in different countries, when asked whether journalism has developed as an independent discipline or is largely a subdomain of communication studies (Löffelholz & Rothenberger, 2011). Accordingly, journalism studies is historically characterized by the German model (*Zeitungswissenschaft/Publizistik*), the French model (semiotics/linguistics), the British model (cultural approaches), and the Euro-American model (social science research). In line with our findings, we can add the

"Eastern European" model (e.g., Russia), in which journalism studies emerged from philology and literary studies and which differs from the French model in that it is not limited to semantic aspects but takes a more holistic perspective (Lukina & Vartanova, 2017; Korkonosenko, 2014). In addition, journalism studies in the countries of the Global South has differentiated in many respects. While the colonial times or the Cold War are shaping journalism studies less and less, we discern a worldwide striving for independence and at the same time an increasing interest in transnational collaboration.

NOTES

1. F. Alver, personal communication, August 15, 2017.
2. I. Haryanto, personal communication, August 10, 2017.
3. D. Arao, personal communication, August 4, 2017.

REFERENCES

Adamowski, J. W. (2009). About the urgent need to create communication and public media studies as an academic branch in Poland. *Media Studies*, *4*(39), 20–24.

Albæk, E., Dalen, A., Jebril, N., & De Vreese, C. (2014). *Political journalism in comparative perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alfter, B. (2017). *Grenzüberschreitender Journalismus. Handbuch zum Cross-Border-Journalismus*. Köln: Herbert von Halem.

Akser, M., & Baybars-Hawks, B. (2012). Media and democracy in Turkey: Toward a model of neoliberal media autocracy. *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*, *5*(3), 302–321. https://doi.org/10.1163/18739865-00503011

Averbeck-Lietz, S. (Ed.). (2017). *Kommunikationswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich: Transnationale Perspektiven*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Averbeck-Lietz, S., & Löblich, M. (2016). The transnational flow of ideas and histoire croisée with attention to the cases of France and Germany. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 25–46). New York, NY: Routledge.

Averbeck-Lietz, S., & Löblich, M. (2017). Kommunikationswissenschaft vergleichend und transnational: Eine Einführung. In S. Averbeck-Lietz (Ed.), *Kommunikationswissenschaft im internationalen Vergleich: Transnationale Perspektiven* (pp. 1–29). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Ayish, M. I. (2016). Communication studies in the Arab world. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 474–493). New York, NY: Routledge.

Bayley, R. (1966). Soviet journalism and the assimilation of science. *Journalism Quarterly*, *43*(4), 733–738. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769906604300415

Bruns, A. (2007). *Produsage: Towards a broader framework for user-led content creation. Proceedings creativity & cognition 6*. Washington, DC: Queensland University of Technology.

Çaba, D. (2018). Dijital çağda değişen haber sunumu: Gazetecilikte sanal gerçeklik ygulamaları. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi*, *6*(1), 691–723.

CIESPAL. (2018). Objectives of the institution. Retrieved from http://ciespal.org/historia-ciespal/

De Beer, A. S., & Tomaselli, K. G. (2000). South African journalism and mass communication scholarship: Negotiating ideological schisms. *Journalism Studies*, *1*(1), 9–33. https://doi.org/10.1080/146167000361159

Dovifat, E. (1931). *Zeitungswissenschaft*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Dua, M. R. (2009, October–December). Begging for an honorable space. *Media Mimansa*, 57–62.

Edeani, D. O. (1988). West African mass communication research at major turning point. *International Communication Gazette*, *41*(3), 151–183. https://doi.org/10.1177/001654928804100302

Esser, F. (1999). ‘Tabloidization' of news: A comparative analysis of Anglo-American and German press journalism. *European Journal of Communication*, *14*(3), 291–324. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323199014003001

Folkerts, J. (2014). History of journalism education. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, *16*(4), 227–299. https://doi.org/10.1177/1522637914541379

Fuentes-Navarro, R. (1996). *La investigación de la comunicación en México: Sistematización documental 1986–1994*. Tlaquepaque: ITESO. Retrieved from https://rei.iteso.mx/bitstream/handle/11117/423/La%20investigaci%c3%b3n%20de%20la%20comunicaci%c3%b3n%20en%20M%c3%a9xico%201.pdf?sequence=2

Gross, P. (n.d.). Journalism education: Taking stock of the last 12 years. *The Global Network/Le Reseau Global*, *15*(16), 5–12.

Hailey, W. M. (1957). *An African survey: A study of problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanitzsch, T. (2005). Journalism research in Germany: Origins, theoretical innovations and future outlook. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *2*(1), 39–53.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Ramaprasad, J., & de Beer, A. S. (2019). *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures around the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hanitzsch, T., Löffelholz, M., & Weaver, D. H. (2005). Building a home for the study of journalism. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *6*(1), 107–115. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884905048955

Hernández Ramírez, M. E., & Schwarz, A. (2008). Journalism research in Mexico: Historical development and research interests in the Latin American context. In M. Löffelholz & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 211–224). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Higginbotham, L. (1924). Practice vs. Ph.D. *Journalism Bulletin*, *1*(1), 10–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769902400100102

Hyvönen, M., Snickars, P., & Vesterlund, P. (2018). The formation of Swedish media studies, 1960–1980. *Media History*, *24*(1), 86–98.

Johnstone, J. W. C., Slawski, E. J., & Bowman, W. W. (1976). *The news people: A sociological portrait of American journalists and their work*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Kempers, F., & Wieten, J. (1976). *Journalisten en persconcentratie. Rapport van de werkgroep gevolgen van de Persconcentratie voor Journalisten*. Amsterdam: Vakgroep massacommunicatie aan de universiteit van Amsterdam.

Kepplinger, H. M. (1979). *Angepaßte Außenseiter: Was Journalisten denken und wie sie arbeiten*. Freiburg: Alber.

Kivikuru, U. (2009). From an Echo of the West to a voice of its own? Sub-Saharan African research under the Loophole. *Nordicom Review*, *30*(Jubilee Issue), 187–195.

Kleinsteuber, H. J. (2004). Comparing mass communication systems: Media formats, media contents, and media processes. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication* (pp. 64–86). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Köpplová, B., Jirák, J., & Tejkalová, A. N. (2018). Uneasy path to the institute of communication studies and journalism. In V. Moravec & F. Láb (Eds.), *Let us swear to our own* (pp. 170–173). Prague: Charles University.

Korkonosenko, S. G. (2014). Russian journalism research in an international context. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *6*(2), 155–159. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2014.919552

Lambeth, E. B. (1995). Global media philosophies. In J. C. Merrill (Ed.), *Global journalism: Survey of international communication* (3rd ed., pp. 3–8). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Löffelholz, M. (2008). Heterogeneous—multi-dimensional—competing. Theoretical approaches to journalism—an overview. In M. Löffelholz & D. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research. Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 15–27). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Löffelholz, M., & Rothenberger, L. (2011). Eclectic continuum, distinct discipline or sub-domain of communication studies? Theoretical considerations and empirical findings on the disciplinarity, multidisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity of journalism studies. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *7*(1), 7–29.

Löffelholz, M., & Weaver, D. H. (2008). *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

López-Escobar, E., & Martín Algarra, M. (2017). Communication teaching and research in Spain. *Publizistik*, *62*(1), 83–105.

Lugard, F. D. (1922). *The dual mandate in British tropical Africa*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.

Lukina, M., & Vartanova, E. (2017). Journalism education in Russia: How the academy and media collide, cooperate, and coexist. In R. S. Goodman (Ed.), *Global journalism education in the 21st century: Challenges & innovations* (pp. 155–174). Austin: Knight Center for Journalism in the Americas.

Matheson, H. (1935). Broadcasting in Africa. *African Affairs*, *XXXIV*(CXXXVII), 387–390. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.afraf.a100952

Meditsch, E., & Segala, M. (2005). Brazilian research in journalism. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, *1*(1), 47–60.

Metz, T. (2015). African ethics and journalism ethics: News and opinion in light of Ubuntu. *Journal of Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality*, *30*(2), 74–90. doi:10.1080/23736992.2015.1020377

Miller, R. J. (1924). The professional spirit. *Journalism Bulletin*, *1*(1), 3–9.

Moreira, S. V., & Lago, C. (2017). Journalism education in Brazil: Developments and neglected issues. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, *72*(3), 263–273. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817719609

Muppidi, S. R. (2008). Journalism education in India. *Media Asia*, *35*(2), 67–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/01296612.2008.11726871

Murthy, C. S. H. N. (2011). Dilemma of course content and curriculum in Indian journalism education: Theory, practice and research. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, *21*(2), 23–42.

Musa, M. (2009). Looking backward, looking forward: African media studies and the question of power. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *1*(1), 35–54. https://doi.org/10.1386/jams.1.1.35/1

Myers, M., & Juma, L. A. (2018). *Defending independent media: A comprehensive analysis of aid flows*. Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

Nordenstreng, K. (1969). A report on radio and television research and journalism education in the Soviet Union. *International Communication Gazette*, *15*(3), 223–226. https://doi.org/10.1177/001654926901500304

Nordicom Review. (2018). *Nordicom Review*. Retrieved from www.nordicom.gu.se/en/publications/nordicom-review

Nygren, G. (2012). *Journalism in Russia, Poland and Sweden: Traditions, cultures and research*. Huddinge: Södertörn University.

Ojomo, O. (2015). Journalism and mass communication training in Nigeria: Some critical thoughts. *Estudos Em Comunicação*, *20*(5), 87–104. https://doi.org/10.20287/ec.n20.a05

Örnebring, H. (2012). Comparative journalism research—an overview: Comparative journalism research. *Sociology Compass*, *6*(10), 769–780. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2012.00493.x

Ostini, J., & Ostini, A. Y. H. (2002). Beyond the four theories of the press: A new model of national media systems. *Mass Communication and Society*, *5*(1), 41–56. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327825mcs0501_4

Pan, Z., Chan, J. M., & Lo, V. (2008). Journalism research in greater China. Its communities, approaches, and themes. In M. Löffelholz & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 197–210). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Pélissier, N., & Demers, F. (2014). Recherches sur le journalisme. Un savoir dispersé en voie de structuration. *Revue Française Des Sciences De L'information Et De La Communication*, 5. https://doi.org/10.4000/rfsic.1135. https://journals.openedition.org/rfsic/1135#quotation

Peplinski, W. (2009). Can journalism and social communication studies become independent? *Media Studies*, *4*(39), 35–44.

Polumbaum, J. (1990). The tribulations of China's journalists after a decade of reform. In CC. Lee (Ed.), *Voices of China: The interplay of politics and journalism*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Prutz, R. E. (1971 [1845]). *Geschichte des deutschen Journalismus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Reese, S. D. (2016). The new geography of journalism research. *Digital Journalism*, *4*(7), 816–826. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1152903

Ribeiro, N. (2016). Communication studies on the Iberian Peninsula: A comparative analysis of the field's development in Portugal and Spain. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 151–170). New York, NY: Routledge.

Rothenberger, L. (2012). ARTE—problems of creating a European TV. Intercultural aspects at micro, meso and macro level at the European culture channel arte. *Communication & Society/Comunicación Y Sociedad*, *25*(2), 145–174.

Schudson, M., & Anderson, C. (2009). Objectivity, professionalism, and truth seeking in journalism. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 88–101). New York, NY: Routledge.

Sidorov, V. A. (2011). Theory of journalism as an open system. *Russian Journal of Communication*, *4*(3–4), 198–212. https://doi.org/10.1080/19409419.2011.10756805

Simonson, P., & Park, D. W. (2016). Introduction. On the history of communication study. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 1–22). New York, NY: Routledge.

Taylor, J. G. (2003). *Indonesia: Peoples and histories*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Thussu, D. K. (2018). *International communication. Continuity and change* (3rd ed.). London: Bloomsbury.

Uçak, O. (2018). *Dijital Medya ve Gazetecilik*. Konya: Eğitim Kitabevi.

Vihalemm, P. (2001). Development of media research in Estonia. *Nordicom Review*, *22*(2), 79–92. https://doi.org/10.1515/nor-2017-0357

Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Franklin, B. (2008). Journalism research in the UK: From isolated efforts to an established discipline. In M. Löffelholz & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 172–184). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Hanitzsch, T. (2009). Introduction on how and why we should do journalism studies. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 3–16). New York, NY: Routledge.

Waisbord, S., & Mellado, C. (2014). De-westernizing communication studies: A reassessment. *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 361–372. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12044

Weaver, D. H. (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world. International association for media and communication research*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Weaver, D. H., Beam, R. A., Brownlee, B. J., Voakes, P. S., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2007). *The American journalist in the 21st century: US news people at the dawn of a new Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1986). *The American journalist: A Portrait of US news people and their work*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: US news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (2012). *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Weischenberg, S., Löffelholz, M., & Scholl, A. (1993). Journalismus in Deutschland. Design und erste Ergebnisse der repräsentativen Kommunikatorstudie. *Media Perspektiven*, (1), 21–33.

Weischenberg, S., & Malik, M. (2008). Journalism research in Germany: Evolution and central research interests. In M. Löffelholz & D. H. Weaver (Eds.), *Global journalism research: Theories, methods, findings, future* (pp. 172–184). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wiedemann, T., & Meyen, M. (2016). 100 Jahre Kommunikationswissenschaft in Europa: Karl Büchers Einfluss auf die Entwicklung einer akademischen Disziplin. In E. Koenen (Ed.), *Die Entdeckung der Kommunikationswissenschaft: 100 Jahre kommunikationswissenschaftliche Fachtradition in Leipzig: Von der Zeitungskunde zur Kommunikations- und Medienwissenschaft* (pp. 51–81). Köln: Herbert von Halem.

Willems, W. (2014). Provincializing hegemonic histories of media and communication studies: Toward a genealogy of epistemic resistance in Africa. *Communication Theory*, *24*(4), 415–434. https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12043

Willnat, L., Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (2017). *The American journalist in the digital age: A half-century perspective*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Witschge, T., Anderson, C. W., Domingo, D., & Hermida, A. (2016). *The Sage handbook of digital journalism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Zhengrong, H., Deqiang, J., & Lei, Z. (2016). Building the nation-state: Journalism and communication studies in China. In P. Simonson & D. W. Park (Eds.), *The international history of communication study* (pp. 369–395). New York, NY: Routledge.

32

Comparative Journalism Research

Thomas Hanitzsch

INTRODUCTION

The first edition of this handbook still characterized comparative research as a fast-growing area that had the potential to leave a significant imprint on our understanding of journalism on a global scale (Hanitzsch, 2009). Now, ten years later, cross-national studies are assuming a premier position in the field, not only in terms of scale, but also in the way these studies have contributed to both knowledge about journalism and the formation of journalism studies as a discipline. In a recent meta-analysis of major journals, Hanusch and Vos (2019, p. 19) showed that the popularity of comparative research as a "maturing field" has risen significantly during the first 15 years of this century.

Since its beginnings, comparative journalism research has significantly contributed to a multitude of areas, including journalists' professional roles and editorial practice, the content they produce, and the nature and routines of editorial processes as well as journalism and news cultures on the most macro level. Overall, research into the similarities and differences in journalism around the world has become one of the most fascinating areas in the field of journalism studies, and scholars have increasingly chosen to adopt a comparative perspective in recent years. In fact, comparative research has become so rich during the last two decades that no literature review can do true justice to its rapid development.

Political changes and technological advancements have supported a trend toward comparative research. The end of the Cold War and the advent of globalization created a fresh momentum for researcher mobility, with academics finding ever more opportunities to meet their colleagues from afar. New communication technologies triggered the rise of global networks of scientists, including sections devoted to the study of journalism in large international associations, such as the International Communication Association (ICA), International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR), and the European Communication Research and Education Association (ECREA), as well as collaborative research endeavors, such as the Worlds of Journalism Study. In addition, national and international funding bodies increasingly recognize the value of comparative research.

This chapter sets out to chart the large and growing area of comparative research in journalism studies, discuss key studies and main findings, and reflect on the conceptual and methodological challenges. The chapter starts with a primer on the definition and value of comparative research and concludes with a few remarks on the future of comparative inquiry into journalism.

DEFINING COMPARATIVE RESEARCH AND ITS VALUE

It was not before the end of World War II that cross-national studies became common in the social sciences and humanities. After the war, comparative research rapidly influenced psychology, sociology, history, and political science and contributed to the creation of academic journals specifically devoted to comparative and cross-cultural studies, including *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (founded in 1958), *Comparative Politics* (1968), the *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* (1970), and the *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research* (2006). In the larger field of communication and media studies, increased proliferation of academic journals exerted a strong push toward further specialization of publication outlets. Several communication journals specifically prioritize comparative research, including the *International Communication Gazette* and, more recently, the *International Journal of Press/Politics*. In addition, the two flagship journals concerned with the study of journalism, *Journalism* and *Journalism Studies*, feature a growing number of comparative articles (Hanusch & Vos, 2019).

Comparative research in communication and media studies is generally understood as comparing at least two macro-level units (countries, regions, markets, organizations, or other units) at one or more points in time (Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012). A classic yet simple definition has been proposed by Alex Edelstein (1982, p. 14), who argued that comparative research "compares two or more nations with respect to some common activity." Jay Blumler, Jack McLeod, and Karl Erik Rosengren (1992, p. 7) expanded this definition and characterized a study as comparative "when the comparisons are made across two or more geographically or historically (spatially or temporally) defined systems." In reality, however, by far most comparative research in journalism studies centers on countries as units of analysis. This chapter therefore focuses on cross-national comparisons, as this category is—despite its shortcomings (to be discussed later in this chapter)—still the most popular research strategy.

The value of comparative research clearly goes beyond mere comparison of countries; it helps us contextualize journalism, its structures, and protagonists, and its normative premises in the researcher's own society (Gurevitch & Blumler, 2004). Comparative studies have demonstrated that journalism is highly contingent on the cultural, social, political, and historical contexts within which it operates. Research of this kind is indispensable for establishing the generalizability of theories and findings, and it creates opportunities to answer some of the fundamental questions in the discipline, including the following: what are the principal factors that shape the news? To what extent do cultural, social, political, and historical contexts affect the workings of journalism? What consequences does the diffusion of Western professional norms and practices have in non-Western societies?

This way, comparative research can prevent us from over-generalizing from our own, often idiosyncratic, experience. Oftentimes, it makes us realize that Western conceptual thinking and normative assumptions underpin much of the work in our field and that imposing them on other cultures may be dangerous (Esser & Hanitzsch, 2012). Without comparison, national specifics may become "naturalized" even to the extent that they remain invisible to the domestic-bound researcher (Esser & Pfetsch, 2004). Finally, engaging in comparative work gives us access to a wide range of perspectives, knowledge, and experience from various parts of the world, thus helping us foster global scholarship and sustain networks of researchers across continents.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

There is little consensus on the origins of comparative research in journalism studies. This lack of an established collective memory is likely related to the field's disciplinary emancipation from larger communication and media studies, which has not been a linear process that has taken place simultaneously around the world (see Chapter 31 in this book). In an excellent historical overview of comparative work in the field, Henrik Örnebring (2012) points to Robert Desmond's (1937) book *The Press and World Affairs* as an early, if not the earliest, example of cross-national research in journalism studies. The book compared the production and distribution of news in a variety of news hubs at the time, including London, Washington, and Paris as well as Moscow, Shanghai, Tokyo, and Buenos Aires.

Since the publication of Desmond's pioneering study, comparative journalism research has undergone four distinct phases of evolution and development. The borders between the four phases are fuzzy and blurred; comparative journalism research has not always progressed in a linear, unidirectional fashion. Paradigms that characterize the various phases have always coexisted for most of the time, though the extent to which a given trend dominated research has varied. I refer to the four phases as follows: the US and the rest, the North and the South, the West and the West, and the West and the world.

