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COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA KOMUNIKACIJA I MEDIJI

Broj 36, godina XI 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 5–28
Stijn Joye, Ansgard Heinrich, Romy Wöhlert
- Reformed gatekeeping 29–46
François Heinderyckx, Tim P. Vos
- Agenda setting in the world of online news:
New questions for new environment 47–70
Danka Ninković Slavnić
- The circuit of culture: A model for journalism history 71–88
Thomas R. Schmidt
- Alternative media and normative theory:
A case of Ferguson, Missouri 89–114
Mark Anthony Poepel, Chad Painter
- Kritičke studije medija i informatičkog društva 115–120
Nađa Bobičić
- Uputstvo autorima 121

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COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA
KOMUNIKACIJA I MEDIJI

Izdavači/Publishers:

Institut za usmeravanje komunikacija, Novi Sad / Communication Direction Institute
Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd / Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade

Glavni i odgovorni urednik/Editor:

Miroљub Radojković, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade (Serbia)

Za izdavače/Official representatives:

Dragan Simić, dekan Fakulteta političkih nauka u Beogradu/Dean of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade
Boris Labudović, Institut za usmeravanje komunikacija / Communication Direction Institute

Adresa redakcije/Editorial office:

Stevana Momčilovića 16 b, P. fah 125, 21101 Novi Sad
Telefon: +381 (0)21 / 301-2358; cm@fpn.bg.ac.rs

Lektura: Lidija Mirkov

Prepress: Blur Studio, Novi Sad

Štampa/Print: Čigoja štampa, Beograd

*Štampanje časopisa finansijski je pomogao
Pokrajinski sekretarijat za nauku i tehnološki razvoj*

*Publication of the Journal is financially supported
by the Provincial Secretariat for Science and Technological Development*

CIP – Каталогизacija у публикацији
Народна библиотека Србије, Београд

316.774

CM : Communication and Media = Komunikacija
i mediji / glavni i odgovorni urednik Miroљub Radojković.
– God. 11, br. 36 (2016)– . – Novi Sad : Institut za
usmeravanje komunikacija ; Beograd : Fakultet političkih
nauka, 2016– (Beograd : Čigoja štampa). – 24 cm

Tri puta godišnje. – Tekst na srp. i engl. jeziku. – Je nastavak:
CM. Communication Management = ISSN 1452-7405. –
Drugo izdanje na drugom medijumu: CM. Communication
and Media (Online) = ISSN 2466-5452
ISSN 2466-541X = CM. Communication and Media
COBISS.SR-ID 227945484

50 years of Galtung and Ruge: Reflections on their model of news values and its relevance for the study of journalism and communication today

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doi: 10.5937/comman11-9514

Abstract: In 1965, Galtung and Ruge initiated a rich strand of academic research on the notion of news values and the practice of gatekeeping in a context of international news reporting. Since its publication, many scholars have criticized, revisited, and put their findings to the test, often leading to somehow conflicting conclusions. In general, some studies tend to confirm their findings while others have uttered methodological concerns or came up with new or additional sets of news factors, hence arguing for a further specification of the model. In recent years, scholars also pointed towards the increasing impact of digital media on journalistic practices of news selection. Likewise, new perspectives on global journalism were introduced into the debate. In this article, we bring together these different perspectives in order to inform a broad discussion on Galtung and Ruge's legacy for the field of communication sciences in general and studies on journalism and international news selection in particular. We first assess how Galtung and Ruge's hypotheses hold up in an era of unlimited data. Second, we reflect on the need to integrate changing societal and cultural contexts of news selection, production and reception to understand news values today. Third, with contemporary journalistic practices and research in mind, we suggest an agenda for the study of news values in an era of global journalism.

Keywords: Galtung and Ruge, news values, gatekeeping, news selection, international news, global journalism.

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1. Introduction

While there were some predecessors such as Lippmann's essay on news from 1922 (Eilders, 2006: 6), it was the seminal and widely cited research article by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965) that really started a rich tradition of academic discussion on the notion of news values and the practice of gatekeeping in a context of international news reporting. Since its publication in 1965, many scholars have criticized, revisited, and put their findings to the test, often leading to somehow conflicting conclusions. In general, some studies tend to confirm the original set of twelve news factors that are used to define newsworthiness (cf. Joye, 2010a; Golan, 2008). Others eventually came up with new or additional sets of news values and have argued for a further specification of the different aspects of the news process to which the broad term of 'news values' refers to (cf. Brighton & Foy, 2007; Caple & Bednarek, 2013; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; van Ginneken, 2005). Following this, several scholars have uttered their methodological concerns about an overall sense of 'uncertainty surrounding the empirical validity of both hypotheses and factors' (Hjarvard, 2002: 94; cf. Harcup & O'Neill, 2001; van Ginneken, 2005). In recent years, scholars also pointed towards the increasing impact of digital media on journalistic practices of news gathering and selection (Heinrich, 2011) and acknowledged the emerging practice of gatewatching (Bruns, 2005). Likewise, new perspectives on global journalism (Berglez, 2013) and globally responsible journalism (Ward, 2011) were introduced into the debate on news values and the practice of gatekeeping. Beyond the debate on news values, international migration processes of the last decades have not only changed the social and cultural composition and integration policies of European societies but they also form an increasingly relevant structural context for the analysis of national and international news media coverage (Bayer, 2013).

In this article, we aim to bring together these different perspectives on the classic theory on gatekeeping in order to inform a broader discussion on Galtung and Ruge's legacy for the field of communication sciences in general and studies on journalism and international news selection in particular. What did fifty years of scholarly criticism learn us? Did their seminal work pass the test of time or should we rather regard it as a 'child of its time', hence outdated in terms of its appropriateness to today's (digital) news ecology? First, we will flesh out the model of Galtung and Ruge by means of a short literature review related

to its key ideas and theoretical concepts, followed by a brief overview of the scholarly criticism. In a second part of this article, we present three takes on the central question about the model's relevance for contemporary research in the field of communication and journalism. First, we assess if and how Galtung and Ruge's model stands the test of time if their research was conducted today in an age of practically unlimited access to data. Second, we call for a stronger integration of changing societal and cultural contexts of news selection, production and reception in reflections on news values today. And third, with some main critiques of contemporary journalistic practices in mind, we suggest possible research directions to study news values in an era of global journalism.

2. Gatekeeping and news factors: the model of Galtung and Ruge

Generally acknowledged to be one of the oldest traditions of research within the field of journalism studies, research into gatekeeping and news selection appears to have lost some of its 'gravitas' in the last few decades (Hjarvard, 2002). Nevertheless, the concept of the journalist as a *gatekeeper* remains very relevant in today's media-saturated environment where news is ubiquitous and the danger of information overflow is real, implying the necessity of news selection in the journalistic news production process. Overlooking the field, one can identify two dominant approaches to gatekeeping research. On the one hand, we have the more sociological tradition focusing on the gatekeeper as "an individual or group [...] "in power" for making the decision between "in" or "out"" (White, 1950, cited in Tumber, 1999: 66), his/her values and attitudes, and the impact of the media organization and the broader social context on the process of selection (e.g. Gieber, 1964; Shoemaker, 1991; White, 1950). On the other hand, studies have been looking into the factors or news values that determine whether an event is selected or not. Alongside Galtung and Ruge (1965) who are widely acknowledged as the founding 'father and mother' of this strand, Gans (1979), Wu (1998; 2000) and Golan (2008) have been influential in this field of research.

Published in 1965 in the *Journal of Peace Research*, 'The Structure of Foreign News' by Galtung and Ruge followed an essay in the same journal by Östgaard (1965) on the factors that influence news flows. However, it is the Galtung and Ruge article that is generally acknowledged to be the first empirical study into

the criteria that the journalist as gatekeeper – implicitly or explicitly – applies when gathering and selecting the news. Their main question addressed how and why an event becomes news and thus has news value. Investigating the news coverage of three international political crises in Congo, Cuba and Cyprus by four Norwegian newspapers, Galtung and Ruge defined a taxonomy of twelve factors – *hypotheses* in their own words – that they regarded to be structurally determining the selection of news: frequency (when the event follows or fits the publishing frequency of the medium); threshold (absolute intensity and intensity increase); unambiguity; meaningfulness (relevance and cultural proximity); consonance (predictability and demand); unexpectedness (unpredictability and scarcity); continuity; composition (selection of an event based on the format or content of a news programme); reference to elite countries or people; presence of individuals (personification); and reference to something negative (1965: 65–71). The first eight news factors were considered to be universal while the last four were more culturally dependent or specific. In addition to the list of twelve factors, the authors stated a number of hypotheses. For one, the chance that an event is selected is higher when it abides to a larger number of news factors. Once selected, the features of the event that got it selected in the first place will be emphasized in the resulting news story, identified by Galtung and Ruge as a process of distortion. Finally, these processes of selection and distortion are replicated through all steps in the news production chain. The article concludes with an additional list of hypotheses about the possible combinations of factors and a call to journalists and policy-makers to try and counteract all twelve factors in order to reduce their (presumed) effects.

3. Follow-up studies and scholarly criticism on Galtung and Ruge

In the decades to come, scholars have put the findings of Galtung and Ruge to the test and found that the original results or hypotheses were not always confirmed, which consequently led to some criticism regarding the study's validity and methodological soundness (Hjarvard, 2002: 94). For instance, Hjarvard (2002: 94) pointed towards a neglect of the broader journalistic context and the particularities of the selection process while Rosengren (1970; 1974) stressed the importance to include extra-media data in the analysis of news selection practices (cf. *infra*). Others such as Tunstall (1971) and Harcup and

O'Neill (2001) commented on the sample of the study for not incorporating domestic events and for its narrow focus on (three) crisis situations. Alongside methodological and conceptual criticism, alternative lists of news factors have been suggested while the initial set of factors has also been explored in more depth. Westerstahl and Johansson (1994), for example, further fleshed out the factor of meaningfulness. They found that the chance of selection depends heavily on the fact if a foreign event is relevant to and closely matches cultural and historical values of the home country. Others re-interpreted the factor of meaningfulness as an economic factor, hinting at trade relations and the level of economic development as the main determinants of international news coverage (Kim & Barnett, 1996; Wu, 2000). In terms of new factors, many have put forward the factor of sensation, although there is little consensus as to how to define sensational news (Hendriks Vettehen, Nuijten & Beentjes, 2005; van Ginneken, 2005).