The US and the rest: This paradigm dominated comparative journalism research until the 1960s. Exemplified by the influential work of US scholars including Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm (*Four Theories of the Press*, 1956) as well as Daniel Lerner (*The Passing of Traditional Society*, 1958), research at the time was characterized by a heavy emphasis on American journalism and the juxtaposition of the "modern" West and the "traditional" East. Predicated on the bipolarism and ideological ferment of the Cold War and the global promotion of the US model of privately owned for-profit media, *Four Theories of the Press* mapped the world from the perspective of a triumphant, if also troubled, libertarianism, which found other systems wanting (Hardy, 2012; Nerone, 1995). The United States was defining development and social change as the replica of its own political-economic system. In this sense, the *US and the rest* paradigm was a product of its time—one that was dominated by ideological rivalry between two geopolitical blocs (Servaes, 2012). During this era, a pioneer of comparative journalism research was Jack McLeod, who developed a professionalism scale in the US and, together with his PhD student Ramona Rush, applied it to a comparison of journalists in the US and Latin America (McLeod & Rush, 1969). Finally, the *US and the rest* paradigm lost momentum in the mid-1970s, when researchers began to realize some of its ideological bearings. Former IAMCR President James D. Halloran (1998, p. 45), for instance, argued that many studies of the time carried a "research imperialism" that legitimized and reinforced the established order while strengthening the Third World's economic and cultural dependence on the West.

The North and the South: This era was primarily shaped by major political processes that took place within the United Nations, most notably UNESCO. An important driving force was the rise of an intellectual movement in Latin America whose proponents became known as *dependistas* (Bordenave, 1977). The group played a major role in the recognition of uneven development processes and communication flows that, during the 1970s, fueled the move toward a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Of particular relevance for communication scholars was the NWICO controversy staged at UNESCO, which addressed inequalities in communication flows between the industrialized North and developing South. The focus of international communication research consequently shifted to these inequalities and culminated in a 29-nation study on foreign news, which remains one of the largest concerted efforts of researchers in the history of communication research and which, in the 1990s, was replicated on a sample of 38 countries (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1984; Wu, 2000). A precursor to this study was George Gerbner and George Marvanyi's (1977) analysis of one week in the news in 60 daily newspapers from around the world.

The West and the West: Dominating the field from the early 1980s to the turn of the century, this era was notably driven by European scholarship, which emerged largely in response to the integration process within the European Economic Community and European Union. The political processes that took place within European institutions during that time attracted the interest of many researchers in the region, thus transforming Europe into a "comparative playground" for communication scholars (de Vreese & Boomgarden, 2012, p. 337). This period also marked the beginning of conceptually and methodologically more advanced comparative research. Scholars became more cautious in selecting countries, turning their attention to mostly Western societies due to their similarities and, hence, their comparability. Journalism studies has particularly benefitted from these developments; an early example is Blumler's (1983) nine-country study on the role of television in the context of the 1979 European parliamentary elections. A large study undertaken by Thomas Patterson and Wolfgang Donsbach (1996), who administered a comparative survey of journalists in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and the US, exemplifies the high standards of comparative research of the time. While comparative journalism research has become more global since then, the *West and the West* paradigm has retained its vitality to this day, indicated by the long-lasting impact Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini's (2004) *Comparing Media Systems* is still having on the field, and by several more recent works, including Benson's (2013) comparison of immigration news in France and the US, and Revers' (2017) analysis of journalism cultures in the US and Germany.

The West and the world: After the end of the Cold War, journalism researchers increasingly started attending to commonalities and differences in journalism cultures more globally. With the fall of the iron curtain and the onward march of globalization, the world has become more accessible than ever, and digital technologies have allowed for speedier exchange of communication and data. In most cases, however, Western-grown concepts still dominate the theoretical and analytical frameworks. Research clearly became more collaborative, increasingly involving researchers from Asia and Latin America, though still not so many from Africa. An early example was Slavko Splichal and Colin Sparks' (1994) survey of first-year journalism students in 22 nations. Researchers have compared US journalists with their counterparts in China and Taiwan (Zhu, Weaver, Lo, Chen, & Wu, 1997); Russia (Wu, Weaver, & Johnson, 1996); and Australia, Great Britain, Germany, and the Netherlands (Deuze, 2002). A major milestone in this tradition was David Weaver's (1998a) collection *The Global Journalist*, which reported on evidence from surveys of 20,280 journalists from 21 countries. A second volume, edited by Weaver together with Lars Willnat (2012), followed 14 years later. A particularly notable trend of this most recent period is an upsurge of networked research, giving birth to large collaborative studies such as News Around the World (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006); the Worlds of Journalism Study (Hanitzsch, Hanusch, Ramaprasad, & de Beer, 2019); and Journalistic Performance Around the Globe.[1] At the same time, theoretical and methodological reflections on comparative research have become much more common in the field (e.g., Chang et al., 2001; Esser & Pfetsch, 2004).

During these four eras, three relevant research themes emerged, with studies focusing on (1) journalists' professional orientations, (2) the contexts of news production, and (3) news cultures. The following sections discuss the key studies and main findings in each of the three strands of comparative inquiry.

PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATIONS OF JOURNALISTS

Early comparative research in journalism studies focused on professionalism and processes of professionalization. One of the first studies in this area was conducted by McLeod and Rush (1969), who compared journalists from the United States with reporters from Latin America. Overall, the authors found more similarity than dissimilarity between Latin American and US journalists with respect to their levels of professionalism.

Despite these early efforts, it was not until the 1990s that comparative research on journalists' professional orientations gained popularity. Here, Weaver's (1998a) compilation, *The Global Journalist*, documenting survey evidence from 21 countries, has become a key source for comparative data about journalists from around the world. Weaver found remarkable consensus among journalists regarding the importance of reporting the news quickly, and some agreement on the importance of providing access for people to express their views. There was much less support for providing analysis and being a watchdog of the government. Weaver also reported much disagreement regarding the importance of providing entertainment, as well as accurate and objective reporting. Furthermore, journalists differed in the extent to which they would pay for information, pretend to be someone else, badger news sources, use documents without permission, or become employed to gain inside information.

In light of these often substantial differences, Weaver (1998b, p. 473) concluded that "there are strong national differences that override any universal professional norms or values of journalism around the world." Much of this variation seemed to reflect societal influences, especially differences in political systems, more than influences of media organizations, journalism education and professional norms. However, Weaver also admitted that patterns of similarities and differences were not neatly classifiable along some of the more common political or cultural dimensions. A follow-up edition of the book, edited by Weaver and Willnat (2012), covered surveys of more than 29,000 journalists working in 31 countries and territories around the globe. The key conclusion drawn from the comparative picture was very similar to the first edition: many cross-national differences seem to have persisted over time.

Important as both survey collections have proven to be, they were based on data not specifically tailored to the purpose of cross-national comparison. In fact, the individual studies reported in the two *Global Journalist* editions showed remarkable variation in interview methods, sampling strategies, questionnaire wordings, and time of data collection. Considering these shortcomings, Weaver (1998b, p. 455) himself admitted that "[c]omparing journalists across national boundaries and cultures is a game of guesswork at best."

In a large and growing body of more recent work, researchers addressed these shortcomings by designing comparative studies based on a common conceptual and methodological framework. Among the first studies of this kind was a survey of 450 German and 405 British journalists in print and broadcast media conducted by Donsbach (1981) and Renate Köcher (1986). The findings confirmed the authors' expectations that German and British journalists differed substantially in their perceptions of roles, professional motivations, and evaluations of work norms. German journalists favored partisanship and advocacy more strongly in their reporting, whereas their British counterparts embraced a more neutral reporter role. Based on these differences, Köcher (1986, p. 63) famously branded British journalists as "bloodhounds" or "hunters of news" and German reporters as "missionaries."

Some of these results were, a few years later, confirmed by Patterson and Donsbach (1996) in a comparison of journalists in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden, and the United States. They found the motivation to champion values and ideology in news reporting was more strongly pronounced among German journalists, while this approach was least appealing to

US journalists. Particularly noteworthy about this study is that the authors employed a quasi-experimental method to measure news bias by presenting respondents with example cases of potential partisan conflict and asking participants about their hypothetical decisions in each of these situations. Analyses showed that in all five countries, journalists' partisanship was significantly related to their news decisions, most strongly in Germany, and much less so in the US and Sweden.

Perhaps the largest concerted effort in comparative journalism research is the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS), which, in its first phase, had employed a standardized design to survey 2,100 journalists in 21 countries (Hanitzsch et al., 2011). Carried out as a collaborative effort by researchers from around the world, the study's results point to substantial similarities across countries, most notably with regard to the global primacy of journalistic roles related to detachment and noninvolvement. The watchdog and political information roles also seemed to have universal appeal among journalists worldwide. Various aspects of interventionism, objectivism, and the importance of separating facts and opinion, on the other hand, played out differently around the globe. Western journalists were less likely to actively promote particular values, ideas, and social change through their reporting, and they more strongly adhered to universal principles in their ethical decisions. Journalists from non-Western contexts, on the other hand, tended to be more interventionist in their role perceptions and more flexible in their ethical views.

For its 2016 update, the WJS gathered interviews with more than 27,500 journalists in 67 countries. Selected key findings of the second wave of the study were published in, among other places, a special issue of *Journalism Studies* in early 2017, and in a recent book edited by Hanitzsch et al. (2019). Overall, the authors found a multiplicity of journalistic cultures around the world; differences were meaningfully related to journalism's contexts of existence, such as patterns of politics and governance, levels of socioeconomic development, and the impact of cultural value systems. A comparison of journalists in Muslim-majority countries in Africa, Asia, and Europe, for instance, revealed a strong interventionist approach to journalism in these societies (Muchtar et al., 2017).

The latter finding resonates well with similar studies that found journalists in the Arab and Islamic world acted as "agents of change" in their respective communities by driving political and social reform (Pintak, 2014). However, the extent to which a distinctively Islamic worldview acts as a unifying force across Muslim-majority regions is still disputed. Lawrence Pintak (2014) presented evidence in support of such a view, while Nurhaya Muchtar et al. (2017) found journalists' professional identities in the Islamic world were less shaped by a distinctively Islamic worldview than they were by the differential political, economic, and socio-cultural contexts.

In recent years, Europe has moved even more centrally into the focus of comparative journalism researchers. Here, an important theme is the search for common traits among European journalists that would point to the emergence of a pan-European journalism culture. Paschal Preston (2009), for instance, discovered striking similarities in the professional orientations of senior journalists from 12 European countries. These findings were similar to results from Paul Statham's (2008, p. 418) study of European newspaper journalists, which led him to conclude "that journalism over Europe is emerging as a common transnational experience and practice."

Örnebring (2009) disagrees, however, and argues that the nation-state still constitutes the main framework within which roles of journalism are defined. Similarly, Heikki Heikkilä and Risto Kunelius (2006, p. 63) could not find "much ground to assume that a European public sphere would emerge out of national journalistic cultures." A survey among political journalists in Denmark, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Spain, combined with a content analysis of political coverage in these countries, also demonstrated that journalistic roles tend to vary more across countries than they do within them (van Dalen, de Vreese, & Albæk, 2012).

Asia and Latin America have also seen a significant upsurge in comparative journalism research. Based on a questionnaire developed for US journalists by Weaver and Wilhoit (1996), Jian-Hua Zhu and colleagues (1997) compared media role perceptions of journalists in China, Taiwan, and the US. Ven-hwei Lo, Joseph Man Chan, and Zhongdang Pan (2005) conducted a wave of parallel surveys of journalists in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, in which they found striking differences in the way journalists in the three countries reflected on freebies, moonlighting, and self-censorship. In Latin America, Claudia Mellado, Sonia Moreira, Claudia Lagos, and María E. Hernández (2012) compared journalism cultures of Brazil, Chile, and Mexico based on data from the first WJS. The authors discovered that journalists in these countries gave priority to Western professional norms of detachment and noninvolvement, as well as the watchdog function of journalism. In a comparative survey of journalists, journalism educators, and students from 20 Latin American and Caribbean countries, Vanessa de Higgins Joyce, Magdalena Saldaña, Amy Schmitz Weiss, and Rosental Alves (2017) found that a majority of respondents rejected the use of softer deception practices, such as pretending to be someone else, as investigative techniques. At the same time, the authors noted substantive variability with regard to professional ethics between Central America and the Caribbean region, on the one hand, and Brazil and the Southern Cone, on the other.

CONTEXTS OF NEWS PRODUCTION

An area that has gained attention from comparative researchers more recently is the study of contexts of news production. Here, we should distinguish between two relevant strands of research: (1) studies of objective indicators of material influences as they exist in the "real world" and (2) studies of journalists' subjective perceptions and evaluations of these forces. One of the first studies to look into objective influences was Frank Esser's (1998) comparative analysis of British and German newsrooms. A key finding of his study was that news production in the two countries was taking place in two profoundly different organizational settings. British newsrooms were characterized by a strong division of labor between news gatherers and news processors. Whereas in German newsrooms, journalists tended to have a much broader job profile of a "multi-functional all-rounder" (Esser, 1998, pp. 378–379). As a result, British newsrooms exercised stronger editorial control through rechecking and rewriting articles than their German counterparts.

Studies of this kind are still exceptionally rare in the field, notes Örnebring (2012), who has conducted a similar study in Britain, Estonia, Germany, Italy, Poland, and Sweden. Based on surveys of journalists and an additional set of qualitative interviews, Örnebring (2016) diagnosed a massive shift in organizational forms within journalism as a whole. The dominant form of news work, which used to be a large and stable organization employing journalists on permanent, full-time contracts, has shifted toward much more flexible and porous forms that increasingly operate on per-item payment, short-term contracts, contingent project work, and which emphasize entrepreneurship and skills in self-directed professional development.

Over the years, comparative researchers have broadened their perspective beyond the organizational context. This development has contributed to a large body of work studying the various factors that influence journalists and news work on multiple levels. A major source of inspiration for this area of research were attempts to theorize a hierarchy of influences on news production (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) and a revived interest in the comparative analysis of media systems. A common finding of studies in this area is that national contexts, particularly factors related to the political system, have a stronger influence on journalists and news production than factors situated on the organizational and individual levels. Zhu et al. (1997) found that national factors explained between 50 percent and 74 percent of the variance in the perception of media roles among journalists in China, Taiwan, and the United States. Similarly, Dan Berkowitz, Yehiel Limor, and Jane Singer (2004), who studied factors influencing ethical decisions of US and Israeli journalists, identified the national level as being most influential in shaping journalists' views on ethics, while professional and individual factors had little or no impact. Looking at political news content from 16 countries, Claes de Vreese, Esser, and David Nicolas Hopmann (2017) attributed the greatest influence to factors emanating from the political and media system, including levels of market competition and commercialization, the nature of political competition, and the extent of federalism versus centralization of power. A series of analyses of data from the Worlds of Journalism Study arrived at very similar conclusions. Political and economic factors emerged as the most important denominators of cross-national differences in journalists' professional views (Hanitzsch, Vos, et al., 2019; Hanitzsch, Hanusch, & Lauerer, 2016; Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011).

The latter study has also investigated journalists' *perceptions* of influences. Subjecting journalists' perceptions of influences to factor analysis, Thomas Hanitzsch et al. (2010) found that journalists around the world conceive of these influences as falling into six distinct dimensions: political, economic, organizational, professional, and procedural influence, as well as reference groups. These six dimensions build up a hierarchical structure where organizational, professional, and procedural influences were perceived to be more powerful than political and economic factors. On a comparative level, however, political and economic influences turned out to be the strongest markers of cross-national differences in the way journalists perceive of influences on their work (Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011).

In a comparative study of nine countries in Central and Eastern Europe, Vaclav Stetka and Örnebring (2013) found investigative journalism across the region to be generally weak in terms of autonomy and effects, but stronger in countries that have had more stable and richer media markets. A survey of journalists in Britain, Estonia, Germany, Italy, and Sweden identified national journalistic culture as the most salient factor explaining journalists' perception of autonomy (Örnebring, 2016).

Most studies in this tradition focus on political journalists and news content using quantitative data. A different approach was chosen by Hanusch, Hanitzsch, and Lauerer (2017) to explore the ways in which commercial interests shape the work of lifestyle journalists, and how journalists deal with these influences in their daily practice. Based on qualitative interviews with Australian and German journalists, they found in both countries that journalists working for lifestyle media were in a constant battle for control over editorial content, and their responses to increasing commercial pressures varied between resistance and resignation.

NEWS CULTURES

The study of news cultures is mainly concerned with comparative analyses of media systems and "political communication cultures" (Pfetsch, 2001, p. 46) as a whole, often situated in their historical contexts. In his overview of comparative journalism research, Örnebring (2012) found cross-national analyses of newspaper content among the earliest examples of comparative journalism research. An example is Jacques Kaiser's (1953) content analysis of one week's worth of coverage from 17 major daily newspapers around the world.

A significant milestone in the comparative analysis of news cultures was *Four Theories of the Press* by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956). A collaborative effort by researchers at the

University of Illinois carried out at the height of the Cold War, the book explored the reasons why the press served different purposes and appeared in widely different forms in different countries. Based on the key claim that "the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates" (p. 1), the authors presented four theories of the press, or models of media systems, as emanations from distinctive political cultures: authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist. Of these, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm found the authoritarian model, in which the media act as a servant and mouthpiece of the state, most pervasive, both historically and geographically. In the libertarian model, the press acts as a watchdog to hold the powerful to account, while in the social responsibility model, the media was considered free, as in the libertarian model, but had obligations and responsibilities to society. The Soviet Communist model, itself a derivation of the authoritarian theory, conceived of the press as serving the ruling Communist Party.

Overall, *Four Theories of the Press* offered a simple, persuasive schema that was intelligible within a broader distinction into First, Second, and Third Worlds (Hardy, 2012). The approach appealed to countless students and researchers, making it an enormous success and thus very influential in the field (Merrill, 2002). Its success and influence notwithstanding, the book has been widely criticized, notably since the 1990s, for its problematic assumptions, ideological bias, ethnocentrism, and its overly simplistic typology in the absence of empirical evidence (e.g., Merrill, 2002; Nerone, 1995; Nordenstreng, 1997).

Despite these criticisms, comparative media scholars have continued to take inspiration from the book's central claims and some of its analytical categories, particularly the relationship between the media and the state. In an attempt to further develop Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm's typology, William Hachten (1981) proposed a classification of authoritarian, Western, communist, revolutionary, and developmental press or media concepts, to which Robert Picard (1985) added a democratic socialist model and Denis McQuail (1994) supplemented a democratic participant model. Clifford Christians, Theodore Glasser, McQuail, Kaarle Nordenstreng, and Robert White (2009), more recently, suggested a typology of normative theories of the press in democratic societies. They distinguish between four principal normative roles of journalists: monitorial (collection, publication, and distribution of information of interest to audiences); facilitative (promoting social dialogue and active participation in political life); radical (providing a platform for criticism with the aim of supporting change and reform); and collaborative (support of authorities in defense of the social order).

Not all of these studies necessarily aimed to provide typologies of media systems and news cultures. Following a historical comparison of French, British, and US journalism between the 1830s and 1920s, Jean Chalaby (1996, p. 303), for instance, concluded that journalism as we know it is an "Anglo-American invention." He argued that it was American and British journalists who invented the modern conception of news, that US and UK newspapers contained more news and information, and that they had much better organized news-gathering services than their French counterparts. Chalaby identified five major factors as drivers of the rapid development of journalism in Britain and the US: the independence of the press from the literary field, parliamentary bipartisanism, the ability of newspapers to derive substantial revenues from sales and advertising, the dynamics of the English language, and the central and dominant position of the Anglo-Saxon countries in the world.

A key shortcoming of many of the above studies was the relative absence of empirical data in support of the conclusions. This situation changed with the publication of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) book *Comparing Media Systems*. Reasoning that the political context is key to understanding national news cultures, and based on a wealth of structural and historical data, the authors identified four major dimensions to account for differences between media systems:

historical development of a mass circulation press, political parallelism, development of journalistic professionalism, and the degree and nature of state intervention. Drawing on these four contextual dimensions, Hallin and Mancini proposed three models of media and politics in Western Europe and North America: the North Atlantic or Liberal Model, the Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model, and the Northern European or Democratic Corporatist Model.

Since its publication, *Comparing Media Systems* has been highly influential in political communication and journalism research, setting the stage for a steadily growing number of empirical studies. In one of these projects, Michael Brüggemann, Sven Engesser, Florin Büchel, Edda Humprecht, and Laia Castro (2014) reassessed Hallin and Mancini's typology using a broad array of publicly available data on media systems, political contexts, and news cultures for 17 Western countries. Using cluster analysis, they identified four, instead of three, models of media systems: Central, Northern, Southern, and Western.

In another study, Esser (2008) defined key dimensions of political news cultures and used them to identify patterns of empirical variance across Western countries. The results of his sound- and image-bite analysis of 1,308 American, British, German, and French election-related TV news stories point to the existence of a transnational news logic, evidenced by a uniform tendency of reporters to be more prominent speakers in election stories than politicians. Esser found differences in national news cultures were related to interventionism, here defined as the extent to which journalists report in their own words, scenarios, and assessments rather than let politicians speak for themselves. Results of the content analysis suggested three distinct political news cultures: a strongly interventionist US approach, a moderately interventionist Anglo-German approach, and a noninterventionist French approach. Later, Esser and Umbricht (2013) expanded this work to newspapers and news websites. In a content analysis of over 6,500 political news stories from US, British, German, Swiss, French, and Italian news outlets, they identified three approaches to news-making: a US-led model of rational news analysis, an Italian-led model of polarized reporting, and a Germanic model of disseminating news with views.

One concept that gained considerable currency more recently is role performance, which refers to the enactment of journalists' professional roles in their reporting. A study of more than 34,500 news items in 19 societies found patterns of news cultures related to different types of hybridity (Mellado et al., 2017). Political communication culture is another concept, proposed by Barbara Pfetsch (2001), which is meant to represent a national aggregate of patterns of orientations, attitudes, and norms that govern the interaction between political spokespeople and journalists. Based on interviews with politicians, spokespersons, and journalists in nine Western democracies, Moring and Pfetsch (2014) discovered a multitude of political communication cultures in Western Europe, which are divided along the lines of perceptions of professional roles, the degree of politicization of the media, and distinctive political communication regimes.

Overall, comparative studies of news cultures broadly stretch between an emphasis on similarity and a focus on differences. In a content analysis of more than 32,000 news items in Australia, Chile, China, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Russia, South Africa, and the US, Pamela Shoemaker and Akiba Cohen (2006) found remarkable agreement across news cultures on what kinds of events, ideas, and people should constitute news. A more recent study of foreign news, however, found more variability than similarities, thus challenging the idea of a "global village" (Cohen, 2013). A variety of studies have echoed this diversity in news cultures more recently. Using content analysis of political news and surveys of journalists in Denmark, Germany, Spain, and the UK, Erik Albæk, Arjen van Dalen, Nael Jebril, and de Vreese (2014) demonstrated that different contextual conditions lead to journalists approaching politics differently. In a similar vein, Hartmut Wessler and Eike Mark Rinke (2014, p. 827) found television news considerably more deliberative in established democracies (US and Germany) than in "defective democracies"

(Russia) and slightly more deliberative in a power-sharing political system (Germany) than in a power-concentrating system (US).

CHALLENGES AND PITFALLS

Ambitious as many comparative studies are, they also face a number of unique challenges at the epistemological, conceptual, and methodological levels. With regard to the former, comparative journalism researchers often implicitly assume methodological and theoretical universalism, with the risk of producing measurement out of context. This issue is particularly pertinent to large-scale comparative projects, in which quantitative measures are used to capture phenomena that may actually be locally situated. The acceptance of gifts by journalists is a case in point. While it clearly marks an ethical breach in Western journalism culture, it does appear to be much more a matter of degree for journalists in some other parts of the world (e.g., in Indonesia; Hanitzsch, 2006).

Furthermore, an excessive focus on differences between countries may lead to an understatement of domestic heterogeneity, especially when variation within cultures may actually be greater than across cultural boundaries (Blumler et al., 1992). In fact, many of the studies mentioned in this literature review have focused on cross-national differences, which may come at the risk of ignoring variance within societies. Moreover, the extent of these differences may easily overwhelm any meaningful comparison. What we treat as a similarity at some very abstract level of analysis may reveal myriad differences when one takes a closer and more detailed look at cultural specifics.

On the conceptual level, it should be noted that most of what we know and take for granted in the Western world, but also elsewhere, about "journalism" rests on concepts and evidence generated from within Western experience. Western journalism, and particularly the news media in the US, has become the prism through which researchers have constructed normality with regard to our general understanding of journalism. The Western experience has thus become a standard against which to gauge journalism in other regions of the world. Consequently, journalism in some developing and transitional contexts is sometimes portrayed as needing to "catch up" with the norms and practices celebrated by the West (Golding, 1977, p. 292).

Furthermore, this chapter deliberately focused on comparative work in which countries and other territorial entities (e.g., special administrative regions like Hong Kong and disputed territories such as Kosovo and Taiwan) were the units of comparison. Such an approach may seem anachronistic in a time of increased globalization of business, politics, culture, and almost all aspects of human life (Cohen, 2013). National borders do not necessarily reflect cultural, ethnolinguistic divisions or correspond to a common sense of identity (Hantrais, 1999). But, as many of the studies reviewed in this chapter indicate, journalism is still articulated and enacted within national spaces. News production is strongly geared toward news agendas that prioritize domestic angles, actors, and interests; journalists speak to national and local audiences (Cohen, 2013; Tunstall, 2008). After all, the nation-state still constitutes a meaningful, if not the most central, framework within which journalists make sense of their work (Örnebring, 2009). This is not to say that boundaries other than territorial are irrelevant to the comparative study of journalism. After all, the national level is one of many ways of distinguishing between different life forms of journalism—a way that has obviously proven to be particularly productive in comparative journalism research.

On the methodological level, finally, the uneven coverage of world regions in comparative studies has become a serious impediment to our understanding of journalism on a global scale.

Empirical findings revealed through international comparison can result, to a substantive extent, from our choice of countries. Patterson and Donsbach (1996), for instance, noted striking differences in journalists' professional orientations in Germany, Italy, Sweden, UK, and the US. The most recent wave of the WJS, however, which covered 67 countries including the five just mentioned, found those differences became relative similarities once placed within the context of global comparison (Hanitzsch, Vos, et al., 2019).

CONCLUSION

During the last three decades, a growing awareness of the advantages of comparative research has led to an explosion of cross-national studies in the field, as well as a notable increase in terms of conceptual and methodological sophistication. Especially during the last ten years, comparative journalism research has become a principal avenue of study, which has contributed to our understanding of journalism in meaningful ways. These positive developments notwithstanding, there is a certain—though not overwhelming—tendency of more recent comparative research in journalism studies to prefer quantitative over qualitative methods (Hanusch & Vos, 2019). Large-scale comparative projects often require massive resources in terms of time, researchers, and funding. Reading through the stream of publications that these studies are producing, one may wonder if this extraordinary investment of resources is proportional to its analytical and intellectual payoff.

One notable gain from medium- and large-*N* studies is that explanatory analysis has become much more common in a field that was long dominated by descriptive accounts of journalists and news cultures from around the world. Analyses that include larger numbers of countries have enabled us to address the causal factors and mechanisms behind differences in journalistic and news cultures. Many of these relationships are increasingly examined by more advanced analytical techniques, such as multilevel analysis, structural equation modeling, and—albeit rarely—Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA).

Finally, as noted above, comparative journalism research still tends to prioritize Western countries, while other parts of the world, such as sub-Saharan Africa, remain largely neglected. Despite a recent trend toward increased participation of non-US scholars in comparative endeavors and authorship becoming more diverse in terms of nationality (Hanusch & Vos, 2019), comparative research still too often problematizes journalism from within the Western experience and a Western analytical framework. This bias has led to a normalization of the Western journalistic paradigm, to which journalistic cultures outside the Western core are often fitted in normative, conceptual, and empirical terms. Ultimately, this is a strong indication of a continued hegemony of Western scholarship over journalism studies as an academic field.

One way out of this dilemma is increased international collaboration, which allows us to share intellectual expertise and pool scarce resources. Here, journalism studies has indeed taken a lead in the larger discipline of communication and media studies. Projects such as the Worlds of Journalism Study have not only contributed to a "comparative leap forward" (Blumler, 2017, p. 682), they also established new standards of cross-national collaboration in our field. Thus, in an era of networked science, collaborative research may even become the norm rather than the exception. The "lone scholar" may no longer be the standard model of research in journalism studies. Rather, collaboration is key to the production of scientific knowledge and the development of scholarly careers. Few areas in our field are better suited to this kind of scholarship than comparative research.

NOTE

1. www.journalisticperformance.org/

REFERENCES

Albæk, E., Van Dalen, A., Jebril, N., & de Vreese, C. H. (2014). *Political journalism in comparative perspective*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Arbaoui, B., De Swert, K., & van der Brug, W. (2016). Sensationalism in news coverage: A comparative study in 14 television systems. *Communication Research*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650216663364

Benson, R. (2013). *Shaping immigration news: A French-American comparison*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Berkowitz, D., Limor, Y., & Singer, J. (2004). A cross-cultural look at serving the public interest: American and Israeli journalists consider ethical scenarios. *Journalism*, *5*(2), 159–181.

Blumler, J. G. (Ed.). (1983). *Communicating to voters: Television in the first European parliamentary elections*. London: Sage Publications.

Blumler, J. G. (2017). Epilogue for a comparative leap forward. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(5), 682–690.

Blumler, J. G., McLeod, J. M., & Rosengren, K. E. (1992). An introduction to comparative communication research. In J. G. Blumler, J. M. McLeod, & K. E. Rosengren (Eds.), *Comparatively speaking: Communication and culture across space and time* (pp. 3–18). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Bordenave, J. D. (1977). *Communication and rural development*. Paris: UNESCO.

Brüggemann, M., Engesser, S., Büchel, F., Humprecht, E., & Castro, L. (2014). Hallin and Mancini revisited: Four empirical types of Western media systems. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(6), 1037–1065.

Chalaby, J. K. (1996). Journalism as an Anglo-American invention: A comparison of the development of French and Anglo-American journalism, 1830s–1920s. *European Journal of Communication*, *11*, 303–326.

Chang, T-K., Berg, P., Fung, A. Y-H., Kedl, K. D., Luther, C. A., & Szuba, J. (2001). Comparing nations in mass communication research, 1970–97: A critical assessment of how we know what we know. *Gazette*, *63*(5), 415–434.

Christians, C. G., Glasser, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R. A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Cohen, A. A. (2013). Where in the world is the global village? In A. A. Cohen (Eds.), *Foreign news on television: Where in the world is the global village?* (pp. 319–330). New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Desmond, R. W. (1937). *The press and world affairs*. New York, NY: D. Appleton & Century.

Deuze, M. (2002). National news cultures: A comparison of Dutch, German, British, Australian and US journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *79*(1), 134–149.

De Vreese, C., & Boomgarden, H. (2012). Comparing news on Europe: Elections and beyond. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 327–340). New York, NY: Routledge.

De Vreese, C., Esser, F., & Hopmann, D. N. (Eds.). (2017). *Comparing political journalism*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Donsbach, W. (1981). Legitimacy through competence rather than value judgments: The concept of journalistic professionalization reconsidered. *Gazette*, *21*, 47–67.

Edelstein, A. S. (1982). *Comparative communication research*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Esser, F. (1998). Editorial structures and work principles in British and German newsrooms. *European Journal of Communication*, *13*, 375–405.

Esser, F. (2008). Dimensions of political news cultures: Sound bite and image bite news in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*, 401–428.

Esser, F., & Hanitzsch, T. (2012). On the why and how of comparative inquiry in communication studies. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 3–47). New York, NY: Routledge.

Esser, F., & Pfetsch, B. (2004). Meeting the challenges of global communication and political integration: The significance of comparative research in a changing world. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication: Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 384–410). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Esser, F., & Umbricht, A. (2013). Competing models of journalism? Political affairs coverage in US, British, German, Swiss, French and Italian newspapers. *Journalism*, *14*(8), 989–1007.

Gerbner, G., & Marvanyi, G. (1977). The many worlds of the world's press. *Journal of Communication*, *27*(1), 52–66.

Golding, P. (1977). Media professionalism in the third world: The transfer of an ideology. In J. Curran, M. Gurevitch, & J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Mass communication and society* (pp. 291–308). London: Arnold.

Gurevitch, M., & Blumler, J. G. (2004). State of the art of comparative political communication research: Poised for maturity? In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication: Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 325–343). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hachten, W. A. (1981). *The world news prism: Changing media, changing ideologies*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Halloran, J. D. (1998). Social science, communication research and the Third World. *Media Development* (2), 43–46.

Hanitzsch, T. (2006). Selling the autonomy of journalism: The malpractice of corruption among Indonesian journalists. In H. Xiaoming & S. K. Datta-Ray (Eds.), *Issues and challenges in Asian journalism* (pp. 169–188). Singapore: Marshall Cavendish Academic.

Hanitzsch, T. (2009). Comparative journalism studies. In K. Wahl-Jorgensen & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of journalism studies* (pp. 413–427). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hanitzsch, T., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B. I., . . . Yuen, K. W. (2010). Modeling perceived influences on journalism: Evidence from a cross-national survey of journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *87*(1), 7–24.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., & Lauerer, C. (2016). Setting the agenda, influencing public opinion, and advocating for social change: Determinants of journalistic interventionism in 21 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *17*(1), 1–20.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., . . . Yuen, K. W. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: A comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 273–293.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Ramaprasad, J., & de Beer, A. S. (Eds.). (2019). *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures across the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hanitzsch, T., & Mellado, C. (2011). What shapes the news around the world? How journalists in eighteen countries perceive influences on their work. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *16*(3), 404–426.

Hanitzsch, T., Vos, T., Standaert, O., Hanusch, F., Hovden, J. F., Hermans, L., & Ramaprasad, J. (2019). Role orientations: Journalists' views on their place in society. In T. Hanitzsch, F. Hanusch, J. Ramaprasad, & A. S. de Beer (Eds.), *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures across the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hantrais, L. (1999). Cross contextualization in cross-national comparative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, *2*, 93–108.

Hanusch, F., Hanitzsch, T., & Lauerer, C. (2017). 'How much love are you going to give this brand?' Lifestyle journalists on commercial influences in their work. *Journalism*, *18*(2), 141–158.

Hanusch, F. & Vos, T. (2019). Charting the development of a field: A systematic analysis of comparative studies of journalism. *International Communication Gazette*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048518822606.

Hardy, J. (2012). Comparing media systems. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 185–206). New York, NY: Routledge.

Heikkilä, H., & Kunelius, R. (2006). Journalists imagining the European public sphere: Professional discourses about the EU news practices in ten countries. *Javnost*, *13*(4), 63–80.

Higgins Joyce, V. D. M., Saldaña, M., Weiss, A. S., & Alves, R. C. (2017). Ethical perspectives in Latin America's journalism community: A comparative analysis of acceptance of controversial practice for investigative reporting. *International Communication Gazette*, *9*(5), 459–482.
Kaiser, J. (1953). *One week's news*. Paris: UNESCO.
Köcher, R. (1986). Bloodhounds or missionaries: Role definitions of German and British journalists. *European Journal of Communication*, *1*, 43–64.
Lerner, D. (1958). *The passing of traditional society: Modernizing the Middle East*. Glencoe: The Free Press.
Lo, V., Chan, J. M., & Pan, Z. (2005). Ethical attitudes and perceived practice: A comparative study of journalists in China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *15*, 154–172.
McLeod, J., & Rush, R. R. (1969). Professionalization of Latin American and US journalists. *Journalism Quarterly*, *46*, 583–590.
McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction* (3rd ed.). London: Sage Publications.
Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., Márquez-Ramírez, M., Humanes, M. L., Sparks, C., Stepinska, A., . . . Wang, H. (2017). The hybridization of journalistic cultures: A comparative study of journalistic role performance. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(6), 944–967.
Mellado, C., Moreira, S. V., Lagos, C., & Hernández, M. E. (2012). Comparing journalism cultures in Latin America: The case of Chile, Brazil and Mexico. *International Communication Gazette*, *74*(1), 60–77.
Merrill, J. (2002). The four theories of the press four and a half decades later: A retrospective. *Journalism Studies*, *3*(1), 133–134.
Moring, T., & Pfetsch, B. (2014). European political communication cultures and democracy. In B. Pfetsch (Ed.), *Political communication cultures in Europe; attitudes of political actors and journalists in nine countries* (pp. 287–301). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Muchtar, N., Hamada, B. I., Hanitzsch, T., Galal, A., Masduki, & Ullah, M. S. (2017). Journalism and the Islamic worldview: Journalistic roles in Muslim-majority countries. *Journalism Studies*, *18*(5), 555–575.
Nerone, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Last rights: Revisiting four theories of the press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
Nordenstreng, K. (1997). Beyond the four theories of the press. In J. Servaes & R. Lie (Eds.), *Media & politics in transition* (pp. 97–109). Leuven: Uitgeverij Acco.
Örnebring, H. (2009). Introduction: Questioning European journalism. *Journalism Studies*, *10*(1), 2–17.
Örnebring, H. (2012). Comparative journalism research—an overview. *Sociology Compass*, *6*(10), 769–780.
Örnebring, H. (2016). *Newsworkers: A comparative European perspective*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
Patterson, T. E., & Donsbach, W. (1996). News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. *Political Communication*, *13*(4), 455–468.
Pfetsch, B. (2001). Political communication culture in the United States and Germany. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *6*(1), 46–67.
Picard, R. G. (1985). *The press and the decline of democracy*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Pintak, L. (2014). Islam, identity and professional values: A study of journalists in three Muslim-majority regions. *Journalism*, *15*(4), 482–503.
Preston, P. (2009). *Making the news: Journalism and news cultures in Europe*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
Revers, M. (2017). *Contemporary journalism in the US and Germany: Agents of accountability*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Servaes, J. (2012). Comparing development communication. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *Handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 64–80). New York, NY: Routledge.
Shoemaker, P. J., & Cohen, A. A. (2006). *News around the world: Content, practitioners and the public*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Shoemaker, P. J., & Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influence on mass media content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.
Siebert, F., Peterson, T. B., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Splichal, S., & Sparks, C. (1994). *Journalists for the 21st century: Tendencies of professionalization among first-year students in 22 countries*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
Sreberny-Mohammadi, A. (1984). The "World of the news" study: Results of international cooperation. *Journal of Communication*, *34*, 134–138.
Statham, P. (2008). Making Europe news. How journalists view their role and media performance. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *9*(4), 398–422.
Stetka, V., & Örnebring, H. (2013). Investigative journalism in central and Eastern Europe: Autonomy, business models, and democratic roles. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *18*(4), 413–435.
Tunstall, J. (2008). *The media were American: US mass media in decline*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
Van Dalen, A., de Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2012). Different roles, different content? A four-country comparison of the role conceptions and reporting style of political journalists. *Journalism*, *13*(7), 903–922.
Weaver, D. H. (Ed.). (1998a). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Weaver, D. H. (1998b). Journalists around the world: Commonalities and differences. In D. H. Weaver (Ed.), *The global journalist: News people around the world* (pp. 455–480). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Weaver, D. H., & Wilhoit, G. C. (1996). *The American journalist in the 1990s: US news people at the end of an era*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (Eds.). (2012). *The global journalist in the 21st century*. London: Routledge.
Wessler, H., & Rinke, E. M. (2014). Deliberative performance of television news in three types of democracy: Insights from the United States, Germany, and Russia. *Journal of Communication*, *64*(5), 827–851.
Wu, H. D. (2000). Systemic determinants of international news coverage: A comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication*, *50*(1), 110–130.
Wu, W., Weaver, D., & Johnson, O. V. (1996). Professional roles of Russian and US journalists: A comparative study. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *73*(3), 534–548.
Zhu, J-H., Weaver, D., Lo, V., Chen, C., & Wu, W. (1997). Individual, organizational, and societal influences on media role perceptions: A comparative study of journalists in China, Taiwan, and the United States. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *74*(1), 84–96.