Harcup and O'Neill (2001: 277) tested how the original study of Galtung and Ruge holds up in the new millennium and concluded that “[s]ome [news values] remain resonant today and can usefully be incorporated, if worded slightly different” such as magnitude, follow-up and bad news. In addition, they further proposed a contemporary set of news values, including the entertainment value of the event, the presence of celebrities and the factor of good news. According to Kennamer (1988: 120–121) all newly added news values could be replaced by an umbrella concept that he calls ‘vividness’. It refers to so-called vivid information that he defines as the degree to which information evokes concrete images and generates personal emotions. It would take us too far to discuss all qualifications or additions to the field, but it is noteworthy to point out that some scholars such as Harrison (2006), Gans (1979) and Teunissen (2005) did not ignore more contextual or practical factors such as the availability of visual material as a selection factor. To conclude this brief overview, Golan (2008: 44–45) conducted a meta-analysis of the field and identified the following four key factors as basic predictors of news selection and coverage: “deviance (Shoemaker, Chang & Brendlinger, 1986), relevance (Chang, Shoemaker & Brendlinger, 1987), cultural affinity (Hester, 1973) and the prominence of the nation within the hierarchy of nations (Chang, 1998; Kim & Barnett, 1996)”.

Despite the abundance of studies on news factors, this particular strand of research has always received a lot of criticism. Scholarly comments appear to converge on a number of issues. First, O'Neill and Harcup (2009) criticize the volatile nature of such lists of news values. In their view, many studies do not take into account the changing 'Zeitgeist' as news values are subject to changes in time and are highly dependent on contextual conditions related to the so-called media ecology of any given period. Likewise, McQuail (2000) and Hjarvard (2002: 94–95) questioned the assumption of many researchers in the field that it is *at all* possible to establish once and for all a final or absolute taxonomy of news factors. This assumes a high degree of uniformity in international news reporting and selection practices across different countries, time periods, media sectors and newsrooms. Secondly, McQuail (2000) states that such lists of criteria often fail to provide a full explanation of all the distortions and irregularities in compiling news as well as to expose the underlying ideological structures of the news values (see also van Dijk, 1988: 27–28; Westerstahl & Johansson, 1994). In this respect, Hartley (1982: 80) argues that the news factors themselves "can actually disguise the more important ideological determinants of a story" (cf. *infra*). A third frequently expressed comment refers to an idea that was prominent in Galtung and Ruge's model. It concerns a difference in paradigms and beliefs with regard to the role of the journalists and news media. Are they just reporting on and covering events? Or are they *constructing* the world? Galtung and Ruge were criticized for an underlying belief "that there is a given reality out there in the "real world" that newsgatherers will choose either to admit or exclude" (Harcup, 2004: 33; McQuail, 2000: 279).

Overlooking the literature and the criticism, what often tends to be forgotten in the academic debate on the relevance of Galtung and Ruge's study is that the two authors themselves have actually made some very explicit claims regarding the value of their findings and the extent to which their study can or should be generalized. In what could be identified as a process of canonization, the article of Galtung and Ruge 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. However, in addition to the introduction statement that "[n]o claim is made for completeness in the list of factors or "deductions"" (Galtung & Ruge, 1965: 64), throughout the text one finds ample acknowledgements by

the authors of the study's hypothetical nature (e.g. page 66, 70, 80, ...), even including clear disclaimers that "we shall not attempt to "axiomatize" on this meager basis" (71) and that "[i]t should be emphasized, however, 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" (85).

4. A new look at an old theory

Central to this article is a re-assessment of Galtung and Ruge's original model from a contemporary perspective. Dwelling on previous criticism, we explore three viewpoints or reflections on the present-day relevance and value of Galtung and Ruge's seminal study.

4.1. The first landmark study with a major 'impact factor'

The brief first point we would like to make is a methodological one and is related to a remarkable quote by Galtung and Ruge themselves: "It may be objected that what we have said is an artifact of the three crises we have picked for our sample. There is no other way of exploring this objection than by means of a new project" (1965: 80). Given the context of scholarly work in the 1960s and the (technological) resources available to them, this section dwells on the question what if Galtung and Ruge would have conducted their research today in an age of practically unlimited access to data? Would their hypotheses stand the test of time? While it is impossible to find an entirely faithful replication of their research, there are a number of recent studies that display a high similarity in terms of research questions, design and data. The study by Harcup and O'Neill (2001) is (rightfully) widely cited in this respect (cf. *supra*) but it diverges from the original study in its choice to include domestic events. Useful to test if Galtung and Ruge's framework still stands when researching international crises today is our previous work on the selection and coverage of international news by Belgian newspapers, with a focus on crises (natural and technological disasters) occurring between 1986 and 2006 (Joye, 2010b). Additionally, we incorporated in the research design an important point of criticism on the model of Galtung and Ruge by Karl E. Rosengren (1970).

Rosengren (1970; 1974) noted that research on gatekeeping and news selection would benefit from what he referred to as extra-media data or data gathered from outside and independent of news media such as official documents and databases.⁴ Only then, Rosengren argues, is it possible to reflect on differences between (an objective determination of) ‘reality’ and its mediated representation. This is a direct response to one of the research hypotheses and conclusions of Galtung and Ruge (1965: 71) that the new factors “produce an image of the world different from “what really happened””. Identifying such distortion as selective inaccuracy requires a particular methodology that departs from “an appropriate basis of comparison and an objective determination of reality” (Gaddy & Tanjong, 1986: 105), which was not part of Galtung and Ruge’s research design. A similar argument is made by Hjarvard (2002: 94) who states that a content analysis of news coverage is not enough to determine if, for example, the dominant focus on elite individuals is a result of distortions in the news selection process or if it is due to these persons effectively playing a greater role in society.

Integrating these methodological remarks, we followed Rosengren’s suggestion by making use of extra-media data of the international emergency events database EM-DAT (hosted by the Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters CRED) and so-called intra-media data from a quantitative content analysis of four Belgian newspapers (1986–2006). The EM-DAT database of international disasters can be considered as a database representation of ‘reality’, while in the case of data retrieved from the content analysis, we are dealing with a mediated representation of that same ‘reality’. In the words of Rosengren (1974: 147–148), we can establish, on the one hand, a universe of events (extra-media data) and, on the other, a universe of news (reports on events). In order to explore the role of news factors and selective gatekeeping, both universes are compared on a number of news factors. Briefly summarized, the comparative analysis underwrites the premise that the news media’s interpretation and representation of crises differs from the objective knowledge or data. The study reveals a high degree of selective inaccuracy and demonstrates that 70.8 per cent of all crisis situations occurring between 1986 and 2006 had been neglected by the newspapers, for the large part crises in less developed and non-western

⁴ The problem with integrating extra-media data in a research design aimed to investigate the role of news factors is that such data are not always available for each type of event or factor.

countries. Disasters happening in neighboring countries, Western Europe or North America had a substantially greater chance of being selected and being covered more in depth than other crises. In addition, half of the editorial space in the Belgian newspapers was devoted to European crisis events, while eight out of ten disaster situations happened in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The distant crises in the peripheral South thus struggle for media attention unless they affect a huge number of (Western) people. These findings imply a rather distorted worldview that is characterized by a Eurocentric perspective fuelled by the two key news factors of proximity (meaningfulness) and severity of the disaster (threshold). In accordance with Galtung and Ruge, we found both factors to determine the process of news selection, while the amount of coverage was mainly driven by the element of proximity. However, we slightly re-interpreted the original factor of meaningfulness to incorporate the notion of proximity in its widest possible sense. Next to cultural proximity, the term refers to a number of (inter)related factors such as historical links, geographical distance, trade or economic relations, and psychological or emotional distance. In other words, it describes different expressions of a certain relationship of involvement. Furthermore, the study confirmed that news coverage of crises tends to focus on the dramatic event itself, with little attention to cause and aftermath (cf. news factor of frequency). Newspapers have a brief attention span, particularly regarding emergencies in developing nations (cf. news factor of reference to elite nations). Subsequent interviews with a selection of journalists underwrote the findings of the comparative analysis in terms of prevailing news factors in practices of gatekeeping (Joye, 2010b).

Alongside other studies (cf. *supra*), our research indicates the persistent relevance and empirical validity of the notion of news factors as laid bare by Galtung and Ruge in 1965. Of course, one must acknowledge the very speculative or hypothetical nature of the original study's objectives and its limitations to subjects of international news and crisis situations, which have received the rightful criticism as discussed above. Therefore, we would like to follow other scholars in their assessment of Galtung and Ruge's model as 'classic' (Tunstall, 1971: 20) and as 'a landmark in the scholarship of the media' (Watson, 1998 cited in Harcup & O'Neill, 2001: 264) but simultaneously nuance that claim. It is without a doubt *a* landmark, but not *the* absolute or even final one. Rather, it is that important first one which had a major impact, up till today. The study

laid the foundations of a rich research tradition in the field of international news studies but its impact has not been restricted to academia alone. Nordenstreng (cited in Hjarvard, 2002: 93) for instance points to its influence on a policy level. Galtung and Ruge's work on gatekeeping and news factors has also informed debates on international news flows and inequalities, e.g. in studies conducted during the 1970s under the auspices of the New World Information and Communication Order NWICO movement.

Let us now turn to a second, more context-driven reflection on the value and legacy of Galtung and Ruge for journalism studies and gatekeeping research.

4.2. (Changing) societal and cultural contexts of news selection, production and reception

One necessary extension and specification of the original model of news values that needs to be added is a stronger *integration of context*, as has been pointed out before with regard to our suggestion to include extra-media data in the study on news values and gatekeeping. Critical remarks here, for instance, come from scholars such as Hjarvard who criticizes the neglect of broader journalistic context. Similar to that, Tunstall (1971: 23) argued that “[i]t 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 global cultural, economic and political considerations”. Pointing towards the same direction, Bednarek and Caple (2012: 39–40) argued that news values should be observed in a broader sense, i.e. including the criteria or rules that journalists apply to determine what is ‘news’; the (imagined) preferences of the expected audience about what is newsworthy (Richardson, 2007: 94); the qualities/elements that are necessary to make a story newsworthy (Cotter, 2010: 68); and the values by which events or facts are judged more newsworthy than others (Allern, 2002; Fowler, 1991; Hartley, 1982; Tunstall, 1996). Those values are thereby shared both by producers and audiences of news discourse (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 40). In a similar way, research focusing on ideological aspects of news values points out the cultural context of news. Here, Hall et al. (1978: 249) argued that “news values appear as a set of neutral, routine practices: but we need, also, to see formal news values as an ideological structure - to examine these rules as the formalization and operationalization of an ideology

of news". Thus, taking up again the argument of Hjarvard (2002: 94) that the Galtung and Ruge model largely neglects the broader journalistic context and the particularities of the selection process, we suggest a stronger integration of journalistic practice with political, economic, social, global and other contexts. In order to do so, context should be observed on three levels: the individual, the institutional or organizational, and the societal level.