33

Journalism and Transitions to Democracy in Eastern Europe

Peter Gross

The almost concurrent collapse of communist regimes in 1989–1992 and the ensuing transformations in the Baltics, East, Southeast, and Central Europe (BESCE), created a heretofore unavailable living laboratory for journalism and media studies. Additionally, it allowed for an examination of those issues that contribute to the ongoing debates about the nature, importance, and independence of the role(s) of journalism in aiding the establishment of democracies with the kind of sustained liberal values that make them equivalent to their Western brethren.

This chapter delves into the main issues in the early research on the related areas of journalism and mass media systems studies, and the trajectory of scholarship as it evolved in the 1990–2017 era, its increasingly sophisticated, targeted, and analytical scholarship. It begins by considering the assumptions upon which scholarship was initially based and its related research shortcomings, which included the still-unresolved absence of applicable models/theories and a consequential list of other major and minor problems. Key areas upon which research was focused are then discussed, including the often-overlapping subtopics of media systems, inclusive of (limited) audience research; law and policy; ownership, markets, and media economics; journalism and politics; and additional journalism-focused research. The increasing emphasis on digital media-related research is given only cursory attention. Because of limited scholarly foci on the BESCE's international journalism, mediated public diplomacy, and the struggle to combat Russian information warfare, research on these topics are left for a future work.

INITIAL SCHOLARSHIP ON POST-1989 JOURNALISM

From the outset, research on journalism and media systems in the BESCE was plagued by questionable assumptions and a number of theoretical, methodological, and conceptual shortcomings.

Unfounded Assumptions

Three assumptions ruled the expectations regarding how the region's media and journalism would develop after 1989: (1) they would organically become independent, (2) professionalize with help from the West, and (3) be *principal tools* in the democratization process.

By the mid-1990s in some of the regions' countries and by the decade's end in others, it became clear that these assumptions were mistaken, primarily because for them to have been viable, an "enabling environment" needed to exist. This environment had to include both media and civic cultures that encouraged "information proliferation, competition among views, and tolerance of ideas" (Price, Rozumilowicz, & Verhulst, 2002, p. 17). Some democratization was also imperative to allow for the evolution of media capable of aiding the further democratization of society and of its institutions (Jakubowicz, 2001, p. 206). With their journalism, Jakubowicz added, the media "naturally contribute in a slow and gradual way" to democratization. Altogether, he contended, democracy includes a number of facilitators—missing in the BESCE—permitting the media to make significant contributions:

- Civil society and an independent public sphere,
- An established role for public opinion,
- A willingness to depoliticize important areas of social life,
- Trust in and acceptance of public broadcasting regulation to serve public interest, and
- The emergence of journalistic professionalism based on a notion of public service.

As the first post-communist decade unfolded, scholars authoritatively noted that there were at least four other related requisites to enabling the media and journalism to be independent, ethical, and efficacious contributors to democratization. Unfortunately, each was either unconsolidated, altogether absent, or unequally present:

1. An independent judiciary to secure liberal interpretations and applications of new laws meant to protect journalists and their sources, address libel, defamation, and other media-oriented issues;
2. Sufficient transparency and social responsibility in government and state institutions to allow journalists to do their job;
3. A society-oriented political elite, that is, socially responsible, sustaining of the two elements listed above, appreciative of the media's roles in democracies, and respecting, or at least not opposing journalists and their work;
4. A media business elite that encouraged depoliticized journalism and editorial independence; and
5. Professional organizations willing and capable of militating for journalists' rights, independence, and protection, defining, and enforcing journalistic ethics.

During the 1990s, the majority of scholarship employed Western democratic (liberal) and normative lenses, focusing on the role of media and journalism in the 1989 revolutions, and/or provided tandem examinations of their effects in the brief transitions and their immediate aftermath (e.g., Andruonas, 1993; Hoyer, Lauk, & Vihalemm, 1993; Shane, 1994). Splichal (1994) and Sparks (1998) were among the few exceptions, employing a Marxist or neo-Marxist approach to examining media that just escaped the clutches of Marxism-Leninism.

Most works were descriptive and forged within narrow confines of socio-political and economic settings, some with longer or briefer assessments of the preceding communist media systems, others concentrating on one or a small group of countries, the media's contributions to and effects in political elections, and the reconfiguration of laws (e.g., Gálik & Dénes, 1992; Giorgi, 1995; Gross, 1996; Lauristin & Vihalemm, 1997). Others were broad overviews, some collections covering a wide range of issues, countries, and methodologies (e.g., Corcoran & Preston, 1995; Paletz, Jakubowicz, & Novosel, 1995; Ramet & Mason, 1992). Western NGOs and media watchdog organizations contributed a wealth of country-specific and/or regional studies and continue to do so, among them the Erich Brost Institut, Freedom Forum, IREX, Committee to Protect Journalists, Transparency International, and Human Rights Watch. Scholarship also focused on news agencies, PSM, and the challenges to media freedoms (e.g., Mickiewicz, 1997; Rantanen & Vartanova, 1995; Vartanova, 2010). Because both the contours and essence of the socio-political, economic, cultural, policy, and legal worlds were in flux, efforts at theorizing were premature (e.g., Downing, 1996).

Problems in Journalism Research

A major difficulty in journalism and media scholarship in *post-totalitarian* countries, stemmed from the absence of applicable models and/or theories, inclusive of those offered by studies of *post-authoritarian* nations. The latter failed to suggest how journalism and the media could serve the twin aspirational desiderata of contributing to democratization in post-totalitarian contexts.

Thus, studies of journalism and media during Greece, Portugal, and Spain's conversion to democracy in the 1970s, and the post-despotism era in Latin American countries in the 1980s, at best, had only marginal utility in anticipating and explaining developments and contributions in the BESCE. In turn, evolving BESCE journalism and media systems models were of limited benefit in the 1990s post-authoritarian Asian countries and post-apartheid South Africa (e.g., Brooten, 2011; Lugo, 2000; Maxwell, 1983; Paraschos & Zaharopoulos, 1992). Moreover, collectively the BESCE's journalistic experiences failed as models in other attempted and successful transitions-transformations like the Arab Spring and Myanmar (Burma) in 2010.[1]

That said, journalism and media studies in all transitions-transformations suggest thematic similarities in scholarly foci. For instance, journalistic roles as centers of attention appear common to media studies in Latin America's post-authoritarian countries (e.g., Fox, 1988; Waisbord, 2000); defining elements of journalistic roles, independence, and ethics is dominant in scholarship addressing democratic and semi-democratic Asian countries (Bromley & Romano, 2009); the continued concentration of media enterprises in the hands of former owners and uninterrupted commercialization—present during preceding regimes—are nuclei of attention in Latin America and beyond (e.g., Sparks, 2011); and, lastly, the ubiquitous spread of digital media and journalism is part of scholarship across Latin America, Africa, and Asia (e.g., George, 2006).

Despite some overlap in the realities exposed by these themes, comparisons between transitions-transformations from authoritarianism and totalitarianism challenge any clear mirroring between their journalism and media functions and, arguably, their effects. There is one glaring exception in the human inclinations and attitudes, even if in different socio-cultural and historical settings, of attempting to control and manipulate journalism and the media in the (differing) post-repressive eras.

It is comprehensible that journalism and media studies in *post-authoritarian* societies are only marginally relevant to scholarship in *post-totalitarian* countries. After all, despite some overlapping characteristics, the nature of authoritarian and totalitarian systems differs. Furthermore, in addition to being culturally distinctive, the countries subjected to each system, both individually and collectively, also had dissimilar pre-authoritarian and pre-totalitarian histories. Lastly, the historical, ethnic, and other complexities of the transformation period in the BESCE had *few* counterparts on the other three continents. South Africa constitutes somewhat of an anomaly given its unique apartheid past and also the racial issues that endure.[2] Nevertheless, by the turn of the century, a handful of topically targeted comparisons of Latin American and post-communist media were made available (e.g., Hallin & Papathanassopoulos, 2002).

Hence, the never-before experienced collapse of communist totalitarian systems caught media scholars generally unprepared to tackle the issues related to the transitions and the necessary transformations that followed. The result was the neglect shown initially to the mutuality of effects, and to their absence or uni-directionality in the acknowledged correlation between evolving a democracy-serving media and the democratization process. The majority of Western scholars who rushed to the regions were additionally handicapped by limited grasp of both the long- and short-term histories of their constituent countries and by lack of language capabilities. More importantly, they had only a cursory understanding of the cultures and political cultures that constituted in various forms an "enduring past" lastingly affecting post-1989 evolutions, as Maner (1998) correctly noted in regard to Romania and valid in all post-communist countries.[3]

Aside from the paucity of functional theories and models that afflicted journalism and media systems scholarship in the BESCE, more intrinsically problematic was the propensity during the 1990s to aggregate all post-communist regions and their countries into one homogenous research universe (e.g., Terzis, 2008; Voltmer, 2008). This was an unsurprising predisposition given the overall truism that they shared Marxist-Leninist fundamentals before 1989–1992. Yet, there were some major differences in the "bloc" (Dimitrova-Grajzl & Simon, 2010). The Soviet Baltic states, Belarus, and Ukraine's experiences were not identical to Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia's, which in turn were different from Enver Hoxha's Albania, Todor Zhivkov's Bulgaria, and Nicolae Ceausescu's Romania, themselves somewhat dissimilar from each other. The now-independent states of Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia also experienced Marxism-Leninism somewhat differently thanks to Yugoslavia's Titoist version. Jakubowicz (2005, p. 2) was one of the first media scholars to recognize the problem at its most elemental level—"in terms of factors facilitating or hindering successful post-communist transformation"—and assigned BESCE countries to Type A or B groups. Contrasting the second group, Type A countries were comparatively more prosperous; had higher educational standards, organized dissident movements, treated dissidents relatively moderately, reformist groups in the communist parties that attempted top-down reforms, nationally/ethnically homogenous populations; and experienced popular pressure for change and retained some pre-communist cultural traditions. Limited as Jakubowicz's typologies may have been, it was an incipient recognition of the qualified cultural and experiential heterogeneity of the BESCE regions and countries, before, during, and after communism.

By the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21st century, scholarship on BESCE media systems and journalism became far more diverse, pinpointed, and rigorous, concentrating on individual or all media platforms; policy and legislation; markets and economics; ownership, inclusive of foreign whole or partial proprietorship; systems and, separately, public service media (PSM); contents; professionalization of journalists and journalism and its nature and practices; professional organizations; the overall confluence of society, politics, economics, and media, that included among other topics the intertwined issues of freedom, parallelism, instrumentalization, and clientelism; and finally, comparative studies. Media systems studies tended to be both descriptive and theoretical, whereas the examination of journalism was more illustrative of its practical problems and analytical, sharing in and being effected by the systems' evolving socio-political, business-economic, legal, and cultural contexts. In sum, developments in the region crystallized the fact that journalism's ethics and their operationalizations were directly and indirectly dictated by the nature and roles of the media systems and the ethos they created.

KEY AREAS OF SCHOLARSHIP

The cornucopia of studies on media and politics, society, "democratization," policy and legislation, markets and economics, ownership, and PSM contribute to informing the varied descriptions of and debates on journalism practices, freedoms, roles, efficacies, and effects in democratization (e.g., Peruško, Čuvalo, & Vozab, 2017). Judging by the collective evaluations available, the media systems' evolution, character, mode of functioning and journalism practices in the ongoing transformations have to date largely failed both exogenous and endogenous expectations (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2017; Dobek-Ostrowska & Głowacki, 2015; Gross, 2002). Nevertheless, there are those like Balčytienė, Lauk, and Głowacki (2014), among others, who justifiably suggested that journalism served a positive purpose at least in the transition period.

The repetitively reliable and related key issues plaguing every aspect of the media systems and their journalism that were identified from 1990 to 2017 are concurrently political, social, economic, and historical: overall independence, de-linking from the state and depoliticization (instrumentalization, clientelism, parallelism), professional freedom, legal constraints and support, concentration/ownership, pluralism, and diversity, to name but a few. All are fettered to atavistic values, beliefs, and attitudes shared by post-1989 media; socio-political and economic elites; and/or their unwillingness or inability to acculturate to liberal values (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2014; Czepek, Hellwig, & Nowak, 2009; Eberwein, Fengler, & Karmasin, 2017; Gross, 2002; Gross & Jakubowicz, 2013; Hume, 2011; Jakubowicz & Sükösd, 2008; Psychogiopoulou, 2012; Ryabinska, 2011).[4]

Subject to extensive study, these salient issues are summarized here; each correlation prescribes one degree or another of causations in the outcome of the media and journalism's functioning and effects.

Media Systems

Theorizing media systems traditionally proceeded along established approaches that almost singularly employed socio-political, economic, or audience perspectives (e.g., from Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956, to Hallin & Mancini, 2004).[5] Significantly, too, they were based on Western experiences and realities, leading Curran and Park (2000) and others to advocate "de-Westernizing" media studies. In a follow-up edited collection to their 2004 book (Hallin & Mancini, 2012a), as well as in a new chapter addressed to the critics of their work expressly meant to extend media systems modeling "beyond the Western world," Hallin and Mancini (2012b) similarly suggested that endeavors to apply their three models to non-Western cases will restrict the development of non-European based theories.

Furthermore, with or without the employment of Western models or theories, scholarship in the 1990s principally failed to take into account four major factors mitigated against attempts to construct or apply *one* model: (1) the West's pre-World War II social, cultural, and political systems differed from the BESCE's, as they did within the regions; (2) communist-era experiences varied, in small and significant ways; (3) the ways communism ended was dissimilar (i.e., the USSR and Yugoslavia dissolved themselves; Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary achieved a negotiated end; Romania underwent a violent upheaval, etc.); and finally (4) post-communist developments took divergent paths. By forsaking these factors, scholars disregarded culture as a preeminent approach in media systems modeling, despite it being frequently mentioned *and* employed in Western journalism studies.

That said, Hallin and Mancini's (2004) Mediterraneanization/Polarized Pluralist model emerged as the most overemployed one in attempts to fit the BESCE media into a Western typology (e.g., Balčytienė, 2011; Dobek-Ostrowska, 2011). There were those like Coman (2000) who, alongside a handful of others, posited that East-Central Europe's media systems have not created a fresh typology but are hybrids of the Hallin and Mancini models. The general idea of hybrid media complemented assertions that the BESCE's democratic systems themselves developed as hybrids (e.g., Levitsky & Way, 2010).

Suffice it to say, the existing models proved inadequate to the task of explaining or serving as references for analyzing BESCE media systems and, therefore, journalism. This is because, first and foremost, models predicated on Western empirical evidence are not necessarily applicable elsewhere given the historical-cultural sensitive essence of the elements considered. For instance, there is little doubt that political parallelism, state and government's relationships with PSM, and a state role in media systems are present in both Western and BESCE countries. However, it is equally undeniable that while they share some affinities, their natures and the way they are operationalized are dissimilar. In short, compared to the West, there generally is a glaring "lag" in the evolution of values, beliefs, and attitudes in the BESCE (e.g., Meštrović, 1993).

Lastly, the unresolved problem of conceptualizing universalizable media systems models for the BESCE continues to hamper comparative studies, which were nevertheless extensively made available (e.g., Dobek-Ostrowska & Głowacki, 2008; Gross, 2002; Jakubowicz, 2007). Both efforts to compare and theorize were inconclusive and somewhat repetitive (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2017; Downey & Mihelj, 2012; Hallin, 2002; Hardy, 2012; Voltmer, 2008, 2013). One worthwhile study argued that given common media usage by Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, and Romanian audiences, there is a Southern European model, thus, a North-South rather than the East-West split as proposed by Hallin and Mancini (Peruško, Vozab, & Čuvalo, 2013). Another work, an 11-country study (Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia), purports to "validate and extend" the Hallin and Mancini models, postulating an Eastern, Northern, and Central typology for the Baltics-East-Central European regions (Herrero, Humprecht, Engesser, Brüggemann, & Büchel, 2017). Puppis, d'Haenens, Künzler, and Steinmaurer (2009, p. 105) make the reasonable case that small countries should be studied separately, their peculiarities necessitating amending "existing typologies of media systems with the notion of smallness, which would allow for more systematic comparative research."

Importantly, Rantanen's (2013) critique of the systems approach declares that culture is not considered or comes into play when a system model is insufficient for the analytical task.[6] Thus, Rantanen's work is especially relevant for considering a cultural approach to media systems modeling, one glaringly absent as also noted by Thomass (2007) and Jakubowicz (2010, 2007). Even Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2012)—despite employing the dominant notion that socio-political and economic systems dictate the character and functioning of media systems—made strong inferences to using "culture" and "historical developments," analyzing media systems as "institutions within particular social settings." Jakubowicz (2012, 2005, p. 35), too, specified that processes of democratic consolidation have "behavioral and attitudinal dimensions," not just systemic and institutional ones, as does media development. Notably, Pfetsch (2004) and Pfetsch and Voltmer (2012) examined *the theoretical aspects* of the general culture and political culture in Eastern European media systems, making important contributions to a yet-to-be articulated cultural approach. Coman (2003) employed the specific notions of myth, ritual, the sacred, liminality, and other anthropological concepts in studying Romania's media system, complementing in some ways Császi's (2002) Durkheim-based work. Others like Bajomi-Lázár (2008) considered the "behavioral dimensions" of journalism in East-Central Europe; Balčytienė (2011) dealt with culture as a theoretical guide in Lithuania; Roudakova (2012) focused on media and transition from historical perspectives, addressing the overall relevancy of culture in studying media systems; and De Smaele (2015) assessed information culture in Russia.

Law and Policy

With the change in socio-political and economic systems in 1989–1992 came the necessary introduction of new legislation, addressing defamation, insult, libel, freedom of information laws, or something akin to them, and protection of (journalists') sources. Laws inaugurated broadcast councils in the 1990s, tasked with setting up policies regarding radio and television ownership, licensing rule, and so on, followed by regulations addressing digital media. In most instances, the articulations of laws and policies resembled their Western counterparts. Beyond that, however, the spirit in which they continue to be interpreted, applied, and enforced is quite different in most if not all BESCE countries. Considering the politicization of the judiciary and its broad lack of independence across the regions, this should hardly cause consternation. This extends to broadcast councils that, in general, also became highly controversial for being politicized, more so in some countries like Romania, for example, and less so in the Baltics (e.g., Thompson, 2008; Preoteasa, Comanescu, Avădani, & Vasilache, 2010).

Not only was the general nature of media-related laws, regulations, and policies in each of the former communist countries put under the microscope, the new EU members among them were assessed vis-à-vis the standards and interpretations given them by EU institutions. They were also compared to Western media governance (e.g., Harcourt, 2003; Klimkiewicz, 2010; Richter, 2009; Terzis, 2008). Despite the well-informed, nuanced, and expert dissection of laws, regulations, and policies, neither the single-country nor the comparative approach resulted in conclusions that were commonly laudable of the BESCE. Admittedly, some countries made progress over the years, fine-tuning laws and policies, and more importantly the way they were perceived and operationalized. The Baltic countries, Slovenia, and the Czech Republic are standouts in this regard but by no means without inherent flaws in both the elucidation and operationalization of media policies and laws. Other countries struggle to varying degrees with both the connotations of laws and policies and their execution; Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus remain the antithesis of legal and policy environments guaranteeing freedom of the press, access to information, and protection of journalists beyond the articulation that feigns such sureties (e.g., Kashumov, Danov, Zlatev, & Bajomi-Lázár, 2006; Psychogiopoulou, 2012).

One of the most interesting studies on law and policy focuses on the Yeltsin years in Russia (Price, Richter, & Yu, 2002). In addition to Richter's (2007) post-Soviet censorship and media freedom study—which should be updated to reflect the perspective of Putin's Russia—there is Polyák and Nagy's (2015) work on Hungary and Skolkay's (2011) on Slovakia. Aside from the problems with interpretations and applications of laws, comparative media law studies—highlighting major and minor differences between some BESCE, Western, and other countries—illustrated one significant reality: most BESCE countries have a lot of catching up to do (Molnár, 2015).

The legal environment substantially contributed or detracted from journalism's evolution in unequal ways across the regions (e.g., Belakova, 2013). It additionally affected the media markets themselves (Harcourt, 2003). Libel, defamation, and insult laws were employed and interpreted in ways that threatened or had chilling effects on journalism; as aforementioned, access to information laws were not widely introduced and protection of journalistic sources were unevenly present in 1990–2018, as was their appreciation and applications (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2017; Klimkiewicz, 2010).

Media Ownership, Markets, Economics

BESCE media markets developed over time as the establishment of an open, capitalist market system evolved, particularly in the more backward former communist countries (Albania, Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine). Thus, speaking of media markets in the first post-1989 decade was an imprecise way of describing the relationship between the budding media businesses and the economic system. The issue of "media economics" developed alongside the evolution of the consumer economies, the advertising business itself, and the states' need to mediatize the commercialization of enterprises they still controlled.

Additionally, the explosion of media outlets in the early 1990s decreased the possibility that all of them could be financially sustained, especially in countries with relatively small populations/audiences (e.g., Sukosd & Bajomi-Lázár, 2003). This opened the door to subsidies from political parties and collusion between them and media owners; in some instances, their relationship also morphing into state subsidization by way of advertising assigned to media supportive of the party or parties in power (see C. Media and Politics). By 2008–2009, the economic downturn led to a further reduction in the number of outlets, necessary perhaps from an audience and market perspective (e.g., Müller, 2014). More insidious was the acceleration of illiberalism and outright authoritarianism, contributing to shrinking the size of media systems and negatively affecting journalism.

Editors and journalists from the defunct communist media, individually and in groups, former communist leaders and newcomers to the political, media, and business worlds became post-1989 media proprietors, together with the newly established political formations and in some cases the reestablished pre-communist era "traditional" political parties. In most BESCE countries, the lack of transparency in press ownership became a major controversy, but less so in broadcasting because owners were obliged to abide by the broadcast councils' regulations (Petković, 2004; Ryabinska, 2011; Štětka, 2012).

By 1999 and the beginning of the 21st century, ownership concentration increased, and media oligarchs appeared, i.e., businessmen with substantial political connections and/or politicians who acquired media for use in advancing their political goals (see next section) (e.g., Štětka, 2012). Together with the media's politicization, the notion of "media capture" and "party colonization of the media" became the descriptive currency of media evolution and arguably the most salient problem (Bajomi-Lázár, 2014; Mungiu-Pippidi & Ghinea, 2012; Ryabinska, 2014). It was rightly interpreted as conspiracies to manipulate and control the media and journalists, as well as other institutions relevant to their functioning, i.e., legislative and regulatory institutions addressing the media and journalists, and the partial or total emasculation of the judiciaries (e.g., Jakubowicz, 2007; Dobek-Ostrowska, Głowacki, Jakubowicz, & Sükösd, 2010).[7]

Media ownership by foreign individuals or groups also emerged as foci of examination for a number of reasons, among them (1) the politicization of the issue, partly linked to nationalism (e.g., Hungary and Poland); (2) the real and imagined effects it had on the media business (e.g., Gálik & Dénes, 1992); and (3) the question of whether it had an impact on journalistic practices (e.g., Czepek et al., 2009; Mihelj & Downey, 2012).

Finally, studies showed how related economic issues, including the power to hire and fire journalists, salaries, and collective bargaining, among others, affected the professionalization of journalism.

Journalism and Politics

The demise of the Marxist-Leninist systems liberated the media from political control for no more than a few months. In ways reminiscent of the pre-World War II era, the party-press returned in all of the regions' countries for longer or shorter periods of time. When largely rejected throughout the 1990s in most BESCE countries, the majority of the media embarked on vigorous, undisguised political parallelism, prompting a spate of works describing and comparing the phenomenon and its country-specific versions (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2014; Ryabinska, 2014; Mickiewicz, 1997, 2008; Mungiu-Pippidi & Ghinea, 2012).

The regions' politicians acquired media outlets, employed influential business friends who owned media to mediatize their campaigns, and used their power to influence and manipulate other media, instrumentalizing them for their own political and/or business goals, those of their party and friends (e.g., Godole, 2016; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2008). They aimed not only for political power for its own sake, but for use in the business enterprises they owned or aspired to own. Elites created hyper-clientelistic relationships and hyper-instrumentalized the media whose natures and effects were richly documented (e.g., Gross & Jakubowicz, 2013; Örnebring, 2012).

"Italianization" (Splichal, 1994) became the catchword used by a considerable number of scholars in the 1990s, epitomizing the politicization of media and journalism. Wyka's (2007) analysis gave credence to the concept's supporters, and ammunition to its detractors, and also considered the "Berlusconization" moniker as a descriptive, a nod to Silvio Berlusconi expanding media empire during his prime ministership of Italy (2001–2006, 2008–2011). The characterization was unwarranted because many little indigenous Berlusconis existed in most BESCE countries, their mutual animosities and/or competition against one another signaled a modicum of external pluralism in the media systems that the shibboleth "Berlusconization" did not fully recognize.

The media's self-politicization—thanks to it symbiotic relationship with the elites and a not-yet-democratically inclined culture—brought into question their role in democratization and media self-democratization (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2017). The relationship between markets and media, the combined effects of newspapers, radio, and television that were directly subsidized by political parties and/or politicians and continued to be operated as nonprofit enterprises whose principal *raison d'etre* was to be political mouthpieces, drew a great deal of scholarly attention (e.g., Bajomi-Lázár, 2014; Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Jakubowicz, 2013).

The most noteworthy and insidious outcome of the symbiotic media-politics interconnectivity is the elimination of all or most media outlets considered to be in "opposition." Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine are the poster countries of this trend. Other BESCE countries, too, have democratically elected leaders that have attempted to create atmospheres in which opposition media and journalists are sufficiently cowed to self-censor, thus eliminating themselves as effective independent voices (see Freedom House, Reporters Sans Frontieres, and IREX annual media reviews, 2000–2017).

A major offshoot of politicization was the manipulation and political dominance of PSM, officially reconfigured from being state-owned and, therefore, theoretically liberated from the direct or indirect jurisdiction of political parties (e.g., Milosavljević & Poler, 2018; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2003). The political independence of PSM news divisions became controversial to differing degrees in BESCE countries (e.g., Micova, 2012; Šimunjak, 2016). Their reliance on state funding, in a political process fraught with partisanship and the interests of the party or coalitions controlling the government, kept and still keeps most PSM financially unstable and unable to fulfill their mandates as news purveyors free of both political *and* market considerations.

The coordinated mutualism of politics, markets, and media severely reduced if not eliminated internal pluralism in the overwhelming majority of media outlets, affecting the character and practice of journalism. External pluralism was retained to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the country examined (e.g., Jakubowicz, 2013). The introduction of digital media and the ever-growing number of BESCE citizens with access to the internet—together with digital journalism found on digital platforms that itself attracting scholarly examination—helps the cause of external pluralism, to the chagrin of dictators and would-be dictators in the regions (e.g., Ellis, 1999; Popescu, 2013).

One scholarly agreement is worth reiterating: journalism was politicized; even the independent variety that was "in opposition" to the illiberal nature of democratization and to the authoritarian tendencies of elected leaders, became by its very struggles a politicized practice.

Furthermore, journalism was commercialized, or as Štětka (2012) writes, owners placed it under duress to perform in ways that met/meet their economic interests. As in the case of media systems studies, the proposition that journalism practices were hybridized in various ways was advanced by a number of scholars (e.g., Mellado et al., 2017). It was not an altogether new, unsupported thesis, even when it was not so articulated (e.g., Metyková & Waschková Císařová, 2009).

Other Issues in Journalism

If the difficulties that Western democracies are experiencing is a "crisis of journalism," then the impasse the former communist states are in is twice as acute given that they have neither fully consolidated Western-like democracies nor adequately established levels of independent and ethical journalism (Deloire, 2018). Considering the economic, political, and legal issues impinging on all aspects of the BESCE's media systems, it appears that the crisis of these fledgling democracies is preeminently a crisis of media and only by extension of journalism. After all, the character, ethics, ethos, and role of journalism are a function of the media's independence, how they define their responsibilities, and their historical and cultural underpinnings (e.g., Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The culture established in newsrooms is a river fed by many smaller and larger streams, such as the intent and mentalities of owners; political, ideological, and economic pressures; and the journalists' own political inclinations, economic interests, and degrees of professional devotions, to name but a few contributors.

Journalism's role and input in the brief transition was relatively more clear-cut than in the far more complex not-yet-concluded transformation, as Szabó and Kiss (2012) illustrate in the Hungarian case; Dobek-Ostrowska (2011) in Poland; Candea (2011) in Romania; Hume (2011), Štětka (2012), and Balčytienė et al. (2014) in the general situation in East-Central Europe and Baltic states; and as others do in other regions. There were several mini-phases in 1989–2018 journalism, varying in some ways in the regions' countries, featuring a beginning of professionalization, lapses, re-engagements in professional evolution, and once again, deterioration. It is inaccurate to characterize BESCE journalism contributions as negative in the transition-transformation, as much as it is to say it was positive (e.g., Eberwein et al., 2017). It was a mixture of intentional and unintentional positive and negative contributions.

What remains striking is the disconnect between what journalists thought of their own real independence, positive roles, practices, and effects and the richly documented realities (e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2019). Additionally, this illustrated differences in cultural interpretations, as well as the culture-driven perspectives that motivated the researchers' questions and the journalists' answers. Journalistic practices and cultures showed both similarities and differences among BESCE countries, between them and those in other regions of the world, and also their uniqueness in certain aspects (Metyková & Waschková Císařová, 2009; Örnebring, 2016; Hanitzsch & Mellado, 2011; Hanitzsch, 2011; Hanitzsch et al., 2011).

Dozens of framing studies complemented the studies of media and journalistic practices (e.g., Dimitrova & Kostadinova, 2013; Vincze, 2014). Additionally, gatekeeping studies buttressed the assertions of politicized media and journalism, their instrumentalization, and clientelistic aspects (e.g., Camaj, 2010; Dragomir, 2010). Wanta and Lodzki (2010), among others, expertly compared agenda setting issues. Specific topics examined by scholars comprise a lengthy list and included the overall changes in journalism paradigms, minority portrayals in the media, investigative journalism, election coverage, civil society and media, political communication, media ethics, trust, accountability, and the burgeoning role and nature of digital media and their journalism (e.g., Głowacki & Kuś, 2012; Peruško & Popović, 2008).

CONCLUSION

Systemic and institutional transitions from authoritarian and totalitarian regimes proved easier compared to the still ongoing Herculean struggle to transform cultures and political cultures meant to empower countries to build Western liberal democracies. Definitively measuring the role and effects of media and journalism in the ongoing transformations is not an easy assignment and neither is the examination of their character and ways of functioning, both being subject to assortments of exogenous and endogenous influences.

The synergism between media markets, ownership, and politics continues, potentially posing a threat to independent, democracy-supporting journalism. Media and journalism are not entirely independent agents in a transition-transformation and, therefore, not the principal tools in democratization but only uncertain partners in the process. This makes the tasks of media and journalism scholarship more central than ever, because its findings are a barometer of democratic progress or regression.

NOTES

1. See for example, Liu's (2016) assessment of digital media's contributions to political ferment and the social movements in China.
2. One additional point to be made is that European colonialism, which left its mark in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, had economic and political domination at its core. Whereas the Soviet domination of the BESCE countries was primarily ideological and cultural, in addition to economic; that is, if you discount the annexation of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Central Asian countries, and parts of what is now Moldova.
3. In the immediate post-1989 period, there were only a few BESCE scholars interested and capable of carrying out media and journalism scholarship. That changed over the years, and the BESCE developed some outstanding academics in this discipline.
4. Collectively, these and hundreds of other sources also provide extensive bibliographies that could not possibly be reproduced here.
5. Hallin and Mancini (2017) authored a retrospective on their media systems models, with a significant accent on methodologies employed in comparisons.
6. See also Jakubowicz (2010).
7. In Russia and Belarus, the leadership managed to gain control over the great majority of independent media or eliminate them altogether.

REFERENCES

Andruonas, E. (1993). *Soviet media in transition. Structural and economic alternatives*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2008). The consolidation of media freedom in post-communist countries. In K. Jakubowicz & M. Sukosd (Eds.), *Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in global perspective* (pp. 73–84). Bristol: Intellect Books.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2014). *Party colonization of the media in central and Eastern Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2017). *Media in third-wave democracies. Southern and central/Eastern Europe in comparative perspective*. Budapest: L'Harmattan.

Balčytienė, A. (2011). Culture as a guide in theoretical explorations of Baltic media. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* (pp. 51–71). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Balčytienė, A., Lauk, E., & Głowacki, M. (2014). Roller coasters of social change, democracy and journalism in central and Eastern Europe. In M. Głowacki, E. Lauk, & A. Balčytienė (Eds.), *Journalism that matters. Views from central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 9–20). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Belakova, N. (2013). Analysing how law shapes journalism in central and Eastern Europe: The case of the 2008 Slovak Press Act. *Global Media and Communication*, *9*(3), 197–217.

Bromley, M., & Romano, A. (2009). *Journalism and democracy in Asia*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brooten, L. (2011). Media, militarization, and human rights: Comparing media reform in the Philippines and Burma. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *4*(3), 229–249.

Camaj, L. (2010). Gatekeeping the gatekeepers: International community and freedom of information Kosovo. *Global Media Journal*, *9*(17). Retrieved from www.globalmediajournal.com/open-access/gatekeeping-the-gatekeepers-international-communityand-freedom-of-information-in-kosovo.php?aid=35293

Candea, S. (2011). Abandoning a broken model of journalism. *Nieman Reports*, *65*(1), 5–10.

Coman, M. (2000). Developments in journalism theory about media 'transition' in central and Eastern Europe, 1990–1999. *Journalism Studies*, *1*(1), 35–56.

Coman, M. (2003). *Mass media, mit si ritual. O perspectiva anthropologica*. Iasi: Polirom.

Corcoran, F., & Preston, P. (1995). *Democracy and communication in the New Europe: Change and continuity in East and West*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Császi, L. (2002). *A média rítusai. A kommunikáció neodurkheimi elmélete/Media Rituals*. Budapest: Osiris Kiado & MTA-ELTE Kommunikasioelmeleti Kutatocsoport.

Curran, J., & Park, Myung-Jin. (2000). *De-westernizing media studies*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Czepek, A., Hellwig, M., & Nowak, E. (2009). *Press freedom and pluralism in Europe: Concepts and conditions*. Bristol and Chicago, IL: Intellect Books.

Deloire, C. (2018, January 25). The crisis of western democracy is a crisis of journalism. *openDemocracy*. Retrieved from www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/christophe-deloire/crisis-of-western-democracy-is-crisis-of-journalism

De Smaele, H. (2015). Values underlying the information culture in communist and post-communist Russia (1917–1999). *Media and Communication*, *3*(4), 15–25.

Dimitrova, D. V., & Kostadinova, P. (2013). Identifying antecedents of the strategic game frame: A longitudinal analysis. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *90*(1), 75–88.

Dimitrova-Grajzl, V., & Simon, E. (2010). Political trust and historical legacy: The effect of varieties of socialism. *East European Politics and Society*, *24*(2), 206–228.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B. (2011). Italianization (or Mediterraneanization) of the Polish media system? Reality and perspective. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* (pp. 26–50). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Głowacki, M. (2008). *Comparing media systems in central and Eastern Europe: Between commercialization and politicization*. Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wroclawskiego.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., & Głowacki, M. (2015). *Democracy and media in central Europe. 25 Years on*. Frankfurt-am-Main, Bern, Bruxelles, New York, NY, Oxford, Warsaw and Vienna: Peter Lang.

Dobek-Ostrowska, B., Głowacki, M., Jakubowicz, K., & Sükösd, M. (2010). *Comparative media systems. European and global perspectives*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Downey, J., & Mihelj, S. (2012). *Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective. Politics, economy and culture*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Downing, J. D. H. (1996). *Internationalizing media theory: Transition, power, culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Dragomir, M. (2010). *Central and Eastern Europe*. World Bank Report. Retrieved from https://sites.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/WorldBankReport/Chapter%2010%20Dragomir.pdf

Eberwein, T., Fengler, S., & Karmasin, M. (2017). *The European handbook of media accountability*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Ellis, F. (1999). *From glasnost to the internet: Russia's new infosphere*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Esser, F., & Pfetsch, B. (2004). *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fox, E. (1988). *Media and politics in Latin America: The struggle for democracy*. London: Sage Publications.

Gálik, M., & Dénes, F. (1992). *From command media to media market: The role of Foreign capital in the transition of the Hungarian media*. Budapest: Budapest University of Economics.

George, C. (2006). *Contentious journalism and the internet: Towards democratic discourse in Malaysia and Singapore*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Giorgi, L. (1995). *The post-socialist media: What power the West? The changing media landscape in Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic*. Aldershot: Averbury.

Głowacki, M., & Kuś, M. (2012). How much media accountability in Bulgaria, Poland and Serbia? A comparative approach to online innovations. *Media Transformations*, *7*, 36–57.

Godole, J. (2016, December). Country report: Journalists in Albania. *Worlds of Journalism Study*. https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/31745/1/Country_report_Albania.pdf.

Gross, P. (1996). *Mass media in revolution and national development: The Romanian laboratory*. Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.

Gross, P. (2002). *Entangled evolutions. Media and democratization in Eastern Europe*. Baltimore, IL: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gross, P., & Jakubowicz, K. (2013). *Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Hallin, D. C. (2002). *Political clientelism and the media: Southern Europe and Latin America in comparative perspective*. San Diego, CA: University of California.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2012a). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2012b). Comparing media systems: A response to critics. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 207–220). ICA Handbook Series. New York, NY: Routledge.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2017). Ten years after comparing media systems: What have we learned? *Journal of Political Communication*, *34*(2), 155–171.

Hallin, D. C., & Papathanassopoulos, S. (2002). Political clientelism and the media: Southern Europe and Latin America in comparative perspective. *Media, Culture & Society*, *24*(2), 175–195.

Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *International Communication Gazette*, *73*(6), 477–494.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., . . . Yuen, E. K. W. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: A comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 273–293.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Ramaprasad, J., & de Beer, A. S. (Eds.). (2019). *Worlds of journalism: Comparing journalistic cultures around the globe*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hanitzsch, T., & Mellado, C. (2011). What shapes the news around the world? How journalists in eighteen countries perceive influences on their work. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *16*(3), 404–426.

Harcourt, A. (2003). The regulation of media markets in selected EU accession state in central and Eastern Europe. *European Law Journal*, *9*(3), 316–340.

Hardy, J. (2012). Comparing media systems. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 185–206). ICA Handbook Series. New York, NY: Routledge.