Three levels of context

On an *individual* level, we speak about journalistic ethics, ritualistic procedures of news production, as well as the (personal and professional) socialization of journalists and their concepts of self-definition and identity. Thus, the model of news values needs to include a cognitive perspective that integrates the relevance of journalists' beliefs and thus regards them as 'inter-subjective mental categories' (Fowler, 1991: 17) or 'internalized assumptions' (Cotter, 2010: 56) that people hold about qualities and aspects that make events or topics newsworthy. Those beliefs about newsworthiness can vary at times according to the individuals concerned (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 44). At the same time, journalistic practices are embedded in a wide range of discourses. Journalistic ethics and ritualistic procedures that try to convert these discourses into materialized practices for the individual journalist are necessary guarantees for the integrity, reliability, and status of journalists as 'truth speakers' or 'truth reporters' (Carpentier, 2007: 151). Therefore, a number of core concepts can structure the identity of journalists and these components can be so inherited in a journalist's identity that they might be taken-for-granted. Such key features for journalistic work may, for instance, be objectivity, autonomy and independence, resistance towards internal and external pressures, accountability, property, or the controlling function of journalists in a democratic setting (cf. 'watchdog of a state') (Carpentier, 2007: 151–152).

On the *institutional* or *organizational* level, we speak of 'internal' structural influences in the established institutions of news production, which form the professional institutional setting of journalistic work. This level includes aspects such as organizational structures but also media agendas. Journalists cannot detach themselves from media markets and the media organizations in which they operate – not even if they work as independent freelance journalists. Media

organizations may have their own agenda(s), which can be based on inputs, ideas or goals of the media owners and editors in chief (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001: 274–279), or may be influenced by advertisers (Brighton & Foy 2007) or political agendas. Furthermore, journalists are also embedded in organizational structures that are often determined by commercial objectives. In those organizational settings, journalists also receive certain “professional socialization” (Carpentier, 2007: 151). For the analysis of news values, this calls for a perspective that explores the rootedness of the set of outlined news values of the Galtung and Ruge model in market dynamics, organizational work structures, or journalistic work ethics.

On the *societal* level, external influences such as value systems, norms, ideologies and the moral-political discourses, in which both journalists and media organizations are embedded, need to be taken into account in the study of news values. As Cultural Studies scholars such as Hall argue, a model like the one by Galtung and Ruge may help us to identify the formal elements within the construction of news and to identify routine practices. However, such models should be extended to consider the ideological context of news as well. Accordingly, news values may be regarded as a ‘deep structure’ or a ‘cultural map’ that journalists use to help them make sense of the world (Hall, 1973; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). An extended perspective on news value would take into consideration broader political and economic structures, and should observe the process of news selection as a social consensus among journalists (Caple & Bednarek, 2013; Hartley, 1982; Staab, 1990; Westerstahl & Johansson, 1994). Accordingly, the ‘inner discourse’ of the newspaper is bound to the ‘ideological universe of the society’. Therefore, news values can be conceptualized in terms of how newsworthiness is constructed through discourse (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 44–45).

Several studies have already approached the level of societal contexts, with a specific focus on value systems, ideologies and normative (political) discourses – aspects that may also form and shape the ‘professional ideology’ of journalists and newsmakers (Hall et al., 1978). With regard to value systems in general, one example would be the news coverage of scandals (cf. Thompson, 2000). Since scandals conflict with societal norms and values, they are publicly denounced in the news coverage. At the same time, by putting them in the media limelight, the underlying norms and values are negotiated and re-emphasized.

Scandals can thus cause disruptions in a society and lead to necessary discourses to reassure or adjust commonly shared norms and values (Hondrich, 2002). Similar to that, Elliot and Greer (2010: 415) illustrate, that religious/cultural traditions and values can affect the news selection and production; while Scott (2006: 183–184) argues that patriotic pressures should be accounted for in contemporary studies of news values, agenda setting, and other newsroom practices.

Accounting for social change

A second specification we suggest to Galtung and Ruge's model is a stronger integration of the dimension of *social change*. This factor is especially interwoven with the societal context level. Social change is relevant when we discuss the differences between today's societies and the particular societal context in which Galtung and Ruge developed their model in 1965. Social change thereby refers to the level of media change (digitalization), technological changes (new communication structures such as the Internet), or changing media use in connection with that. Also, many factors in the news landscape are changing rapidly and continuously, such as the relationship between news providers (journalists) and news receivers (audiences), which is nowadays much more complex and polyvalent than before (Brighton & Foy, 2007: 193). In addition, change also takes place on a cultural, economic, political and social level, for instance the change of political settings (East-West-Divide, Fall of the Iron Curtain, EU integration), or changes in the education, socialization and personal backgrounds of journalists. The above outlined approaches observe the level of societal context mainly from a synchronic perspective, i.e. taking into account value systems, ideologies and normative (political) discourses of a society at a certain point in time to explore the contexts of news production. We suggest to strengthen value and apply the diachronic perspective in the analysis of news production mechanisms.

One example to illustrate the relevance of social change for the identification of news values is the *change of compositions of societies*. Global migration processes and new migration patterns in the last 60 years have led to significant changes in European societies like Germany, Great Britain or France. They have resulted in new policies, new legal regulations, social movements such as the

civil rights movement in the 1960s/1970s, and thus a new awareness of equity and equality. Those societal and political changes also had an impact on the media system, for instance by changing production settings. Now, journalists with different ethnic, cultural and political backgrounds report about political, economic or social issues from different angles and new schemes of perception and categorization (cf. Geissler & Pöttker, 2008; Weber-Menges, 2006). Galtung and Ruge only derived their theoretical conceptions from a single country study that also focused on a rather homogenous society (Norway) and on mainstream media outlets. In comparison, global migration trends have produced more heterogeneous societies and paved the ground for a growing number of diaspora media. Transnational connections and relations have become increasingly significant in light of what is viewed as the diminishing importance of national borders and the growing global linkages among non-state actors. Minorities and Diasporas turn to non-mainstream media that use minority languages and link up to particular communities. Also, the emergence of digital technologies enabled those media users to expand their communication activities to a global scale in order to maintain transnational communication links (Karim, 2011).

With Galtung and Ruge's model in mind, our suggestion for the study of news values would be to ask how news selection and production in ethnic media and/or by ethnic journalists differs from that of 'majority' media and journalists, and which 'new' news values could be identified in those contexts. Would a better integration of ethnic minorities in mainstream media production and representation extend or even change the composition of news values - or would those journalists simply adopt the 'old' media's news values and selection strategies (Georgiou, 2006: 81)? In addition, would new media agendas - shaped by new integration and diversity concepts and values - also change the journalistic conceptualisation of news worthiness?

The above raised criticisms and suggestions for additions to Galtung and Ruge's model do already touch upon one final question we want to address: where to go from here in journalism research on news values? This question becomes even more relevant when taking into account the profound changes of communication in an era of global information flows where production patterns of news as well as reception patterns are altered.

4. 3. Suggestions for journalism research on news values in an era of global journalism

Back in 1965, Galtung and Ruge noted that the more people are interlinked between and across borders and “the more nations are interdependent because of increasing efficiency of communication and military action, the more valid is the old sociological slogan about ‘everything’s relevance for everything else’” (1965: 64) This slogan might have even more relevance today given the increased (digital) interconnectedness of the world in which these mediated representations (i.e. news) assist citizens to form their opinions about happenings near and far. Scholars such as Appadurai (1990) or Beck (2005) have repeatedly pointed out that in the networked era, social, cultural, economic or financial matters are interconnected across borders. In this environment, knowledge of the world is all the more essential. Along with this, the term *global journalism* has gained ground. Global journalism can refer to changing production mechanisms. It sketches the increase in global information flows and the development of 24/7 news channels that cater for global audiences, are characterized by global reach, and contribute to the development of a ‘global public space’ (Heinrich, 2015; Volkmer, 2005). Global journalism can also be interpreted as a ‘news style’ that pays justice to ‘ever-more complex relations between peoples, places and practices’ (Berglez, 2008: 848). The term is also used to describe a shift in journalistic orientations. Reese (2008: 241), for example, theorizes that following increased connectivity, journalists across the globe appear to influence each other and he predicts the development of a set of ‘shared common norms and values adapted to the needs of a more globalized system.’

Yet, how do these different takes on global journalism relate to news values? More specifically, what role is assigned to news values in this era of global journalism? And which research approaches are needed to study the realities of newsroom practice and the use and impact of news values at news production desks? In this last part of our article, we want to draw attention to two research angles that deserve consideration when studying news values in light of discussions around global journalism: 1) the worth of examining news values in order to assess responsible reporting practices, and 2) the need to extend the study of news values beyond traditional newsrooms.

Researching news values to identify responsible reporting practices in a digitally networked world

The many studies that have used Galtung and Ruge's news value model over the past 50 years as starting point to dissect news content (cf. sections above) all identified one major shortfall in news coverage, particularly with reference to crisis reporting: mainstream news media too often disseminate distorted world-views. This critique was already visible in Galtung and Ruge's original work. Their contribution to the field is actually twofold: firstly, they have created the first scholarly model of news values. Yet, secondly, inherent in their model is a profound criticism of mainstream news media that is echoed till today. What might actually deserve the label of a 'classic' critique of news media coverage, does correlate with a popular call made by several scholars in recent years. Within a globalized sphere of news production, dissemination and reception, journalists are expected to take the role of the prime mediators and informants between cultures. Ward (2011: 247), for example, proposes a "globally responsible journalism" and demands "a cosmopolitan media that reports issues in a way that reflects this global plurality of views and helps groups understand each other better". Here, journalists 'should see themselves as agents of a global public sphere. The goal of their collective actions is a well-informed, diverse, and tolerant global "info-sphere"' (2011: 16). Similarly, scholars such as Gans (2001) call for 'multiperspectival news', demanding that news coverage should represent the general public and make their views and voices heard to foster public discourse. Hafez (2009) states similar demands and even titled an article 'Let's improve global journalism!'

Such calls for a reporting practice that explains an increasingly globalized world and mediates between cultures are necessary, but up till now largely of a normative nature. This discourse could do with more empirical examination of the dynamics at play in today's information exchange sphere to better connect the perspective of normative theory to concrete reporting practices. What makes and shapes a globally responsible journalism in the newsroom? Furthering and extending the study of news values and gatekeeping strategies on more empirical grounds is one way to contribute to this important discourse on globally responsible journalism. Think of some of the classic news factors as originally proposed by Galtung and Ruge. One of the most prominent news values cited with reference to global outlooks is the idea of meaningfulness or

cultural proximity, hinting at the preference for selecting the culturally familiar. Also, the issue of contemporary news sourcing practices springs to mind, mirrored in news factors such as reference to elite nations and people. These news values directly link up to contemporary debates around journalistic practices where western-centric coverage driven by elite sourcing mechanisms is heavily criticized. More empirical and conceptual research into the concrete realities of newsrooms with regard to these news values can further the discussion on how to improve global journalism as it can help to critically assess newsroom routines that might contribute to a lack of contextualization and cosmopolitan perspective in news reporting. Studies of coverage concerned with current global crises spots are of just as much interest here as are studies that focus on what is *not* reported (and why certain topics are left out). Translated into empirical research, the call for globally responsible journalism can then be understood as a discussion on rethinking traditional news values.