Herrero, L. C., Humprecht, E., Engesser, S., Brüggemann, M., & Büchel, F. (2017). Rethinking Hallin and Mancini beyond the West: An analysis of media systems in central and Eastern Europe. *International Journal of Communication*, *11*, 4797–4823.

Hoyer, S., Lauk, E., & Vihalemm, P. (1993). *Towards a civic society. The Baltic media's long road to freedom*. Tartu: Nota Baltica.

Hume, E. (2011). *Caught in the middle: Central and Eastern European journalism at a crossroads*. A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance. Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

Jakubowicz, K. (2001). Media and transition: The case of Poland. In M. E. Price, B. Rozumilowic, & S. G. Verhulst (Eds.), *Media reform: Democratizing the media, democratizing the state* (pp. 203–231). New York, NY: Routledge.

Jakubowicz, K. (2005). Post-communist media development in perspective. *Europaische Politic/ Politikinformation Osteuropa* (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung). Retrieved from http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/ id/02841.pdf

Jakubowicz, K. (2007). *Rude awakening. Social and media change in central and Eastern Europe*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Jakubowicz, K. (2010). Introduction. Media systems research: An overview. In B. Dobek-Ostrowska, M. Glowacki, K. Jakubowicz, & M. Sukosd (Eds.), *Comparative media systems. European and global perspectives* (pp. 1–22). Budapest: Central European University Press.

Jakubowicz, K. (2012). Post-communist political systems and media freedom and independence. In J. Downey & S. Mihelj (Eds.), *Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspective: Politics, economy and culture* (pp. 15–40). Farnham: Ashgate.

Jakubowicz, K. (2013). *Media and democracy in the 21st century. Searching for new models*. Warsaw: Poltext Ltd.

Jakubowicz, K., & Sükösd, M. (2008). Twelve concepts regarding media system evolution and democratization in post-communist societies. In K. Jakubowicz & M. Sukosd (Eds.), *Finding the right place on the map. Central and Eastern European media change in a global perspective* (pp. 9–41). Bristol: Intellect Books.

Kashumov, A., Danov, D., Zlatev, O., & Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2006). *Media self-regulation practices and decriminalization of defamation in the countries of Southeast Europe*. Sofia: Media Development Center. Retrieved from www.mediacenterbg.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Media-Self-Regulation.pdf.

Klimkiewicz, B. (2010). *Media freedom and pluralism. Media policy challenges in the Enlarged Europe*. Budapest: Central European University Press.

Lauristin, M., & Vihalemm, P. (1997). *Return to the Western world. Cultural and political perspectives on the Estonian post-communist transition*. Tartu: Tartu University Press.

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. A. (2010). *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the cold war*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Liu, J. (2016). From ‘moments of madness’ to ‘the politics of mundanity’—researching digital media and contentious collective actions in China. *Social Movement Studies*, *6*(4), 418–432.

Lugo, J. (2000). *The media in Latin America*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Maner, H-C. (1998). Die andauernde Vergangenheit. *Osteuropa*, *48*(10), 1034–1040.

Maxwell, K. (1983). *The press and the Rebirth of Iberian democracy*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., Márquez-Ramírez, M., Humanes, M. L., Spark, C., Stepinska, A., . . . Wang, H. (2017, November 2). The hybridization of journalistic cultures: A comparative study of journalistic role performance. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(6), 944–967.

Meštrović, S. G. (1993). *Habits of the Balkan heart*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press.

Metyková, M., & Waschková Císařová, L. (2009). Changing journalistic practices in Eastern Europe. The cases of the Czech Republic, Hungary and Slovakia. *Journalism*, *10*(5),719–736.

Mickiewicz, E. (1997). *Changing channels: Television and the struggle for power in Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mickiewicz, E. (2008). *Television, power, and the public in Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Micova, S. B. (2012). Born into crisis. Public service broadcasters in South East Europe. In G. F. Lowe & J. Steemers (Eds.), *Regaining the initiative for public service media* (pp. 131–148). Göteborg: Nordicom University of Gothenburg.

Mihelj, S., & Downey, J. (2012). *Central and Eastern European media in comparative perspectives. Politics, economy and culture*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Milosavljević, M., & Poler, M. (2018). Balkanization and pauperization: Analysis of media capture of public service broadcasters in the Western Balkans. *Journalism*, *19*(8), 1149–1164.

Molnár, P. (2015). *Free speech and censorship around the globe*. Budapest, Hungary: Central European University Press.

Müller, L. (2014). *Comparing mass media in established democracies: Patterns of media performance*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2003). *From state to public service: The failed reform of state TV in central Eastern Europe*. Central European University Center for Policy Studies. Retrieved from http://pdc.ceu.hu/archive/00002249/01/media_2_pippidi.pdf
Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2008). How media and politics shape each other in the new Europe. In K. Jakubowicz & M. Sukosd (Eds.), *Finding the right place on the map: Central and Eastern European media change in global perspective* (pp. 87–100). Bristol: Intellect Books.
Mungiu-Pippidi, A., & Ghinea, C. (2012). Struggling with media capture. In E. Psychogiopoulou (Ed.), *Understanding media policies: A European perspective* (pp. 166–181). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Örnebring, H. (2012). Clientelism, Elites, and the media in central and Eastern Europe. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *17*(4), 497–515.
Örnebring, H. (2016). *Newsworkers: A comparative European perspective*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
Paletz, D., Jakubowicz, K., & Novosel, P. (1995). *Glasnost and after: Media and change in central and Eastern Europe*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Paraschos, M., & Zaharopoulos, T. (1992). *Mass media in Greece: Power, politics and privatization*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Peruško, Z., Čuvalo, A., & Vozab, D. (2017). Mediatization of journalism: Influence of the media system and media organizations on journalistic practices in European digital mediascapes. *Journalism*. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917743176
Peruško, Z., & Popović, H. (2008). From transmission to the public good: Media policy for the digital age in Croatia. In M. Sükösd & A. Isanović (Eds.), *Public service television in the digital age: Strategies and opportunities in five South-East European countries* (pp. 141–189). Sarajevo: Mediacentar Sarajevo.
Peruško, Z., Vozab, D., & Čuvalo, A. (2013). Audience as a source of agency in media systems. Post-socialist Europe in a comparative perspective. *Medialni Studia* (2), 137–154.
Petković, Brankica, ed. (2004). *Media ownership and its impact on media independence and pluralism*. Ljubljana, Slovenia: Peace Institute.
Pfetsch, B. (2004). From political culture to political communications culture: A theoretical approach to comparative analysis. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges* (pp. 344–366). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
Pfetsch, B., & Voltmer, K. (2012). Negotiating control: Political communication cultures in Bulgaria and Poland. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *17*(4), 388–406.
Polyák, G., & Nagy, K. (2015). *Hungarian media law*. Budapest: Mertek Media Monitor Nonprofit Ltd.
Popescu, V. (2013). Bloggers, journalists and epistemic responsibility. A particular type of self-regulation in the Romanian online media. In V. Muresan & S. Majima (Eds.), *Applied ethics. Perspectives from Romania* (pp. 276–291). Sapporo: Hokkaido University.
Preoteasa, M., Comanescu, I., Avădani, I., & Vasilache, A. (2010). *Mapping digital media: Romania*. Open Society Foundations. Retrieved from www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/mapping-digital-media-romania-20130605.pdf
Price, M. E., Richter, A., & Yu, P. K. (2002). *Russian media law and policy in the Yeltsin decade: Essays and documents*. The Hague: Kluwer Law International.
Price, M. E., Rozumilowicz, B., & Verhulst, S. (2002). *Media reform. Democratizing the media, democratizing the state*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
Psychogiopoulou, E. (2012). *Understanding media policies: A European perspective*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
Puppis, M., d'Haenens, L., Künzler, M., & Steinmaurer, T. (2009). The European and global dimension: Taking small media systems research to the next level. *International Communication Gazette*, *71*(1–2), 105–112.
Ramet, S., & Mason, D. S. (1992). *Adaptation and transformation in communist and post-communist systems*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
Rantanen, T. (2013). A critique of the systems approaches in comparative media research: A Central and Eastern European perspective. *Global Media and Communication*, *9*(3), 257–277.

Rantanen, T., & Vartanova, E. (1995). News agencies in post-communist Russia: From state monopoly to state dominance. *European Journal of Communication*, *10*(2), 207–220.

Richter, A. (2007). *Post-soviet perspective on censorship and freedom of the media*. Moscow: UNESCO.

Richter, A. (2009). The influence of the council of Europe and other European institutions on the media law system in post-Soviet states. *Central European Journal of Communication*, *2*(2), 15–26.

Roudakova, N. (2012). Comparing processes: Media, 'transitions,' and historical change. In D. C. Hallin & P. Mancini (Eds.), *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world* (pp. 246–277). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ryabinska, N. (2011). The media market and media ownership in post-communist Ukraine: Impact on media independence and pluralism. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *58*(6), 30–20, 8.

Ryabinska, N. (2014). Media capture in post-communist Ukraine. Actors, methods and conditions. *Problems of Communism*, *61*(2), 46–60.

Shane, S. (1994). *Dismantling Utopia: How information ended the Soviet Union*. Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee.

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *The four theories of the press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Šimunjak, M. (2016). Monitoring political independence of public service media: Comparative analysis across 19 European Union member states. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, *13*(2), 153–169.

Skolkay, A. (2011). *Media law in Slovakia*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Kluwer Law International.

Sparks, C. (1998). *Communism, capitalism and the mass media*. London: Sage Publications.

Sparks, C. (2011). Media and transition in Latin America. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *8*(2), 3–34.

Splichal, S. (1994). *Media beyond socialism: Theory and practice in East-central Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Štětka, V. (2012). From multinationals to business Tycoons: Media ownership and journalistic autonomy in central and Eastern Europe. *The International Journal on Press/Politics*, *17*(4), 433–456.

Sukosd, M., & Bajomi-Lázár, P. (2003). *Reinventing media: Media policy reform in East-central Europe*. Budapest: CEU Press.

Szabó, G., & Kiss, B. (2012). Trends in political communication in Hungary: A post-communist experience twenty years after the fall of dictatorship. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, *17*(4), 480–496

Terzis, G. (2008). *European media governance: National and regional dimensions*. Chicago, IL: Intellect Books.

Thomass, B. (2007). *Comparing media systems: The development of analytical tools and theoretical concepts over the last 50 years*. Paper presented at the international association of mass communication research conference, Paris, France.

Thompson, M. (2008). *Television across Europe. More channels, less independence*. Budapest: Open Society Institute. Retrieved from www.opensocietyfoundations.org/sites/default/files/1fullpublication_20080429_0.pdf

Vartanova, E. (2010). Corporate transformation of the Russian media. *Ecquid Novi*, *17*(2), 269–279.

Vincze, H. O. (2014). The Crisis' as a journalistic frame in Romanian news media. *European Journal of Communication*, *29*(5), 567–582.

Voltmer, K. (2008). Comparing media systems in new democracies: East meets South meets West. *Central European Journal of Communication*, *1*(1), 23–39.

Voltmer, K. (2013). *The media in transitional democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Waisbord, S. (2000). *Watchdog journalism in South America*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wanta, W., & Lodzki, B. (2010, January). Development of agenda-setting theory and research. Between West and East. *Central European Journal of Communication*, *2*, 191–196.

Wyka, A. W. (2007). *Berlusconization of the mass media in East Central Europe. The new danger of Italianization?* Working paper. Retrieved from www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/emerg/AWyka1.pdf

34

Journalism and Authoritarian Resilience

Cherian George

The optimism that followed the late 20th century "Third Wave" of democratization (Huntington, 1993) now seems a distant memory. It is now clear that the diffusion of political and civic freedoms, which swept aside the Soviet Union and several other despotic regimes, was not as irresistible as it once seemed. The early 21st century has witnessed major reversals in democracy's fortunes, most notably in Russia. Meanwhile, several authoritarian regimes seem to have conceded little to democracy's supposed advance. China remains firmly under one-party rule, while the likes of Singapore remain wedded to their illiberal, electoral authoritarian systems. Furthermore, most countries that got rid of highly despotic regimes did not transition to liberal democracy but to in-between systems that retained many authoritarian features. Compounding the sense of despair, the United States—home to the world's longest running experiment in democracy and its prime exporter of liberal values—showed in its choice of 45th president that government by deliberation remains vulnerable to demagoguery. Together, these developments have prompted talk of democracy being in recession. This claim is debatable, but what is quite clear is that the autocratic exercise of power has turned out to be far more sustainable than teleological thinking about democracy had assumed. No country remains static, but the idea that most are destined for a common end point—an explicit or implicit assumption behind much comparative research—is being replaced by the acknowledgment of multiple modernities (Jacques, 2009).

The resilience of authoritarianism and its implications for journalism studies is the focus of this chapter. The field has been dominated by research on advanced democracies in which, for all its faults and limitations, the press can basically be described as "free," operating in an environment where, relatively speaking, "coverage of political news is robust, the safety of journalists is guaranteed, state intrusion in media affairs is minimal, and the press is not subject to onerous legal or economic pressures" (Freedom House, 2017). That is where around 13 percent of the world's population lives. What we now know about democracy demands a serious rethink of how we study media and power, especially as they affect the other 87 percent of humankind.

The study of journalism in non-Western contexts is a burgeoning field. There is a lot of ground to make up. Progress was minimal for decades, mainly due to a lack of interest among scholars who dominated the core of mass communication studies. Even when the field deigned to look at non-Western media systems, its view was distorted by the tendency to essentialize the Other, most apparent in *Four Theories of the Press* (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1956). Today, this classic work is rightly read as an artifact of Cold War thinking (Nerone, 1995). Yet, the habit of thin and sweeping generalization has emaciated the study of not only the West's communist foes, but also its capitalist allies and nonaligned nations. The deeper reason may be the long held assumption that non-democratic regimes are inherently unstable and that they would eventually succumb to wave after wave of democratization (Nathan, 2003). This prediction was grounded in 1960s modernization theory, which presented a positive correlation between economic development and democracy (Lipset, 1959). When market economics triumphed in the 1980s, common sense surmised that people who were getting accustomed to an explosion of choice in goods and services from competing suppliers would demand nothing less in the political marketplace. The arrival of the censor-defying World Wide Web in the 1990s seemed like another irresistible force pushing autocrats to the brink. All in all, there seemed little point in conducting in-depth research on media within authoritarian systems that all signs suggested were merely transitory. The current political and intellectual climate is quite different: the old presuppositions about democracy are being questioned (Plattner, 2015). It has become obvious that advanced democracies are mired in their own economic and political problems, particularly since the 2008 financial crisis. Furthermore, there is a new self-confidence and energy emanating from some authoritarian states; the geopolitical balance is shifting in their favor. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that the field is at last blossoming with highly illuminating studies of journalism in unfree and semi-free societies.

This chapter provides an overview of research on journalism in authoritarian contexts. Such research has yet to coalesce into a coherent body of literature, let alone form a canon, mainly because most of the work comprises single-country case studies that do not attempt comparisons with similar regimes. Nevertheless, findings from the growing corpus of studies on China, Russia, Turkey, and other non-Western societies suggest that cross-national theorization is around the corner, promising important breakthroughs in journalism studies. This chapter highlights some of the directions that the research is pressing towards.

The most noteworthy studies respond to challenges at the empirical and normative levels. At the empirical level, one major task is to understand how less-than-democratic media systems sustain themselves. Although reports of their impending demise were exaggerated, it remains true that there is something contradictory about regimes that are able to relax command and control structures over vast segments of the economy and society while jealously guarding their monopoly on politics, including by stifling public interest journalism. This curious balance is generally achieved not through totalitarian control or indiscriminately brutal repression. Instead, modern authoritarians employ a sophisticated mix of methods to prolong their hold on media power. These techniques are categorized here under the umbrella terms *calibrated coercion* and *differential censorship*.

At the normative level, the challenge is to shed the field's old Eurocentric tendency to view the world through the lens of Western media norms, but without betraying values that deserve to be thought of as universal. As Western-trained scholars belatedly discover the need for cultural humility and contextual sensitivity, there is a risk of overcompensation—being too apologetic of democratic values and too uncritical of ideological efforts to dress up repressive systems in the guise of alternative norms such as "Asian" journalism and "development" journalism. Repairing the post-Cold War "ideational dominance of liberal democracy" (Hobson, 2009, p. 383) need not mean abandoning basic human rights.

DEMOCRATIC RECESSION AND AUTHORITARIAN RESILIENCE

The argument that democracy is in decline has come mainly from close watchers of global indices such as the Freedom House scores for political rights and civil liberties. Based on this measure, levels of freedom globally stopped rising in around 2006. Since then, there has been no net growth in the number of electoral democracies. Diamond (2015, p. 144) describes the period as a "mild but protracted democratic recession." Some scholars say that talk of such decline is exaggerated. The counterarguments come from two quite different directions. The first, coming from a normative perspective, points out that democracy is still the most globally desired form of government. Indeed, the current despair might be the result of people's higher expectations, rather than an objective decline in democracy's health (Gilley, 2010). Another perspective suggests that the main reason for the current pessimism is that past assessments were unrealistically optimistic. This unfounded optimism was due to a conceptual error: analysts made the mistake of equating the downfall of dictators with democratization (Levitsky & Way, 2015). In many cases, the breaking down of centralized authority was due to state failure and not to a triumph of democratic forces; the result was pluralization, certainly, but not necessarily to the advantage of forces that would place the country on a path to democratic consolidation. This trajectory, away from totalitarianism but towards something other than liberal democracy, is mirrored in global press freedom trends. According to Freedom House (2017), the "not free" category has shrunk over the three decades since 1986, from 55 to 33 percent of countries. But not all the defectors from that box now have a "free" press. For every one country that achieved press freedom during that period, two entered the "partly free" box. This middle, hybrid category now accounts for a plurality of 36 percent of countries, up from 21 percent in 1986.

Therefore, while the democratic recession theory is contested, there can be relatively little dispute that authoritarian and semi-authoritarian forms of government and their associated press systems can now be considered a stable feature of the global political landscape. These settings deserve in-depth analysis not only because so many people live there, but also because we do not know enough about how these systems sustain themselves. Fortunately, a decade of research on authoritarian resilience points the way forward. It is now clear that we have to reject binary thinking—free/unfree, democratic/authoritarian—and instead regard media systems as being on a continuum. Furthermore, the idea of a single yardstick needs to be replaced with more of a multidimensional analysis. Note that the standard measures of press freedom (as well as for democracy) are indices composed of dozens of separate factors such as access to information, freedom from arbitrary arrest, safety of journalists, independence of media regulators, and public funding for community media. Countries do not do equally well or equally badly across all these separate dimensions (which is precisely why no single measure can capture the state of the media). Or, to put it in terms of authoritarian control, governments and non-state actors can choose to liberalize in some respects while maintaining a tight grip in others. Such strategies are crucial for authoritarian resilience. In his analysis of hybrid political systems, Schedler (2006) has highlighted the "menu of manipulation" that is available to regimes that want the legitimacy conferred through elections while minimizing the risk of losing power through the ballot box. He observes that regimes pick and choose among various possible interventions to constrict the demand and supply of democratic choice. These are the kinds of lenses we need to make sense of media outside of the liberal democratic world. In this vein, the following sections explicate the concepts of calibrated coercion and differential censorship, which help explain how authoritarian regimes have been able to have their cake and eat it too, so to speak: securing surprisingly high levels of domestic legitimacy despite monopolizing power.

CALIBRATED COERCION

Calibrated coercion refers to a regime's strategic self-restraint in the use of force, applying enough to secure its objectives but not so much that it backfires (George, 2007, 2012). It does not entail a complete disavowal of extreme measures. Draconian instruments of control may still be used occasionally. But the regime comes to understand that less is more. Its restraint is not the result of having become converts to the belief in human rights. It is largely strategic, based on calculations of costs and benefits to the regime's long-term interests.