However, in a digitally networked era, more and more news-producing players are situated outside of the realm of conventional journalistic production. In accordance, news values are notions that now have relevance and impact far beyond the boundaries of the journalistic newsrooms.

Studying news values beyond classic newsrooms

Within an increasingly open sphere of news production and exchange, the previously mentioned diaspora media are just one of the many players that have recently emerged on the map of contributors to journalism and information dissemination across the globe. Particularly the coverage of crises that are considered to have global impact such as the ongoing war in Syria, the fighting in the Ukraine or the terrorist activities of groups such as Boko Haram in countries such as Nigeria, demands a closer look at *who* reports *what*. Foreign journalists attached to mainstream news organizations operate side by side with independent freelance journalists or seek ways to collaborate with local journalists. At the same time, non-governmental organizations run their own websites including news feeds or use social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter. Activist groups might use similar tools for public outreach and bloggers or so-called citizen journalists also share their accounts of the ongoing war in Syria or the fighting in Ukraine with the rest of the world. As these alternative media outlets have gained ground in digital, networked societies, it is vital to

pay much more attention to their reporting practices and, respectively, the news values that guide these actors.

Thanks to the erosion of classic communication networks with fewer elites at the center of (international) reporting, concentrating only on the study of news values that drive production in professional newsrooms does exclude this vast array of other players that now are involved with global information provision. We suggest that contemporary research on news values must also include research on the selection and production mechanisms of *all* information producers involved in (crisis) reporting. Asking questions such as which news values rank high to drive their agendas, or what role does gatekeeping play in the reporting practices of these news producers is just as valid and necessary as the study of mainstream media outlets. Since those alternatives to the conventional newsroom increasingly professionalize their news routines, the study of their practices becomes ever more important. Just as journalism developed as a profession throughout the 20th century, based on ideals of objectivity and the development of professional ethics (Schudson & Anderson, 2009; Ward, 2009), these new players within the information sharing economy of the 21st century are developing guidelines that assist their reporting routines. Yet, which values drive these alternative media producers? Does Galtung and Ruge's model apply, here, as well? Or might a study of these news providers yield different results and news factors? First studies have analyzed protest movements and their communication repertoire (e.g. Gerbaudo, 2012; Poell & Borra, 2011) or examined how non-governmental organizations impact the international news landscape (Powers, 2015). This is a start in a much needed research direction. Yet, more research is desirable on news values, gatekeeping and agenda-setting strategies of these many (alternative) voices and organizations now occupying the digitally networked information sphere.

Tuchman (1978: 1) once wrote in *Making the News*:

“News is a window on the world. The view through the window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or backyard”.

We would add here, that the view that users of news get also largely depends on the news values that the producers who look through this window adhere to. With today's changed media ecology in mind, it is pivotal to dedicate research to all these different producers involved. And it appears essential to compare the products and routines of these actors, especially in light of the fact that all these

actors do influence *each other* (and, in turn, publics) within networked spheres of information exchange. Thus, researching production environments as well as news output of producers within and outside of classic newsrooms could help us to further assess which news values drive news routines in (digitized) information environments today. And studying the values guiding these diverse actors responsible for information gathering, selecting, producing and sharing does also link up to discussions of globally responsible journalism. Because in the end, the one question that drives research projects of this kind is: how can journalists insure an informed citizenry and act (globally) responsible.

5. Concluding remarks

50 years on, it is fair to say that as much as the thorough criticism of Galtung and Ruge's model is justified, their suggestions remain a very insightful and fruitful resource to discuss news values and their use in contemporary news production. Yet, both journalism practice as well as its scholarly study have, of course, evolved over the decades and will continue to do so. The taxonomy of news values as originally developed by Galtung and Ruge has inspired research agendas of scholars across the globe to study news content. And till date, their work is taught in classrooms worldwide to students of journalism, media and communication. Therefore, as Brighton and Foy (2007) stated, it is not necessary to fully redefine what news is or according to which values it is generated, but we should remain critical regarding the model's relevance and appropriateness to today's evolving news practices and ecology. Academically defined or derived news values such as those suggested by Galtung and Ruge in 1965, or those added to their list as possible extensions and specifications, can to some extent summarize points of awareness of the different contexts, pressures, motivations, or compromises that operate in the construction of news output. With the additional suggestions we presented in this article, we want to contribute to those efforts to recognize (changing) contexts, their complexities and different levels, and the changing societal and technological conditions of news selection and production.

Yet, the 50 year-old Galtung and Ruge's model and the many extensions of their model as well as the rich body of case studies that build on their work, can also be interpreted as a call for more empirical research on news production processes and an incentive to create more awareness of globally responsible reporting. As the wise saying goes, one is never too old to learn.

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Reformed gatekeeping

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doi: 10.5937/comman11-10306

Abstract: This essay explores the state of gatekeeping theory at present. We discuss whether gatekeeping theory has a future, how gatekeeping – as it has evolved – still offers theoretical and explanatory value, and how gatekeeping must be reformed to maintain its worth and relevance. The notion is approached from its purpose, nature, temporality, agents and context. The article argues that gatekeeping theory will remain relevant pending a process of reform that must accompany that of journalism and news media.

Keywords: gatekeeping, news selection, journalism, news media, digital age.

1. Introduction

Gatekeeping theory came together to formalize some of the core processes involved in journalism and news reporting. Because the news industry is endemically in flux, and because it is currently undergoing systemic transformations within the context of the development of digital technologies, all theoretical frames in this area come under considerable pressure and challenge. Pre-digital-era theories have to be adapted and prove their renewed relevance, or be abandoned in obsolescence. Gatekeeping theory has been challenged long before the current turmoil; in fact it was challenged almost from the start. It has been tweaked, adapted, expanded, repurposed in various ways to improve it and

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to adjust to the evolution of the objects to which it applies. Yet, the magnitude of the changes triggered by the digital transformations of media and communication introduces a discontinuity that could make gatekeeping theory lose part or all of its relevance. To remain in the game, gatekeeping theory needs to be revamped.

This essay explores the state of gatekeeping theory at present. We explore whether gatekeeping theory has a future, how gatekeeping – as it has evolved – still offers theoretical and explanatory value, and how gatekeeping must be reformed to maintain its worth.

2. Requiem for Gatekeeping in a Digital Age?

The very idea of gatekeeping came about in the old media world – a time when news products were few and hard to access, when editors made choices and audiences simply lived quietly with those choices, when the tools for creating the news were limited, and when space for news was at a premium. In the world of new, converged media where news is accessible via the internet, the tools for news creation have vastly expanded, the space for news content has grown massively, audiences are a source of constant and immediate feedback, and audiences are more likely to choose news with little regard for who has published it — gatekeeping theory might just have run its course.

It should come as little surprise that scholars and critics have challenged the idea of gatekeeping and questioned its relevance in the digital age (see e.g., Pearson & Kosicki, 2016). Gatekeeping scholarship in its original form sought to explain little more than how news got selected for publication (White, 1950). The question of what news actually made it to the public was largely ignored because it was assumed that legacy news media output largely constituted the news environment (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). In this scenario, legacy media were the gatekeepers and the relevance of gatekeeping would rise or fall with the vitality of the legacy media. In the early decades of the twenty-first century, legacy media are in trouble and new channels of information distribution are sapping them of their control of the news and information environment.

Gatekeeping is questioned then because legacy media – established printed newspapers and TV network news broadcasts – are seen as fading institutions. While that is certainly believable, it begs the question of what it means that an institution is fading. While fading is stated in the present tense, it is also clear

that legacy media have not yet faded to irrelevance. Quite the opposite. Much of the news that circulates through digital media originates with legacy media. But more importantly, the observation comes with an implicit assumption or projection about the future – that we will arrive at a digital age in which legacy media will be replaced by some kind of new, digital replacement. However, as researchers, we do our work in an empirical world. The digitization of news is happening. But, it is also premature to say that a new digital age has eclipsed the legacy media, particularly when it comes to the production of news. Lessons should be learned from the failed predictions of the demise of the paper book, which were supposed to be taken over by the so much more efficient e-books. Since models and theories purport to describe and explain the empirical world, we can only account for the here and now. In the meantime, we have a world in transition – a world in which the old and the new co-exist (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016). The end may yet come for gatekeeping. But making that conclusion now would be premature. What we can say is that gatekeeping is in transition. This too unavoidably says something about the future; however, it remains reasonably agnostic about the kind of future that awaits gatekeeping.

So, before anyone pronounces the death of gatekeeping theory, we owe the patient a close examination. In fact, a first step would be to make sure we are even examining the right patient; or put more simply, we need to be sure what is meant by gatekeeping before we mark its passing. Indeed, gatekeeping has had a variety of meanings and these must be sorted out: There is the concept of gatekeeping, a gatekeeping function, a gatekeeping role, a gatekeeping model, and gatekeeping theory.

The concept of gatekeeping has largely referred to how information circulates or does not circulate (Lewin, 1951). Gatekeeping is a means for accounting for the reality that not all information is equally available to all persons. The gatekeeping function refers to 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. However, we can also talk about a gatekeeping role. This 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 (Janowitz, 1975). This role flows from an understanding of the role that news media should play in society if certain pro-social values are to be realized. Granted, the role can also be an expression of marketing considerations – seeking to target a particular market demographic.

Indeed, it is these realities of the social, physical, and digital world that 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: 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 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 is culturally specific, but also identifies features that account for human actions across time and place. It is gatekeeping theory then that is the focus of our attention here. We will argue that gatekeeping theory retains relevance, but that it must be revisited and revitalized for the digital age.

3. Relevance for Gatekeeping in a Digital Age

So, why is gatekeeping theory worth keeping? The succinct answer is because the phenomena it describes and explains are still relevant. If the concept of gatekeeping accounts for how information circulates or does not circulate and why all information is not equally available to all persons, then it should be clear that gatekeeping addresses phenomena that still very much exist. Since circulation patterns of information are not simply random and since a variety of

institutions, organizations, individuals, and technologies continue to perform a gatekeeping function, gatekeeping theory has not yet exhausted its usefulness.