Theoretical support for the concept of calibrated coercion comes from a number of sources. It is implied in Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony (Anderson, 1976), which tells us that domination is secured when coercion, even if it continues to underwrite power, becomes less salient. Arendt (1970) addresses the question more directly, pointing out counterintuitively that, while power can be exercised with violence, it cannot be based on violence. This is because violence threatens the group cohesion that the powerful need to get people to act in concert. Power needs legitimacy, and legitimacy is what is lost when violence is misapplied. "To substitute violence for power can bring victory, but the price is very high; for it is not only paid by the vanquished, it is also paid by the victor in terms of his own power," Arendt observes (1970, p. 54). In economics, Olson (2000) has argued that there are self-interested, rational reasons for even dictators to exercise self-restraint. He notes that a Mafia family interested in perpetuating its control over a neighborhood will not engage in unrestrained criminal acts; it instead sells protection. Similarly, at the national level, autocratic rulers with a long-term view would choose to limit their abuses. Thus, democracy may not be the only factor explaining self-enforcing limits on the exercise of power, Olson says.

In media studies, Jansen and Martin (2003) observe that flagrant censorship can backfire in two ways. It can increase the attractiveness and impact of the very ideas that the censors want to suppress, and it generates public outrage around which opponents can mobilize. The authors give the example of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn, whose treatment by the Soviet Union made him a celebrity. "The Solzhenitsyn affair not only exposed the tyranny of the Soviet censorship bureaucracy, it cast a global spotlight on the repressive character of the entire Soviet system," they note (p. 6). Jansen and Martin go on to recommend ways in which activists can use this understanding to make censorship backfire on the authorities. However, it is not just the opponents of authoritarian regimes who can draw such lessons from history. Governments have access to the same evidence and can and do adapt accordingly (Heydemann & Leenders, 2011). They have a wide array of techniques to choose from in order to restrict the free flow of information and ideas. From these, they can avoid methods that are likely to backfire and choose those that are politically less costly.

First, they can opt for less visible restrictions instead of more overtones. Spectacular shows of force still have their place, as a warning to others. But this treatment would be limited to a small minority of dissenters. Increasingly, control would be exercised behind the scenes, drawing as little public attention as possible. Second, astute authoritarian regimes would try to reduce their reliance on morally reprehensible punishments that would draw condemnation from international and domestic human rights monitors. There are numerous ways they can suppress public interest journalism that do not entail imprisoning or torturing media workers. Third, governments can shift from direct to indirect modes of control that mask their censorial intent. These include bureaucratic hurdles, market pressures and, more recently, algorithmic mechanisms that people assume to be the natural workings of processes they do not quite understand (Chalaby, 2000). Media freedom monitors have been reporting such trends over the past decade. "Instead of relying on brute force and direct control, they use stealth, manipulations, and subterfuge," says Joel Simon (2015, p. 32) of the Committee to Protect Journalists. Arch Puddington (2017) of Freedom House observes,

> Twentieth-century authoritarian staples like martial law, curfews, mass arrests, and summary executions were largely left behind, and force began to be used more selectively, so that most of the population rarely experienced state brutality. Dissidents were punished through the legal

> system . . . and in cases where extralegal violence was used, state authorship was either hidden or not acknowledged.
>
> (p. 52)

Media economists have used the term "media capture" to describe how vested interests, including the government, actively apply rewards and punishments to get a formally free press to serve their purposes (Besley, Burgess, & Prat, 2002; Prat, 2015). Media capture explains how the press in parts of the former Soviet Union has lost its autonomy. Mungiu-Pippidi (2012) argues that democratization has created conditions for systemic corruption, including media corruption, that has made the media vulnerable to capture. Economic tools that governments have at their disposal include the discriminatory use of its funds. In many countries, the public sector is one of the biggest advertisers. When a government quietly chooses to withhold official advertising from unfriendly news outlets, this can amount to a major intervention in media independence. But such actions often fly below the radar of international human rights monitors and do not provoke mass public outrage. Courts could stop such discriminatory placement of advertising on constitutional grounds, ruling that it amounts to indirect coercion on the press. The Supreme Court of Argentina took this position in 2007 (Podesta, 2009), but in many countries, the courts are not sufficiently independent to serve as an effective check on government's abuse of its fiscal powers.

Governments also harass and intimidate independent media through regulation and surveillance. They selectively enforce tax rules, labor regulations, and other laws that are, on the face of it, nothing to do with media specifically, but can be used to bully troublesome news organizations into submission. Such abuses have been observed in Ukraine, for instance, (Ryabinska, 2011). The *Philippine Daily Inquirer* fell victim to tax probes in 2017. The paper, one of Asia's most fiercely independent, was founded in 1985 in opposition to the martial law regime of Ferdinand Marcos. It also survived an advertising boycott instigated by the Joseph Estrada administration in 1999. After Rodrigo Duterte took power in 2016, his government launched a tax evasion investigation of the *Inquirer*'s family owners. Under this intense pressure, they finally agreed to sell the newspaper group to a tycoon friendly to Duterte ("Duterte's target," 2017).

Pressure can also be exercised indirectly via advertisers that need to maintain good relations with the state. Government can dissuade such businesses from advertising in certain media outlets, choking their main source of revenue. This is the main way in which outspoken newspapers in Hong Kong's formally free environment have been tamed, even as China abides by the letter of the One Country Two Systems pledge (Ma, 2007). No official punishment awaits Hong Kong media that criticize Beijing too strongly, but editors and publishers have to weigh the financial cost of having major advertisers pull out. Economic carrots and sticks can also have a powerful influence at the individual level. Mainstream media editors in China and their party bosses have to consider whether the wrong editorial decision will result in a demotion. Many in such situations decide to exercise caution, not as a result of independent professional judgement but due to external pressure. This brings us into the territory of self-censorship, defined by Lee (1998, p. 57) as

> a set of editorial actions ranging from omission, dilution, distortion, and change of emphasis to choice of rhetorical devices by journalists, their organizations, and even the entire media community in anticipation of currying reward and avoiding punishments from the power structure.

A closely related phenomenon is surrogate censorship or proxy censorship, which is carried out by third parties along the production or distribution chain, such as when a publisher or bookseller is pressured to block an author's work (Kuper, 1975). Traditionally, the news business has been less vulnerable to surrogate censorship because it tends to be vertically integrated, with all aspects of the process—editorial, printing, distribution, and marketing—being run in-house. However, as news publishers migrate to the internet, they have found themselves much more dependent on third-party intermediaries such as internet access providers, search engines, and social networking services. This has greatly expanded the opportunity for proxy censorship (Kreimer, 2006; MacKinnon, Hickok, Bar, & Lim, 2014). Sweeping internet laws may induce private-sector intermediaries to engage in even stricter controls than a government agency would.

Studying self-censorship and surrogate censorship pose methodological and conceptual challenges. It is often hard to detect. The gatekeepers concerned are typically not responding to explicit instructions but to perceived political taboos that the authorities may deliberately leave vague (Hassid, 2008). Furthermore, incidents are wrapped in *meta*-censorship—information about information suppression is itself suppressed. Gatekeepers who reveal that they self-censored to avoid punishment would end up being punished. They usually cite other reasons for non-publication. When self-censorship is institutionalized, it can get even more slippery as it turns into "conformism," a mix of "opportunism and routinized willingness to accept unquestioningly the usual practices or standards, which were originally imposed through coercion," as observed in Russian broadcasting by Schimpfossl and Yablokov (2014, p. 297). It can thus get extremely difficult to tell where authoritarian intervention ends and voluntary acceptance begins. And this is precisely why such forms of control appeal to regimes that are mindful of their legitimacy. Indeed, self-censorship may be best regarded as the resilient authoritarian regime's preferred mode of control. If government censors have to intervene directly to obstruct the flow of information and ideas, that reflects a "failure to induce the kind of self-censorship that constitutes a more effective system" (Bunn, 2015, p. 38).

It bears repeating that calibrated coercion does not amount to principled abstinence from violence. Rather, it is about calculating the likely political cost of overt repression and moderating the regime's methods accordingly. The anticipated cost associated with any particular method—say, jailing journalists—goes up and down depending on a number of factors, such as the degree of scrutiny being exercised by domestic and foreign human rights watchers, the capacity of competing elites to exploit any scandal, and the inclination of the international community to penalize the regime's bad conduct. Such fluctuations help explain why there may have been an increase in overt repression in the 2010s (Plattner, 2015; Puddington, 2017). China's ascent to become the world's second largest economy and its largest exporter, the United States' growing insularity, and the sheer number of high-profile bad actors across the globe have contributed to a culture of impunity. Regimes seem able to indulge in quite brazen repression without fear of repercussions. Such events, though, should not obscure the larger pattern of resilient authoritarian regimes calibrating their use of coercion.

DIFFERENTIAL CENSORSHIP

The term differential censorship is used here to capture another self-interested and rational adaptation by authoritarian regimes to the practical costs of unrestrained and unlimited suppression of speech. Calibrated coercion attempts to minimize the cost to legitimacy, which even authoritarian regimes need for long-term survival. Differential censorship acknowledges other realities: first, citizens have an appetite for media choice that cannot be totally denied; second, digital media makes prior censorship extremely costly and impractical; third, some feedback mechanism is required to provide officials with reliable intelligence about grievances on the ground that they need to be seen to be responding to. Resilient authoritarianism needs to adapt to these conditions while still maintaining tight control over political dissent. It therefore allows most media sectors to become “pluralistic, with high production values and entertaining content,” while maintaining “state or oligarchic control over information on certain political subjects and key sectors of the media” (Puddington, 2017, p. 6).

The most obvious distinction that regulators make is by subject matter, which can be described as *content differentiation*. This is not a simple binary categorization of sensitive and non-sensitive topics. Within the vast category of potentially sensitive topics are those that are seen as deserving of outright bans or blackouts and those whose coverage is more managed. Tai (2014) studied more than 1,400 secret directives issued by the Chinese propaganda apparatus and found that the authorities have moved from crudely restricting unfavorable reports to a strategy of “conditional public opinion guidance”: “Over the years, the propaganda apparatus has banned fewer reports and guided more of them” (p. 186). Stories about religion, protest, and human rights abuses are those most likely to be banned outright, Tai found. It is still possible for the authorities to pretend that certain events, like an external human rights campaign, do not exist. However, disasters and accidents cannot be swept under the rug. Such news is one of the most frequently targeted for intervention, accounting for more than one-tenth of all directives from the propaganda apparatus. But most of these directives are not bans; they require media to report these stories according to the official narrative. Tai notes that China, like most states, can no longer dream of absolutely monopolizing the circulation of news and views about public matters. When there is no news at all about a controversial topic, people assume that negative news has been blocked. The authorities must therefore strike a balance between the perceived political risk of letting the news circulate and the feasibility of managing fast-moving flows of information and ideas.

A higher-level form of content discrimination that researchers have found is what we could call *genre differentiation*. In many countries, tight control of news persists alongside liberalized entertainment media. The neoliberal wave of the 1990s saw many states give up their monopolies over broadcasting and encourage a proliferation of commercial free-to-air and cable and satellite channels. In many cases, including China, Malaysia, and Singapore, the resulting pluralization was largely limited to entertainment programming. China’s hit reality talent show, *Super Girl*, allowed viewers to vote for their favorite singers, but this only served to reinforce and promote market participation as a substitute for political participation (Meng, 2009). Within the news media, lighter and more entertaining formats may operate freely while harder-hitting public interest journalism remains restricted. The trend towards tabloidization is an example of how authoritarian regimes can harness market forces to steer journalism in non-threatening directions. This has been observed in Russia (Becker, 2004) and Myanmar (Burrett, 2017), for example. While the proliferation of entertainment options certainly addresses a real market demand for media choice, it may have contributed to authoritarian resilience by depoliticizing the public.

Authoritarian regimes may not need to suppress all public interest or even watchdog journalism. They can instead engage in *hierarchically differentiated* censorship to contain journalists’ exposés within politically manageable bounds. Thus, Chinese media are allowed to engage in episodic reportage of lower-level misdeeds, as long as they stay clear of systemic critiques that implicate top leaders (Lorentzen, 2014). Indeed, reports on corruption and other failures at lower levels of government can help the regime sustain itself (Egorov, Guriev, & Sonin, 2009), including by neutralizing opponents within the establishment. Thus, Tai’s analysis of censorship directives in China shows central-level actors wanting to “curb news that could directly undermine regime stability” (2014, p. 187) while using media to “identify misconduct among their local subordinates” (2014, p. 186). Similarly, Stockmann and Gallagher (2011) have observed that the Chinese state needs media to educate workers about their rights under labor and employment laws, so that they are not too easily abused by local officials whose eyes are on economic growth targets. Gritty exposés on labor-related legal disputes air workers' grievances but also show how these are successfully resolved through approved channels. They have strong human interest value, but also an educational mission. "The emotive representation of an aggrieved, mistreated worker helps to sell papers. The successful use of the legal system by a normal citizen promotes the state's goals of enhanced legitimacy through rule of law" (Stockmann & Gallagher, 2011, p. 10). If there is no check on such abuses, the resulting unhappiness can backfire on the central government. Huang, Boranbay-Akan, and Huang (2016) have demonstrated the rationality of hierarchically differentiated media control using game theory: their model shows that a central authority can benefit from allowing the media to report protests against local officials, as this can release revolutionary pressure against the regime and force local governments to be less corrupt.

Audience differentiation typically involves granting more media and information choices to urban elites while limiting what the majority see and hear. This is easily achieved because these different segments of the population may not have the same media consumption habits. More autonomy can be granted to upmarket newspapers and websites that cater to urban elites, while the majority of voters draw their information and values from radio and television outlets that continue to be tightly controlled. The elite/mass differentiation has been observed in Russia, for example (Simon, 2015). Similarly, after the Arab Spring of 2010–2011, regimes held on tightly to widely viewed state television outlets (Lynch, 2015). Linguistic divides can aid such discrimination. English-language media may be permitted to carry more critical news and commentary to satisfy cosmopolitan urbanites and expatriates, while media in the local language, which are far more influential among the regime's mass base, remain tightly regulated. In multilingual Malaysia, for example, the Malay-language media that dominate the rural heartland have tended to operate under stricter supervision than media in English or Chinese (George, 2006).

Medium differentiation occurs when different standards are applied to different platforms, due to their respective technological characteristics. In China, Tai (2014) has found that the regulator in charge of internet communication, the State Council Information Office (SCIO), is more likely than the Central Propaganda Department (CPD) to ban news. For example, in one sensational high-speed train collision near Wenzhou in 2011, the CPD instructed media to use official numbers when reporting casualties, to focus on volunteers who helped and not investigate the causes; all comment was banned. The SCIO went further, banning all articles after the official update. The difference, Tai suggests, is to do with the fact that the speed and volume of internet communication does not allow the authorities to guide discussion; it is more practical to ban it. Conversely, the internet in Malaysia and Singapore is granted much greater freedom than print and broadcast media, which are subject to discretionary licensing. The governments of these two Southeast Asian electoral authoritarian regimes decided early on that it would be impractical to block or filter online political content. Having rejected the idea of a Chinese-style great firewall as being too restrictive on commercial use of the internet, Malaysia and Singapore have contented themselves with dual standards, more liberal for online and stricter for offline communication (George, 2006).

Differential censorship is intended to make authoritarian regimes suppler and thus more stable, but it always carries risks for the regime. The other side of the coin is selective liberalization, and much depends on the regime's ability to contain that liberalization within the selected domains. There is always the possibility of leakage. News allowed in niche publications can find its way to the wider public. A growing gap between what is available online and what the official media are permitted to carry puts the censorship system under strain. In China, this is the main reason why the authorities have felt compelled to shift increasingly from crude bans to opinion guidance, as noted above (Tai, 2014). It is also questionable whether values can be neatly compartmentalized. Consumers who grow accustomed to competing suppliers offering them a big say in entertainment and other nonpolitical media—which is the case even in communist China and Vietnam, let alone non-communist authoritarian regimes—may find the state's monopoly on political news and opinion increasingly out of place. Sparks (2012) has argued that we should not dismiss consumption-oriented media as sites for the articulation of change. Studying the aforementioned *Super Girl* talent show, some scholars have pointed out that passionate online discussions among fans occasionally evolved into serious discourses on civic issues (Wu, 2014). As unfashionable as modernization theory has become, there may still be some truth to the notion that a market economy is more compatible with democratic values.

Another complication, hypothetically at least, may result from professional or industry-wide solidarity. Differential censorship is in part a classic divide-and-rule tactic, thwarting mobilization against the regime. But one can imagine a situation where journalists and media owners resist this by standing united, taking the position that an assault on one's press freedom is an assault on all. The fact that such solidarity is very hard to find suggests that authoritarian resilience depends in part on weaknesses and antagonisms within journalism. In addition to being commercial competitors, media organizations, like other groups in society, differ in their "positionality"—where they stand in relation to various class, race, and other divisions in society (Beamish & Luebbers, 2009).

Overall though, differential censorship and calibrated coercion are not watertight solutions for the authoritarian regime seeking to sustain its media system. Rather than enabling consolidation into some fixed state, these strategies are best thought of as helping to achieve a dynamic equilibrium that is stable at any point in time, but not immune from strains that require regular attention and adjustment. To argue that authoritarian regimes can be resilient is not to say that they are free of contradictions that are potentially destabilizing—between legitimacy and control, between decentralized markets and centralized government, and between economic globalization and political protectionism. But the same is true of liberal democracies, which we now know too well are beset with their own contradictions, between popular sentiment and representative government, between the will of the majority and the rights of the individual, and between market outcomes and the public interest. The challenge in journalism research is to treat authoritarian regimes as being as worthy of in-depth and nuanced study as democratic systems.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The phenomenon of authoritarian resilience—together with the associated trends of democratic reversals and anti-democratic movements in Western societies—should stimulate journalism studies to pose new questions and review old answers. For a start, the field needs to wean itself off media systems approaches as the default mode for comparative research. No doubt, comparing media systems has its value, as attested to by the voluminous research inspired by the models of Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2011). Much has been gained by studying how the relationship between media and politics in different countries is influenced by such factors as the level of professionalization, the media's degree of political parallelism, and the role of the state. But media systems approaches are severely limited by what Couldry and Hepp (2012, p. 252) call "territorial essentialism" or "methodological nationalism," or simply "container thinking." This is the assumption that the most relevant and productive way to globalize media studies is to compare territorially demarcated, nationally defined containers of media phenomena. Of course, nobody makes the simplistic claim that each national media system is internally homogeneous, either in norms or practices. But there is an implicit assumption in such work that inter-system variation is more meaningful than intra-system differences. The massive multi-country studies currently being generated correctly find evidence of hybridity (see, for example, Mellado et al., 2017), but remain wedded to the media system as the main level of analysis.

Of course, any theoretical model requires abstraction and simplification. Whether the trade-off is worthwhile depends on the value of the insights gained, which varies according to one's specific research concerns. Whatever its other benefits, though, media systems thinking may be a particularly poor way of understanding how modern authoritarian regimes manage the media. And there is a reason for this. The media systems approach wants to generalize about different countries or groups of countries. But the overarching strategy of authoritarian resilience deliberately evades stereotypes: both calibrated coercion and differential censorship are designed to target specific kinds of communication for selective restrictions while improving the general conditions for the media and the public, with the specific aim of harnessing the benefits of political legitimacy, professional autonomy, and consumer choice.

Taking authoritarian resilience seriously would involve analyzing regime practices and repertoires to explain why different methods are chosen in different situations. We also need to know much more about how journalists in such environments operate and not assume that they exercise no agency. Their work involves a complex interaction between independent professional judgements, and various forms of accommodation to power, ranging from total acquiescence to creative workaround solutions that escape official sanction. Content analysis of published work requires deep knowledge of the context in which the publication operates as well as sensitivity to subtle discursive strategies. In studies of self-censorship practices in Hong Kong (Lee & Chan, 2009; Lee & Lin, 2006), commercial media were found to be simultaneously supportive of democracy, watchful of Beijing's policies, and careful not to provoke China's leaders. The authors note that in the grey area within which the Hong Kong media operate, journalists have developed their own discursive and operational tactics to try to resist perceived self-censorship by their editors. Analysts need to pay careful attention to how things are said, not just what is said. That, after all, is how the audience in such settings process the news, reading between the lines for hints of what the journalists really mean to say.

There is also a need to look critically at how media are implicated, since journalism can be both a victim and handmaiden of authoritarian resilience. This is an issue that media freedom monitors such as Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders may find too uncomfortable to deal with but is well within the realm of critical journalism studies. Research into how media, even if privately owned, can be aligned with state power has a long pedigree (see, for example, Althusser, 2014; Herman & Chomsky, 1998). But most of the older work looks at the advanced capitalist economies of Western democracies. The political economy critique of media evolved at a time when non-democracies were associated with state-owned media. Interest in how authoritarian and semi-democratic regimes manage their commercial media sectors—giving them the freedom to pursue profits while keeping them on a tight political leash, typically through crony capitalism—is therefore relatively recent. Key country and regional studies include Zhao's (2008) work on China, Tapsell (2017) on Indonesia, and Hughes and Lawson (2005) on Latin America. Aside from studying the influence of media owners and their interests, an authoritarian resilience research agenda should include how media content may, intentionally or otherwise, cultivate support for the status quo. Media have a powerful role in promoting nationalism, stoking fears of internal and external threats, driving resentment and cynicism towards institutions, and undermining confidence in expertise and facts, all of which can translate into a desire for strongman leaders (Lynch, 2015; Puddington, 2017). It should be obvious that all these tendencies can be found across the spectrum of political systems, which underlines the point that research into authoritarian resilience is less about classifying regime types and more about identifying processes that control-minded leaders can use even where the formal constitutional order and political culture is liberal and democratic.

THE NORMATIVE DIMENSION

As it becomes clear that authoritarianism may be here to stay, journalism studies is not only widening the scope of its empirical investigations but also opening itself to normative soul-searching. There is a growing realization that the "classical" model, which conceives of journalism as "a resource for participation in the politics and culture of society" (Dahlgren, 2001, p. 78) may be just one tradition, peculiar to the Anglo-American context. Major collaborative research projects are underway to try to identify commonalities and variations in the norms of journalists around the world, whether by asking them about their role perceptions through the Worlds of Journalism and similar surveys (see, for example, Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Weaver & Willnat, 2012) or analyzing the content of their published work (for example, Mellado et al., 2017). Taking a more philosophical approach, Christians and his co-authors (2009) and Price and Stremlau (2018) have opened up discursive spaces to entertain the possibility that there may be rational and coherent moral justifications for journalisms that are distinct from the Western liberal archetype. Zelizer (2013, p. 470) goes so far as to argue that democracy has outlived its shelf life as the field's focal concept, causing discussions about journalism to become "insular, static, exclusionary, marginalizing, disconnected, elitist, unrepresentative and historically and geographically myopic."

These developments are welcome and overdue attempts to correct lingering Eurocentrism. There is, however, a risk of slipping too easily into moral relativism. "While no single community should apply its criteria to others, the absence of agreement on criteria would mean that nothing is comparable and that little can be said of competing claims," warn Wang and Kuo (2010, p. 161). We need to study journalism norms and practices within their local contexts and on their own terms, without treating them as incommensurable or beyond the scope of legitimate moral judgements. In the process of taking non-Western models seriously, there is always a danger of conflating the empirical with the normative, such that we treat observed ways of doing and talking about journalism beyond the West as evidence of what those societies imagine journalism should be all about. This is how "development journalism" as well as "Asian values" became prominent constructs in global media scholarship for decades, out of proportion to their actual normative influence among journalists in authoritarian contexts. At its most benign, development journalism was a slogan encouraging the media to use its voice to address pressing socioeconomic conditions in the Global South, if necessary in partnership with development agencies (Book, 2009). In this sense, it had much in common with the public journalism movement in the United States, which similarly called for an activist role in responding to society's most pressing problems (Rosen, 1991), as well as the "collaborative" tradition within journalism (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009). The concept is much more problematic when used to add a normative gloss to government controls on the media, which is precisely how many authoritarian leaders applied it.

Methodologically, official ideology is a poor proxy for the media profession's normative traditions. This may be less of an issue when studying liberal democracies, where there is a strong congruence between constitutional provisions, government policy statements, and professional positions regarding the role of journalism. The US First Amendment, for example, is both a pillar of the media system as well as a rallying cry for the profession. Most US presidents, in their public statements, echo the Founding Fathers' belief in the importance of a free press to preserve liberty and collective self-government. Their speeches do not fundamentally contradict American journalists' own understanding of their roles. On the contrary, US journalists monumentalize former presidents as a source of professional inspiration and prestige. In less-democratic societies, however, laws and official rhetoric cannot be treated as reflective of journalists' deepest values and aspirations. We should not assume that political leaders speak for the media profession. Yet, this is a common tendency in journalism studies going back to *Four Theories*. Much of the discussion around development journalism was anchored on official and elite pronouncements; the term was imposed on the media, rather than emerging organically from the profession.

The same is true of the "Asian values" discourse. This is the idea that Asian countries have cultural values that emphasize community, harmony, consensus, and respect for authority (Barr, 2012; Jenco, 2013; Xu, 2005). This, the theory goes, helps explain why Western liberal values of individualism, contention, and challenging authority did not catch on in Asia. Asian leaders regularly cited Asian values when their press systems were criticized (Robison, 1996). Journalism scholars, slow to question the methodological wisdom of letting politicians speak for the media, quickly imported the theory into comparative media studies, to help make sense of Asia's authoritarian systems (see, for example, Massey & Chang, 2002). The idea of Asian-style democracy, far from being a ground-up philosophy, was championed by a handful of government leaders, notably Singapore's Lee Kuan Yew, for a particular ideological purpose at a specific moment in history. The context was 1990s geopolitics. This was a period when the West, having won the Cold War, was intent on exporting democracy to Asia. Lee and likeminded leaders protested that Asian democracies had their own norms, more suited to their history and culture and equally capable of delivering prosperity. In the 2000s, the argument ran out of steam. The Asian financial crisis, starting in 1997, tarnished what had been known as the East Asian Miracle. Furthermore, several East Asian societies—Indonesia, Taiwan, and South Korea—transitioned to democracy. Compared with the 1990s, Asian governments are much less likely to talk about Asian values.

Journalism studies has since evolved and scholars are much less prone to studying regime ideology as a proxy for journalists' professional norms. Scholars have learned to take the trouble to ask the journalists themselves (Hanitzsch, 2011; Weaver & Wu, 1998). Not surprisingly, international surveys of journalists' role perceptions do not tally neatly with official justifications for authoritarian controls, whether couched in terms of development journalism or Asian values—or, for that matter, the communist ideology that China still requires its journalists to learn and profess allegiance to. Empirical studies suggest the existence of certain universal professional norms, in the sense of being embraced by large proportions of journalists in every part of the world that has been studied: they believe they should keep the public informed and check on the powerful, rather than serve those in power and make them look good. Aside from cross-national survey research, thick, actor-oriented accounts of journalism under authoritarian regimes are another promising avenue. Roudakova's (2017) ethnographic study of journalism in late-socialist Soviet times is one powerful example. She found that Soviet journalists had an ethic of publicly and courageously seeking truth and justice that was recognized and appreciated by their audience. Amounting to neither dissidence nor conformism, they played a whistle-blowing role that their party bosses recognized was necessary for socialism's legitimacy. While certainly representatives of the state and not part of a fourth estate in the liberal sense, they still had a recognizable professional identity; they developed a social contract with their audience, earning a reputation as the most accessible and reliable arm of state power when citizens felt wronged by the bureaucracy. Paradoxically, Roudakova notes, the collapse of the Soviet system also eroded the moral value of speaking truth to power.

Such studies echo Josephi's (2013) observation that journalism's multiple forms contain core values that empower the public—these values "are commonly described as democratic" but "do not necessarily need to be practiced in a democracy" (p. 445). Indeed, the most courageous expressions of those professional values take place largely in non-democratic settings. If the endurance of authoritarianism deserves more scholarly attention, so too does journalism's resilience under pressure.

REFERENCES

Althusser, L. (2014). *On the reproduction of capitalism: Ideology and ideological state apparatuses*. London: Verso.

Anderson, P. (1976). The antinomies of Antonio Gramsci. *New Left Review*, *I*(100), 5–80.

Arendt, H. (1970). *On violence*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Barr, M. D. (2012). *Cultural politics and Asian values*. Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge.

Beamish, T. D., & Luebbers, A. J. (2009). Alliance building across social movements: Bridging difference in a peace and justice coalition. *Social Problems*, *56*(4), 647–676. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2009.56.4.647g

Becker, J. (2004). Lessons from Russia: A neo-authoritarian media system. *European Journal of Communication*, *19*(2), 139–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323104042908

Besley, T., Burgess, R., & Prat, A. (2002). Mass media and political accountability. In R. Islam (Ed.), *The right to tell: The role of mass media in economic development* (pp. 45–60). Washington, DC: World Bank Publications.

Book, C. L. (2009). Development journalism. In C. H. Sterling (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of journalism* (pp. 401–407). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Bunn, M. (2015). Reimagining repression: New censorship theory and after. *History and Theory*, *54*(1), 25–44. https://doi.org/10.1111/hith.10739

Burrett, T. (2017). Mixed signals: Democratization and the Myanmar media. *Politics and Governance*, *5*(2), 41–58. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v5i2.831

Chalaby, J. K. (2000). New media, new freedoms, new threats. *Gazette*, *62*(1), 19–29.

Christians, C. G., Glasser, T. L., McQuail, D., Nordenstreng, K., & White, R. A. (2009). *Normative theories of the media: Journalism in democratic societies*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Couldry, N., & Hepp, A. (2012). Comparing media cultures. In F. Esser & T. Hanitzsch (Eds.), *The handbook of comparative communication research* (pp. 249–261). New York, NY: Routledge.

Dahlgren, P. (2001). The transformation of democracy? In B. Axford & R. Huggins (Eds.), *New media and politics*. London: Sage Publications.

Diamond, L. (2015). Facing up to the democratic recession. *Journal of Democracy*, *26*(1), 141–155. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0009

Duterte's target: The Philippine Daily Inquirer. (2017, August 16). Retrieved from www.rappler.com/newsbreak/in-depth/178715-duterte-target-philippine-daily-inquirer

Egorov, G., Guriev, S. M., & Sonin, K. (2009). *Why resource-poor dictators allow freer media: A theory and evidence from panel data* (SSRN Scholarly Paper No. ID 898888). Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network. Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=898888

Freedom House. (2017, April). *Freedom of the press 2017*. Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2017

George, C. (2006). *Contentious journalism and the internet: Towards democratic discourse in Malaysia and Singapore*. Singapore and Seattle, WA: National University of Singapore Press and University of Washington Press.

George, C. (2007). Consolidating authoritarian rule: Calibrated coercion in Singapore. *The Pacific Review*, *20*(2), 127–145.

George, C. (2012). *Freedom from the press: Journalism and state power in Singapore*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.

Gilley, B. (2010). Democratic triumph, scholarly pessimism. *Journal of Democracy*, *21*(1), 160–167.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2011). *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Hanitzsch, T. (2011). Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. *The International Communication Gazette*, *73*(6), 477–494.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, C., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., . . . Kee Wang Yuen, E. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations. *Journalism Studies*, *12*(3), 273–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2010.512502

Hassid, J. (2008). Controlling the Chinese media: An uncertain business. *Asian Survey*, *48*(3), 414–430. https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2008.48.3.414

Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1998). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

Heydemann, S., & Leenders, R. (2011). Authoritarian learning and authoritarian resilience: Regime responses to the "Arab Awakening." *Globalizations*, *8*(5), 647–653. https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.621274

Hobson, C. (2009). The limits of liberal-democracy promotion. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, *34*(4), 383–405. https://doi.org/10.1177/030437540903400402

Huang, H., Boranbay-Akan, S., & Huang, L. (2016). Media, protest diffusion, and authoritarian resilience. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2016.25

Hughes, S., & Lawson, C. (2005). The barriers to media opening in Latin America. *Political Communication*, *22*(1), 9–25. https://doi.org/10.1080/10584600590908410

Huntington, S. P. (1993). *The third wave: Democratization in the late twentieth century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Jacques, M. (2009). *When China rules the world: The rise of the middle kingdom and the end of the Western world*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.

Jansen, S. C., & Martin, B. (2003). Making censorship backfire. *Counterpoise*, *7*(3), 5–15.

Jenco, L. (2013). Revisiting Asian values. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *74*(2), 237–258.

Josephi, B. (2013). De-coupling journalism and democracy: Or how much democracy does journalism need? *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, *14*(4), 441–445. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884913489000

Kreimer, S. F. (2006). Censorship by proxy: The first amendment, internet intermediaries, and the problem of the weakest link. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, *155*(1), 11–101. https://doi.org/10.2307/40041302

Kuper, L. (1975). Censorship by proxy. *Index on Censorship*, *4*(3), 48–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/03064227508532449

Lee, C-C. (1998). Press self-censorship and political transition in Hong Kong. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *3*(2), 55–73.

Lee, F. L. F., & Chan, J. (2009). Organizational production of self-censorship in the Hong Kong media. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *14*(1), 112–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161208326598

Lee, F. L. F., & Lin, A. M. Y. (2006). Newspaper editorial discourse and the politics of self-censorship in Hong Kong. *Discourse and Society*, *17*(3), 331–358.

Levitsky, S., & Way, L. (2015). The myth of democratic recession. *Journal of Democracy*, *25*(1), 45–58.

Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy. *American Political Science Review*, *53*(1), 69–105.

Lorentzen, P. (2014). China's strategic censorship. *American Journal of Political Science*, *58*(2), 402–414. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12065

Lynch, M. (2015). After the Arab Spring: How the media trashed the transitions. *Journal of Democracy*, *26*(4), 90–99.

Ma, N. (2007). State: Press relationship in post-1997 Hong Kong: Constant negotiation amidst self-restraint. *The China Quarterly*, (192), 949–970.

MacKinnon, R., Hickok, E., Bar, A., & Lim, H. (2014). *Fostering freedom online: The role of internet intermediaries*. Paris, France: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Retrieved from http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002311/231162e.pdf

Massey, B. L., & Chang, L. A. (n.d.). Locating Asian values in Asian journalism: A content analysis of web newspapers. *Journal of Communication*, *52*(4), 987–1003. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2002.tb02585.x

Mellado, C., Hellmueller, L., Márquez-Ramírez, M., Humanes, M. L., Sparks, C., Stepinska, A., . . . Wang, H. (2017). The hybridization of journalistic cultures: A comparative study of journalistic role performance. *Journal of Communication*, *67*(6), 944–967. https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12339

Meng, B. (2009). Who needs democracy if we can pick our favorite girl? Super Girl as media spectacle. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *2*(3), 257–272. https://doi.org/10.1080/17544750903208996

Mungiu-Pippidi, A. (2012). Freedom without impartiality: The vicious circle of media capture. In P. Gross & K. Jakubowicz (Eds.), *Media transformations in the post-communist world: Eastern Europe's tortured path to change* (pp. 33–48). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Nathan, A. J. (2003). Authoritarian resilience. *Journal of Democracy*, *14*(1), 6–17. https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2003.0019

Nerone, J. C. (1995). *Last rights: Revisiting four theories of the press*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Olson, M. (2000). *Power and prosperity: Outgrowing communist and capitalist dictatorships*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Plattner, M. F. (2015). Is democracy in decline? *Journal of Democracy*, *26*(1), 5–10.

Podesta, D. (2009). *Soft censorship: How governments around the globe use money to manipulate the media*. Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance. Retrieved from www.cima.ned.org/resource/soft-censorship-how-governments-around-the-globe-use-money-to-manipulate-the-media/

Prat, A. (2015). Media capture and media power. In S. P. Anderson, J. Waldfogel, & D. Strömberg (Eds.), *Handbook of media economics* (Vol. 1B, pp. 669–686). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-444-63685-0.00016-4

Price, M., & Stremlau, N. (2018). *Speech and society in turbulent times*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Puddington, A. (2017). *Breaking down democracy: Goals, strategies, and methods of modern authoritarians*. Washington, DC: Freedom House. Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-reports/breaking-down-democracy-goals-strategies-and-methods-modern-authoritarians

Robison, R. (1996). The politics of 'Asian values.' *The Pacific Review*, *9*(3), 309–327. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512749608719189

Rosen, J. (1991). Making journalism more public. *Communication*, *12*, 267–284.

Roudakova, N. (2017). *Losing Pravda: Ethics and the press in post-truth Russia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Ryabinska, N. (2011). The media market and media ownership in post-communist Ukraine. *Problems of Post-Communism*, *58*(6), 3–20.

Schedler, A. (2006). The logic of electoral authoritarianism. In A. Schedler (Ed.), *Electoral authoritarianism: The dynamics of unfree competition* (pp. 2–33). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Schimpfossl, E., & Yablokov, I. (2014). Coercion or conformism? Censorship and self-censorship among Russian media personalities and reporters in the 2010s. *Demokratizatsiya*, *22*(2), 295–311.

Siebert, F. S., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1956). *Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Simon, J. (2015). *The new censorship: Inside the global battle for media freedom*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Sparks, C. (2012). Beyond political communication: Towards a broader perspective on the Chinese press. *Chinese Journal of Communication*, *5*(1), 61–67. https://doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2011.647746

Stockmann, D., & Gallagher, M. E. (2011). Remote control: How the media sustain authoritarian rule in China. *Comparative Political Studies*, *44*(4), 436–467. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010394773

Tai, Q. (2014). China's media censorship: A dynamic and diversified regime. *Journal of East Asian Studies*, *14*(2), 185–209.

Tapsell, R. (2017). *Media power in Indonesia: Oligarchs, citizens and the digital revolution*. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. Retrieved from www.rowmaninternational.com/buy-books/product-details/

Wang, G., & Kuo, E. C. Y. (2010). The Asian communication debate: Culture-specificity, culture-generality, and beyond. *Asian Journal of Communication*, *20*(2), 152–165.

Weaver, D. H., & Willnat, L. (2012). *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Weaver, D. H., & Wu, W. (1998). *The global journalist: News people around the world*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Wu, J. C. (2014). Expanding civic engagement in China: Super Girl and entertainment-based online community. *Information, Communication & Society*, *17*(1), 105–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.833276

Xu, X. (2005). *Demystifying Asian values in journalism*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.

Zelizer, B. (2013). On the shelf life of democracy in journalism scholarship. *Journalism*, *14*(4), 459–473.

Zhao, Y. (2008). *Communication in China: Political economy, power, and conflict*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Index

Note: Page numbers in *italics* and **bold** indicate figures and tables, respectively.

Taylor & Francis eBooks

www.taylorfrancis.com

A single destination for eBooks from Taylor & Francis with increased functionality and an improved user experience to meet the needs of our customers.

90,000+ eBooks of award-winning academic content in Humanities, Social Science, Science, Technology, Engineering, and Medical written by a global network of editors and authors.

TAYLOR & FRANCIS EBOOKS OFFERS:

- A streamlined experience for our library customers
- A single point of discovery for all of our eBook content
- Improved search and discovery of content at both book and chapter level

REQUEST A FREE TRIAL

support@taylorfrancis.com

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

CRC Press
Taylor & Francis Group