A common criticism of gatekeeping is that new digital technologies produce substantially new production and distribution capacities, such that information scarcity is no longer as relevant as it once was. However, these claims are being made at the very time, particularly in the U.S., when the number of actors who construct news is shrinking. Granted, the numbers of actors who distribute information have grown more numerous – citizens share information via social media and websites and aggregators represent an enormous expansion of news and information distribution. But evidence is in short supply that would show that the amount and nature of the actual news that reaches the public have radically changed. Audiences also have a limited capacity to attend to news, suggesting that the marketplace for news is more finite than pronouncements about digital capacity typically acknowledge.

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; Tandoc & Vos, 2015). While legacy media, for example, face greater and greater competition, the response has been to become more selective, not less, about what gets published. News organizations – and 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). And this is why gatekeeping models and gatekeeping theory are still vitally important – they allow us to address important questions that merit public attention and debate. As posed elsewhere: “given the range and variety of journalists and news organizations engaged in decision-making, how is it that those journalists and news organizations, when confronted by a complex phenomenon, are capable of producing such a narrow range of news messages?” (Vos, 2015, p. 7). From perspectives that see news – news that is accurate, nuanced, and empowering – as essential to enlightened self-governance (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009), anything that shapes or limits the news environment bears scrutiny.

As mentioned at the outset many journalists embrace a normative gatekeeping role. They recognize a moral obligation to limit certain kinds of news – for example, sensationalism and public relations disguised as news – and to emphasize news of significance – for example, news that exposes public corruption or

threats to public safety or health. Other journalists, of course, embrace other obligations, such as giving audiences what they want and hopefully raising revenues in the process (Bourdieu, 2005). Critical theorists have examined the news environment precisely because they identify the consequences of those gatekeeping choices as critical to public justice and public health. Indeed, if a public corruption is largely ignored or minimized within the news environment, if a serious threat to the public health receives only limited local exposure, how could such normative failings be explained? While critical theory might point to broad explanatory frameworks, gatekeeping theory potentially explains how such failings can come about (Schudson, 2012; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009).

Take, for example, a recent debate among U.S. journalists about a general failure to cover a major public health crisis in the upper midwestern city of Flint, Michigan. The episode is a useful lens through which to examine the state of gatekeeping and gatekeeping theory and illustrative of some of the points raised thus far and points to be elaborated on below. Media critics (e.g., Warren, 2016), including the public editor of the *New York Times* (Sullivan, 2016), asked how it could be that major news outlets could give such scant attention to lead-poisoning from the public water supply of a sizeable American city. The *Times'* public editor put the question to the paper's executive deputy editor. What ensued was a discussion about news judgment and editorial decisions, a framework that focused on an individual level of analysis. Other critics (e.g., Moore, 2016), meanwhile, pointed to governmental inaction and the dearth of news about the contamination and suggested the answer could be found in the class and race of the city's inhabitants. What does the episode help us to see and explore?

First, gatekeeping theory has been questioned on the grounds that the gatekeeping function has lost most of its significance. The rapid growth in news portals and the predominance of social media was supposed to make any attempt at gatekeeping a pointless exercise. Legacy media might hold back on a story, but Twitter, Facebook, or other social media would add so many open gates to the news field that information could not be contained. Yet, the lead poisoning story received limited public traction in Michigan and only passing attention outside the state. Policymakers inside and outside the state gave the public health threat essentially no public attention. If the gatekeeping phenomenon is one of keeping information from flowing freely, the phenomenon still seemed to be in evidence in the Flint water case and hence merits our theorizing.

Second, the story of Flint's water quality did eventually become a significant national news story, with the accompanying outrage directed at public officials who had had a hand in creating and concealing the crisis. But, it was the presence of national, legacy media that eventually amplified the story and brought about an examination of policy failures (Hiner, 2016). As discussed later, the legacy media had the cultural capital to place the crisis on the public agenda, illustrating that the qualities of the gatekeeper are not immaterial. In other words, lots of open gates in local media and, presumably, in social media made almost no impact compared to the open gates of a national cable network, a national TV network, and a national newspaper.

Third, when it comes to actually explaining how the story could be held back for so long, gatekeeping theory provides a useful set of conceptual tools. Gatekeeping scholarship has long identified the role of government and officials sources as the keepers of information gates. The fact that government sources in Flint repeatedly affirmed that the drinking water was safe, and the fact that journalists repeated these claims, kept the story in check. News routines that rely on and privilege elite sources regularly structure the news environment and did so in the Flint case as well. Local news organizations – the most likely to uncover the crisis – were under staffed and struggled to put sufficient resources into the story. Organizational characteristics have long shaped the news environment, as they did in this case. News organizations are not isolated from powerful institutional narratives, such as belief in a watchdog role, and Flint media began to put investigative resources into the story. Meanwhile, the readership of the local newspaper did not show widespread interest in the story, clicking instead in far greater numbers on stories about a state sports rivalry and routine weather (Hiner, 2016). Thus, audience cues also downplayed the story. And social system characteristics, such as the marginalized racial and class characteristics of those most affected by the crisis, presumably fed into audience disinterest. Thus, each of the factors mentioned here are well established in the gatekeeping scholarship as factors that structure the news environment, suggesting the utility of gatekeeping theory in this important case and cases like it.

4. Reform for Gatekeeping in a Digital Age

Gatekeeping scholarship, as noted above, has reformulated the concept of gatekeeping at various times. The early reformulations were less a matter of adjusting to shifting news realities than to shifting theoretical complexity. White's

(1950) version of gatekeeping focused on news selection. Later versions sought to explain how information was selected, shaped and framed (Reese & Ballinger, 2001). White's version located explanation at an individual level, conceptualizing gatekeeping as a journalist's decision making. Subsequent scholars soon began to point to structure factors that influenced individual decision making (Gieber, 1956; Pool & Shulman, 1959). Shoemaker (1991) would systematize these factors into a single gatekeeping model and thereby create a second life for gatekeeping theory.

Revisiting gatekeeping theory anew begins with testing whether or not its epistemic core remains relevant. From the broadest sense of gatekeeping 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), there is no doubt that gatekeeping will remain relevant for as long as news will be processed and disseminated to an audience. Whether or not that process is in the hands of identifiable gatekeepers and what the nature of those might be is much more debatable. Whether or not the original metaphor of items flowing through channels punctuated by a succession of gates still adequately models the way events become news must also be closely examined. If all this appears to remain at least partially relevant, then what we think we know about gatekeeping must be updated to digital-media-grade realities.

Gatekeeping, in the broad sense, has outgrown its original metaphor into a complex mesh of concepts and theories that must inevitably be broken down into smaller conceptual units to be upgraded to the current realities of the digital age. Breaking down complex mechanisms into smaller, manageable parts, is how modern science has dealt with complexity since René Descartes and later Isaac Newton introduced reductionism in the 17th century. Reductionism is a risky route where the smaller parts are closely intertwined to the point where each of those parts cannot be properly understood when considered isolated from the others. To face complexity while avoiding the drawbacks of reductionism, an alternative strategy consists in examining the complex object from different angles, using different perspectives. By doing so, we preserve a somewhat holistic view which divides the object not in a succession of steps, but rather in several layers cutting across the overall process.

Gatekeeping has been sliced into five theoretical levels by Shoemaker and her colleagues (Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Vos, 2009; Shoemaker, Vos, &

Reese, 2008): individual, communication routines, organizational, social institution, and social system. Each of these levels can host an in-depth analysis of gatekeeping overall, without isolating one step or another, though some levels might be of particular importance for specific aspects of the process. To understand how gatekeeping has evolved over the course of the digital transition, we can also proceed by examining the alteration in the *purpose* of gatekeeping, its very *nature*, its *temporality*, its *agents*, and its *context* (Heinderyckx, 2015).

Purpose of Gatekeeping. The purpose of gatekeeping has enlarged beyond mere editorial space management given that digital media have considerably lightened the strict limits constraining print, radio and television news outlets. Digital outlets proudly did away with limited editorial space, which could lead to believe that gatekeeping loses its importance accordingly (Bruns, 2011). Yet producing content requires human and technological means, both of which come at a considerable cost. In a context where financial resources are scarce and media struggle to develop new business models, news media have to make choices as much as ever. Technology does make space for ever more content, but the limited resources available to produce content limit news production. Yet, news media feel compelled to fit in the culture of abundance that is associated with digital outlets (Curran, 2010). Because ‘the goat must be fed’ (Stencel, Adair, & Kamalakanthan, 2014), a range of new practices have developed to curate content from around the web to cram the digital operations of media outlets, thus opening up a new purpose for gatekeeping.

Yet, the attention span of individuals remains stable and very limited. The abundance of content combined with sophisticated digital technologies create high expectations for a kind of individualized gatekeeping. Although the ‘Daily Me’ conceptualized by Nicholas Negroponte (1995) over twenty years ago hasn’t yet materialized, the tools available to curate and filter content will at some point empower individuals to become their own gatekeeper, though a second-degree gatekeeper given that the supply of content to which they have access functions with its own gatekeeping mechanisms. An entire industry of start-ups is constantly fiddling with various ways to process and repurpose content so that media might meet these expectations of personalized content. By trial and error, they stretch and manhandle gatekeeping in ways that become a significant factor in shaping the evolution of gatekeeping.

As suggested above, legacy media no longer have a monopoly when it comes to determining the scope and content of the news environment. Gatekeepers no longer presume that their role is to shape the news environment, but to contribute to it. Hence, in some cases, the purpose has evolved into getting a news organization's share of customers and revenue (Tandoc, 2014). Put more generously, some gatekeepers use their gatekeeping choices to distinguish themselves from the flood of potential competitors and thereby develop a brand identity (Phillips, 2015). Gatekeeping's purpose is to market the gatekeeping organization (Tandoc & Vos, 2015). Thus, gatekeeping must be theorized not just as factors shaping the news environment – although this remains highly relevant – but also factors that shape gatekeepers' brands and identities.

Nature of Gatekeeping. The very nature of gatekeeping is changing. From a process of selection and production determined by the presumed relevance of certain events for a specific audience (White, 1950), gatekeeping now also includes the various ways by which media outlets must tap into a much wider range of channels (not just news sources) to dazzle the audience with the diversity, quantity and quick turnover of content. The main driver of this extended gatekeeping is to attract traffic (clickbait) and stimulate recommendation (buzz).

The exponential mass of content housed within the digital media system also gave birth to a string of automated technologies which we have come to believe are the only way to deal with content abundance. At the core of these technologies, mysterious (and secret) algorithms are said to be able to cater to our every need in content management (Anderson, 2013). Whatever the need or the expectation, algorithmic magic will provide a solution. As a result, various forms of algorithmic gatekeeping have become part and parcel of the news media industry. Because the original gatekeepers were essentially human operators (reporters and editors), gatekeeping theory has always struggled to unpack gatekeeping from within the complexity of human cognition and decision making. The online search selection behavior of readers and viewers of news is now also part of what is captured by algorithms, thereby making individuals into contributors to their own news environment. With the algorithmification of gatekeeping, we must now wonder how the process can be modeled into mathematical equations and how this will affect the overall balance of news production and dissemination. Algorithms are trade secrets and they have become

something of a myth associated with a certain degree of magic and fascination. Yet, the same algorithms are still developed by human operators whose views on gatekeeping are still key and of which the application or online service will only be an approximate modeling in the form of an algorithm.

Gatekeeping in the digital age has considerably shifted from a logic of relevance (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) towards one of popularity. The primary unit of newsworthiness is increasingly how popular a story will be among digital users, how many clicks, likes, retweets or whatever else measure of digital impact may be considered (Tandoc, 2014). What matters overall is whether a story will attract attention (and traffic) and how it can be narrated to enhance its potential. Gatekeeping becomes increasingly driven by the expected, then the measured effect it will have in attracting a sizeable audience, preferably one that is of interest to advertisers (Tandoc, 2015).

While early theories of gatekeeping stopped with explaining why news turns out the way it does, recent theorizing has extended the objects of study to account for the kind of news that reaches an audience (Vos, 2015). This requires attention to channels of distribution, including social media, aggregation, and traditional media channels (Thorson & Wells, 2015). Gatekeeping has sometimes been linked to media's agenda-setting function, but this relationship has become more critical. In an information-abundant environment, only some news maintains a place on the public agenda beyond a 24-hour news cycle. Gatekeeping theory must now account for this phenomenon as well.

As attention turns to alternative channels of news distribution, attention must also turn to the nature of those gatekeeping channels. While all these channels have largely been seen in the same theoretical terms, they may require careful theoretical distinctions. The Flint water-poisoning story suggests why this might need to be the case. The story found open gates. However, those gates did not open into channels that led to anything like a significant audience. The channels did not have the capacity or cultural capital to move the public agenda. It took the open gates of the national, legacy media for the issue to reach a critical mass.

Temporality of Gatekeeping. The temporality of gatekeeping was also altered by the fast pace imposed upon news media by the continuous flow of news that has overwhelmed the news cycles of the traditional media (Phillips, 2015). Online outlets are expected to be so fast that just taking the time to

verify or weigh the importance of a story is a luxury (Le Cam & Domingo, 2015). The online operations of some of the most serious media tend to be considerably more lax with rigor and even ethics, so that online media dare to publish stories that would not make the cut in their traditional outlet, be it a newspaper, a radio or a television news segment.

The turnover that has become consubstantial with digital outlets has created the need for a new form of reverse gatekeeping whereby it must be decided what story must be taken off the homepage to make room for new stories. The criteria for doing so can be a lack of interest as measured by clicks, or just a decrease in interest, or the fact that a story might have been found to be erroneous or biased. Gatekeeping used to be a one-way street; digital outlets have made it a two-way street where stories make it in, and at some point must make it out. The art of taking stories off digital outlets is mysterious, like traditional gatekeeping, but in a different way.

Likewise, gatekeeping must explain how news is removed from or altered in a news archive. While news was seen in the past as ephemeral – today’s newspaper becomes tomorrow’s fish wrap – news can now live on in news archives, ready to be accessed with a simple search. With this seeming permanency have come the occasional calls to delete or alter stories in the archive (English, 2009). This is not even to mention how web search engine operators, sometimes compelled by court orders, must process a dense flow of requests for un-referencing based on “the right to be forgotten” (Ambrose & Ausloos, 2013, p. 1). Thus, gatekeeping must now account for both the publishing and the un-publishing of news.

The Agents of Gatekeeping. The agents of gatekeeping are also changing hands. Once largely a matter of news professionals, gatekeeping has been reappropriated by new actors on the news scene. From civil society organizations to citizen journalists and interest groups, the digital news scene is cluttered with various outlets providing content that is competing for attention with the more traditional news outlets (Powers, 2014). In the case of the Flint water crisis discussed above, one of the prominent investigative journalists who uncovered the story was no longer working for the local newspaper, but for the American Civil Liberties Union, an advocacy, non-profit organization (Clark, 2015).

Increasingly gatekeepers do not even have to shape information as news, but rather act as curators who merely navigate it and select and relay bits that can be easily repurposed. They are more gatewatchers than genuine gatekeepers

(Bruns, 2005). These gatekeepers can also create alternative channels for news distribution. Politicians, preachers, activists, or anyone with a social following use social media, blogs, or other means to curate news for those who follow them (Thorson & Wells, 2015). These agents are essential to explaining how some news does or does not end up making it to the public or to the public issue agenda.

In this same sense, the audience also functions as an important gatekeeping channel (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Audience members email news stories – and recipes and cat videos – to friends and family. They share stories via social media. The audience also has access to commenting sections and forums on news sites that allow them to communicate to fellow readers, but also with news organizations. These become portals for sharing information and shaping subsequent news coverage.

The mythology of the digital age has it that anyone can become anything, including a content producer or a gatekeeper. Here, it is too often speculated that because anyone is enabled to do things that used to be the monopoly of certain professions, then everyone is likely to do it in the foreseeable future. Yet not everyone wants to become his or her own news media curator and gatekeeper. In fact, it can be argued that as the background noise increases, people will want to rely increasingly on professional gatekeepers in order to manage the overwhelming mass of content that pours on them continuously.

Context of Gatekeeping. The context of gatekeeping is changing along with the news industry, propelled by changing consumer habits and by economic disruptions (Kaye & Quinn, 2010). The technologies made available to the news professionals, but also to their audiences, are bringing changes of such magnitude that major systemic changes are taking place quickly and almost organically, without anyone really calling the shots. Gatekeeping becomes just one among many factors that are inevitably affected by the transition, in connection with many other factors, all of which are swept along with the digital transition.

5. Transition of Gatekeeping

For some, the end of gatekeeping cannot come soon enough. The gatekeeping role is seen as an unhealthy form of paternalism. It is not just that audiences have new power in the digital media environment, but that audience power

is to be celebrated and embraced. For others, normative judgments about the gatekeeping role are immaterial. Gatekeeping is simply seen as a phenomenon that is fading from the modern scene. Gatekeeping theory, it is believed, is fading with it.

It is tempting to see the many changes in the gatekeeping environment and to pronounce gatekeeping's demise. However, the most intellectually honest approach at the present is to see that gatekeeping theory must account for a world in transition. Gatewatching (Bruns, 2005) and way-finding (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016) clearly describe aspects of the digital media environment that need not be reduced to gatekeeping. But the new digital universe has not yet arrived in its full manifestation, assuming it ever will. Thus, we are left to account for a news environment with both traditional and new purposes, natures, agents, temporalities, and contexts.

Theorizing about new environments comes with challenges. Theories are supposed to offer general principles. But, for social scientists, the goal is often nomothetic explanations; i.e., theories that explain a class of situations or events or that offer "abstract, general, or universal statements or laws" (Lehmann, 2010: 50). Most scholars would concede that theory does not need to speak to all times and all places, but what is the value of our theorizing if it captures only a snapshot in a seemingly constantly moving picture? Gatekeeping theory must be reformed; however, it will need to keep being reformed for the foreseeable future.

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Agenda setting in the world of online news: New questions for new environment

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doi: 10.5937/comman11-12462

***Abstract:** This paper explores whether agenda setting theory is a fruitful approach to understand online news communication. To answer this question, the distinction between vertical and horizontal media is used and applied to online communication in order to establish their role in news circulation. Vertical media are defined as news media targeting the whole population, while horizontal media are those that enable horizontal flow of communication among different subjects, including citizens. The role these two types of media play in setting issue and attribute agenda is discussed. Additionally, their interconnection is considered in the context of constructing media agenda. Despite the fact that online communication flow is complex and goes in different directions, this paper marks horizontal media as a significant force in making community issue agenda and in interpreting attribute agenda set by vertical media. At the same time, vertical online news media are speculated to be still the major factor when it comes to public issue agenda, the agenda that is specific medium of connection for one society. This paper is trying to provide theoretical framework for thinking about agenda setting and to stimulate further empirical research that will shed additional light on the process.*

***Keywords:** agenda setting, online news, horizontal media, vertical media, social networking websites.*

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1. Introduction

Agenda setting theory is approaching its 50th anniversary. The seminal research was conducted in 1968 during presidential election in Chapel Hill, North Carolina when Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw (1972) were looking for correlations between mass media agenda and voters' judgment about the most relevant topics of campaign. Their findings confirm the hypothesis that mass media set public agenda:

“In short, the data suggest a very strong relationship between emphasis placed on different campaign issues by the media (reflecting to the considerable degree the emphasis by candidates) and the judgments of voters as to the salience and importance of various campaign topics.” (McCombs & Shaw, 1972: 181)

In accordance with this result, agenda setting theory redefined the dominant understanding of media influence. Media effects were no longer conceptualized as influencing what people are to think, but instead, as the founders of theory founders say, quoting Bernard Cohen (1963) ‘what to think *about*’ (McCombs & Shaw, 1972: 177).

With more than 425 empirical studies about the agenda setting conducted worldwide, this theory is among the most frequently used approaches for studying media effects (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009). Plenty of empirical data confirm that public affairs emphasized by the news become salient among the public.

Although agenda setting theory began as research of electoral communication and has been often used for exploring political campaigns, it was also applied on other news issues and further developed to encompass different aspects of mass communication and its influence on public knowledge and opinion. Looking back at the theory evolution, one of its founders Maxell McCombs pointed out that theory expanded into five distinct stages, all of them coexisting at the same time, active and open for research: basic agenda setting effects, attribute agenda setting, psychology of agenda-setting effects, sources of media agenda and consequences of agenda setting effects (McCombs, 2005). While basic agenda-setting refers to transfer of media issues salience to public, attribute agenda-setting explores how these issues are framed, described and explained. The further theory development included audience. Why some people accept

while others ignore media agenda is examined by looking at psychological factors that influence the process. The effectiveness of agenda setting is explained within the theoretical strand that is dealing with the consequences. The field of research was additionally expanded when the question who sets media agenda came into focus. As McDonald noticed, “agenda setting was transformed from a hypothesis to a research area” (McDonald, 2004: 193). It evolved with the aim to explore and explain interconnected processes which shape people’s perception, knowledge and attitudes about public affairs.

2. Agenda setting and the internet

Although highly influential theory, agenda settings was challenged by the rise of the internet. Majority of research that confirmed agenda setting effects were conducted in different mass media environments, which brings up logical question – which segments of the existing theory are applicable and valid when we talk about internet communication.

Discussion about this topic is demarcated by the fact that not only is the internet itself different than mass media, but also, the internet is going through rapid change that influences, among other things, the way people interact with news. Pew Research Center states that three technology revolutions have occurred since the beginning of XXI century – broadband, mobile connectivity and social networking (Pew Research Center, n.d.). All these changes affected the amount and availability of information, they relativized the borders between private and public communication and opened the possibility for ‘people formerly known as audience’ (Rosen, 2006) to share, comment and produce news in an unprecedented way in media history.

The internet is becoming more relevant as a source of news. It is the second most popular news source, behind television (Mitchell et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2016) and results show “the balance shifting slowly, but inexorably towards online” (Newman et al., 2016: 86). Another trend detected during the last years is the rise of social media as news source. The Reuters Institute research that included 26 countries shows that half (51%) of all people who participated in the survey use social media as news source each week (Newman et al., 2016).

Having in mind the changed media environment and specially the facts that a) plenty of media, legacy and digital-born, are present online; b) web 2.0 provided the space for non-media subjects (like institutions, organizations and

citizens themselves) to produce and distribute their news stories and c) news audience can actively select between plenty of news sources; the question is whether agenda setting theory is still relevant and applicable.

In order to address this question this paper will focus on the three stages of theory identified by McCombs (2005): basic agenda setting effects, attribute agenda setting and sources of media agenda. These stages are pivotal for understanding of the theory and they refer to processes which should be scrutinized in order to find out how the internet has altered them. Is process of fragmentation strong enough that we can say that millions of 'The Daily Me' have media menu so different that we cannot talk about unique public issues agenda? Can social media influence attribute agenda? Are media relying on the same sources as before or are they including new ones? For discussion of these issues recent theory developments and available empirical data will be used.

3. Basic agenda setting

Basic agenda setting is the core of the theory and it refers to the issues represented by media. Simply put, the salience given to certain topics will shape public perception of the most important issues in one society. This assumption lies in the foundation of numerous research that confirmed the existence of agenda setting effects. But this hypothesis was formulated and empirically confirmed in different media environment. Can we assume that the same applies for online news communication? Do media still set issue agenda or is contemporary communication too fragmented for unique agenda to exist?

For examination of this question some already formulated theoretical taught can be useful. In order to expand agenda theory scholars included additional aspects into consideration and provided more detailed insights into the complex process of communication flow. One step forward is made when audience activity is taken into account, and its capability to select from media and other sources to get more personalized agenda was included into deliberation. This process, called agenda melding, meaning that audience choose from numerous agendas and compose their own, is described by the most prominent scholars engaged in agenda setting theory (Shaw et al., 1999; Shaw & McCombs, 2008; Weaver et al., 2010; McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014).

Agenda melding theory is an attempt to explain people's exposure to different agendas. As such it represents the broadening of interests beyond mass

media to include different types of communication. In order to explain how that process works Shaw and his colleagues put the concept of community into the center of their attention. Although communities can differ by numerous criteria, for example if they are geographical or topic communities, formal or imagined, do we chose to belong to them or we are in them by incident, etc. they are all put together via *medium of connection* 2 (Shaw et al., 1999: 12). Besides mass media and specialized media, other persons or groups are also the medium of connection. Therefore we can connect with others by using different media or interpersonal contacts in order to become part of a community. Some communities are grounded in our everyday life, while others can be highly abstract. Each of them has its own agenda. “The more distant the group, for example, a nation versus one’s place of work, the more general is the agenda, and the more likely that agenda is represented in the general mass media“ (Shaw et al., 1999: 12–13). An example of general community people are identifying with is nation (or national state). In this case, mass media are bonding together and connecting this ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1998). On the other side, when belonging to primary groups, other persons are the medium of connection into family or school class. There are various other communities somewhere in between this two endpoints with different degrees of generality and people connect with them using different media of connection.

The differentiation of communities based on the correlation between the level of generality and the type of medium of connection can be a fruitful starting point for considering online news communication. In online world there is one flow of communication about public issues initiated by legacy or digital-born news media, which means they are making communities at general level, similar to traditional media. At the same time, there is another stream of online communication going on between interconnected people which makes more specific communities. Therefore the distinction between vertical and horizontal media, that emerged from further development of agenda melding (Shaw & McCombs, 2008; Weaver et al., 2010; McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014; Vargo et al., 2014) can be applied on online news communication.

Vertical media are those that tend to produce news of general relevance, they cover major events and try to reach the wide audience. They “attempt to

² Shaw and his colleagues attribute the origin of this phrase to communication scholar Keith Stamm who used it to claim that children are the medium of connection with the local community.

reach everyone within media reach, shouting from the top of a pyramid, as it were, to everyone below” (Weaver et al., 2010: 15). Horizontal media are those built by a specific community around the content they produce, or as in case of social networks around people with who someone wants to be in contact. In that sense it could be said that vertical media are significant in forming general, public issue agenda, while horizontal media provide community agenda.

Vertical media are still very important source of news. They are the medium of connection that brings together citizens living in one state.³ Established media brands are prominent news source in online environment. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism claimed that

“although aggregators and social media are important gateways to news, most of the content consumed still comes from newspaper groups, broadcasters, or digital born brands that have invested in original content. Across all of our 26 countries over two-thirds of our sample (69%) access a newspaper brand online each week, with almost as many (62%) accessing the online service of a broadcasting outlet” (Newman et al., 2016: 27).

Research about setting agenda in digital environment (Vargo et al., 2014) used big data from Twitter to explore agenda melding and network agenda setting⁴. The research is focused on media and journalists’ influence in online communication and their capability to set agenda during electoral period. The finding is that “candidate supporters’ network issue agendas were strongly aligned with the vertical media’s network issue agenda during the election period” (Vargo et al., 2014: 13). This means that voters acknowledge the choice of topics presented by the media as the most relevant ones and they also accept the interconnection between issues made by vertical media.

The strength of vertical media to set issue agenda was also confirmed when agenda of low and high internet users was compared with agenda of the state’s major newspapers. “There is a difference, but hardly an awesome one. For low internet users the correlation with newspaper agendas is +.90. For high internet

³ That is the reason why McCombs, Show & Weaver (2014) refer to community enabled by vertical flow as civic community.

⁴ The network agenda setting (NAS) is novel addition to the existing body of theoretical work about agenda setting. “The central hypothesis for the Network Agenda Setting Model is that the salience of the interrelationships among constructs – or the associative network regarding a certain topic – can be transferred from the media agenda to the public agenda” (Guo, Vu & McCombs, 2012: 57). Therefore media do not just point at issues and give us frame of references to think about them, but also connect different issues and attributes making specific associative network.

users, who still seemed shaped by newspaper agendas, the correlations are $+0.70$ " (Coleman & McCombs, 2007 in Shaw & McCombs, 2008: 6).

As the quoted studies show, we are still getting familiar with major social events from the reports produced by vertical type of media. Presidential campaign in America, war in Syria, Brexit, migrant crisis in Europe, are some examples of very relevant international public issues we learn about from vertical media. As Walter Lippmann put it "the world we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported and imagined" (Lippmann, 1922/1998: 29). Media are still those entities that explore and report to us about the world beyond our immediate reach and there is no one competing to take over that role. That is why news media are still bridging immense world we live in and 'pictures in our heads' (Lippmann, 1922/1998). Even though there are countless different vertical media, the issue agenda is quite homogeneous among traditional news media and also among their online issues (McCombs, 2005), meaning that even in the online environment there is a high degree of consensus about the most relevant issues for society.

However, this does not mean that nothing has changed in online news communication. On contrary, the way horizontal flow is going is significantly altered.

Although the first empirical research aimed to explore vertical and horizontal media influence on audience agenda (Weaver et al., 2010) took as exemplars of horizontal media cable news networks and talk shows, horizontal media are not limited to media organizations. "Bloggers, journalists, talk show hosts, and celebrities alike transmit information horizontally. This important distinction broadens horizontal media beyond niche media to include individuals that broadcast news to specific communities of people" (Vargo et al., 2014: 3). Beside those mentioned by Vargo and colleagues, numerous non-media subjects, like NGO's, groups, institutions neglected by vertical media and citizens themselves can participate in making horizontal media. They do so, whenever they use social media to communicate. Huge number of voices coming from various backgrounds make issue setting on social media very dynamic and complex. How those community agendas are built and how they relate to vertical media agenda are the questions are just recently being empirically explored and theoretically explained (Sayre et al. 2010; Vargo et al., 2014; McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014).

McCombs, Shaw and Weaver (2014) pointed at “origins for three distinct subsets of the social media issue agenda”. The first “originate in citizens’ long-standing—and often passionate—interest in particular issues”, the second is a consequence of direct participation or observation of events, while, in their opinion, still “a primary source of the messages that make up the public issue conversation on social media are the news events of the day” (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014: 789). As they conclude “the first two of the social message subsets just described are largely original contributions by the public to the social media issue agenda. The third is a broadening and redefinition of the traditional agenda-setting role of the news media” (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014: 790).

It can be said that the first two scenarios are newly opened possibility for citizens, organization and groups to influence social media issue agenda with content production. They can post online information about some phenomena or issue relevant to them or they can inform others about specific events. Sayre and his colleagues have been following YouTube and mainstream media in order to study communication about Californian proposition which eliminates right of same sex couples to marry. They conclude that “a social media platform is now being used to bring attention to an issue when the mainstream media are not” (Sayre et al., 2010: 26). Although this topic occasionally found its place in mainstream media agenda, it was continuously present on YouTube during the research period implying that for those to whom issue was highly relevant, social network was the medium to discuss it.

Different topics will get public attention and become part of vertical media reporting from time to time, but for some communities they are issue of high relevance all the time. In some instances this horizontal communication can become online version of what Nancy Fraser calls subaltern counterpublics: “On the one hand, they function as spaces of withdrawal and regroupment; on the other hand, they also function as bases and training grounds for agitational activities directed toward wider publics” (Fraser, 1992: 124). The horizontal online communities in this situation can be places for socializing experience, exchange of arguments and staying connected with similar people. Additionally, they are also places for minor topics, those issues that are not ‘big enough’ to pass traditional gatekeepers, but that can find their place in this community agenda.

The second subset of issues posted by public as a part of social media agenda are those when citizens are participants or witnesses of events. These examples are often studied as cases of citizen journalism, especially when they are about sudden and catastrophic events, like terroristic attacks in New York (2001), London (2005) or Paris (2015) or natural disasters (Hurricane Katrina, 2005). Although citizens' reports precedes vertical media, those types of events are regularly part of mainstream media issue agenda, and in these cases, it would be exaggerated to presume that social media cause vertical media to report an issue.⁵ However, it is possible that citizen journalism can influence the way story was told, in the sense that coverage was more immediate and personalized. Therefore it can be speculated that citizen journalism can influence attribute agenda, but comparative empirical studies are needed to find out if this assumption holds.

The third origin of public issues on social media are news stories made by vertical media. In this case issue agenda of mainstream media is not just duplicated in a social network, but modified. Some news are shared and become more visible, while others are ignored in community agenda. Certain issues, reported as low in significance can become prominent in specific online community and the opposite can happen as well. The communities have power to reshape public issue agenda.

Dynamics of social media, when we speak about issues presented in vertical media, strongly resemble Lazarsfeld's two-step flow communication theory and assumption about opinion leaders capable to modify and interpret media agenda. The importance of opinion leaders in online news flow is confirmed by research that "combines analysis of the size and structure of the network and its sub-groups with analysis of the words, hashtags and URLs people use' in order to get network maps that 'provide new insight into the landscape of social media" (Smith et al., 2014). When communication on Twitter was scrutinized with innovative data analysis tools, it was established that there is minority of users who have specific position and more pronounced role in communication.

"Key users occupy strategic locations in these networks, in positions like hubs and bridges. Network maps locate the key people who are at the center of their conversational networks – they are 'hubs' and they are notable

⁵ This does not mean that social media cannot influence vertical media agenda at all. The issue will be discussed in section about media agenda.

because their followers often retweet or repeat what they say. Some people have links across group boundaries – these users are called 'bridges'. They play the important role of passing information from one group to another. These users are often necessary to cause a message to 'go viral'." (Smith et al., 2014)

The role opinion leaders play in political communication was examined by Karlsen (2015) on the representative sample of 5.700 people in Norway.

"The results show that they had larger online networks than others; they had more friends on Facebook and more followers on Twitter; they were more active when it came to diffusing political messages in these networks as they commented and discussed, as well as linked to, content about politics and current affairs to a much greater extent than other groups." (Karlsen, 2015: 14)

From the perspective of agenda setting theory the most important results of opinion leaders' activity is building issue agenda in their community by influencing on visibility of selected issues (and their attributes). By doing this they make some news visible to people who are not particularly interested in news and who stumble upon them because they become salient in their network. This unintentional and unplanned reading of the news is a phenomenon enabled by social media because they do not cluster communication by specific segments or topics, but instead make continuous flow of different information. For example, 78% of Facebook news users mostly see news when they use this social network for other reasons and for them "getting news is an incidental experience" (Matsa & Mitchell, 2014). This specificity of social media additionally complicates the process of agenda building. Intentional selection of sources is just one component people use to influence their own agenda. The other components are less predictive and harder to explain because they heavily depend on the momentum when issue gets in someone's community.

The basic agenda setting theory conceptualizes the whole process as one way influence, from media to public, but the dynamic of building social media agenda is more complex as it combines different influences. Various sources, including media-related, as well as citizens, especially those who establish themselves as opinion makers, together with algorithms used, are factors that decided which issues will become prominent in someone's network. In attempt

to explain the complex dynamics of social network communication Wohn and Bowe proposed “a theoretical framework called ‘crystallization’” (Wohn & Bowe, 2016), which posits that the way people develop “perceptions of reality is an emergent process rather than one-directional top-down approach described by agenda setting” (Wohn & Bowe, 2016: 3). They emphasize the complexity of horizontal flow of communication where there is no single source of information but numerous that interfere with each other. As a result, there is a difference between community agenda since everyone’s social network “act as ‘micro’ agenda setters at both the first and second level” (Wohn & Bowe, 2016: 3).

How is issue agenda of vertical media related to agenda of horizontal media? As previous observations show, vertical media are still powerful in setting public issue agenda, but that agenda can be modified in horizontal online media. Although awareness of an issue can remain high, its salience can be changed in community agenda. How often this happens, in what circumstances and with which consequences are the questions still waiting for further exploration. Can we say that public issue agenda is composed of topics defined by media as prominent, kind of common issues for the whole population, and those community issues that can be related with identity, minority rights, economic status, professional interests etc. which can get more attention from time to time and become part of vertical media agenda? Is it possible for some topics to grow big and become so widespread that they can be considered to be public, independently from vertical media? If some political system is shrinking the freedom of public speech and media freedom, is it possible for horizontal communication flow to become a new, parallel public space where issues banned from vertical media are raised? All this open questions indicate complexity of online news communication process. As a theory dealing with the matter of public issues, agenda setting theory and its offspring (agenda melding) may become starting points for better understanding how the process of defining what issues deserve general attention looks like on internet.

4. Attribute agenda setting

Besides the capability of media to tell public what to think about, agenda setting theory, during its development, included another aspects into consideration. Basic assumption was further expanded in a way to address not only issues media report about, but also the way they do it.

“Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of attributes for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda-setting roles. An important part of the news agenda and its set of objects are the perspectives and frames that journalists and, subsequently, members of the public employ to think about and talk about each object. These perspectives and frames draw attention to certain attributes and away from others.” (McCombs et al., 1997: 704)

With the inclusion of these elements into research, the basic agenda setting was accompanied with so called attribute or second level agenda setting⁶ that “suggests that the media also tell us how to think about some objects” (McCombs et al., 1997: 704).

Attribute agenda setting hypothesizes that media influence people perception of public figures and issues. The influence is not straightforward effect on someone’s thoughts, but a kind of directional input toward specific stands. People need media to help them form opinion about candidates, events and public issues. Media, by making selections, emphasizing certain aspects, while neglecting others, play important role in defining reality. Media stories characterize objects of reporting in a particular way and public inclines to follow the connection set by media, in a manner to ascribe attributes to an object in a similar way as media did.

During 1990’s this hypothesis became part of empirical research that were trying to establish if media convey attributes agenda to the public. Study in Spain (1996) was among the first ones to look for correlation between public perceptions of candidates for prime minister and media representations of them. The research established that the median correlation for local newspapers was 0.70 and for national 0.81 (Weaver, McCombs & Shaw, 2004: 261–262) which revealed the high degree of resemblance among media description and voters’ perception of candidates. The results of other studies exploring the same correlation are not uniform⁷, they vary, among other things, depending on media system, media, the type of communication that was under scrutiny,

⁶ The second level of agenda setting link this theory with concepts of framing and priming. For similarities and differences in their meaning see Weaver (2007).

⁷ For examples of research done in Japan, Israel, Italy, Taiwan, Spain, Germany and United States, see Weaver, McCombs & Shaw (2004).

but overall conclusion confirms assumption that we use guidelines provided by media in order to better understand issues from news reports.

If we leave theoretical nuances aside⁸, and accept the basic premise about the role of media in attributing people and issues in particular way, the question is what can be said about that process having on mind the distinction between vertical and horizontal media.

The first exploratory research that was dealing with voters use of vertical and horizontal media during presidential elections in America 2008 and with the role they have in setting first and second level agenda suggests that voters use vertical media to deepen their knowledge about issues and that vertical media provide attributes about those issues. The conclusion about horizontal media suggests that “voters attach attributes to candidates—eloquence, old, experienced—in ways that match up with horizontal media use, suggesting that voters find a horizontal medium that enables voters to nest their choices into a comfortable personal narrative” (Weaver et al., 2010: 17–18). It seems that voters use attributes offered by horizontal media to shape their opinions about candidates, and, at the same time, when choosing among horizontal media they are looking for those compatible with their preexisting preferences. In that way image about a candidate is consistent with overall political attitude.

If we expand this discussion in order to include news in general and the way they circulate on the internet, can it be speculated that although vertical media are still major source that set public issue agenda and provide wide reaching details about topics of reporting, horizontal media are significant in shaping the meaning of these events? Are horizontal online media, including social networks as the most important representative, more than issues communities? Are they also the interpretive communities that are dealing not only with specifically their topics, but with issues set as public by vertical media as well? Can we assume that horizontal media have stronger impact on attribute agenda than vertical?

Although it is not possible to quantify and offer simple answer, it is possible to speculate that when it comes to online news communication, the most prominent role of vertical media is to set issue agenda, while the dominant role of horizontal media is to interpret issues, ascribe them a set of attributes that de-

⁸ Such as distinction between substantive and affective dimension of attributes (McCombs et al., 1997), or the concept of compelling arguments (Salma Ghanem, 1996 in McCombs, 2005).

fine the meaning and provide wider context. Although further research should be done in order to reject or confirm the stated hypothesis, some recent studies are in line with this assumption (Smith et al., 2014; Wohn & Bowe, 2016).

The same issue can be communicated in different ways on social media. The analysis of communication networks structure on Twitter pointed at two structure types relevant for online news – polarized crowds and community clusters (Smith et al., 2014). Polarized crowds are formed around political controversies when people take one of two highly confronted stance. They are either pro or contra somebody/something. The share of uninterested or undecided is relatively small and they usually do not participate in online discussion. In these situations people connect with the like-minded and form a sort of echo chamber. They ignore existence of other group and their argumentation. Although they are discussing the same topic, they use different resources and hashtags. Issue agenda is shared while attribute agenda is conflicting. The strong line of demarcation is drew any time when these highly charged issues come into focus.

The other type of structure is community cluster. Community clusters are often built around global issues and events that are the subjects of media reporting. Although they are all reporting about same topics, there are numerous approaches. “These can illustrate diverse angles on a subject based on its relevance to different audiences, revealing a diversity of opinion and perspective on a social media topic” (Smith et al., 2014). For example, war in Syria and refugee crisis it caused is global issue, but the way it is reported varies among states, media types and ideological positions, depending on official politics and political interests, predominant sentiments, emphasized aspects etc.

The both mentioned structures confirm that the same issue presented in vertical media reporting⁹ can be differently interpreted in social media. Some interpretations can be in accordance with the way topic was attributed by vertical media, while some can challenge it.

The similar conclusion about influence of horizontal flow is found in the research dealing with social networks and their impact on understanding of reality. When students who participates in the research were asked to share their views about three different news event, the researchers found the strong influence of social networks on their judgment. “While there was some shared

⁹ Vertical media presented on social networks are still reconsidered as vertical since they use the social media as another channel to convey the same story. The same applies for mobile application of general news media.

reality in that participants were all aware of the event, their understanding and interpretation of their event was, to a large extent, informed by their network” (Wohn & Bowe, 2016: 7). Interviews with participant confirmed that they have different perspectives on the analyzed events and that social media were influential factor in shaping that perspective. Therefore Wohn and Bowe conclude that micro agenda setting is a process that influences how people perceive events, and that micro agenda varies among groups.

In setting horizontal attribute agenda opinion leaders play significant role in their communities in a manner similar to that explained when issue agenda was discussed. Opinion leaders, as the most influential participants, can contribute not only to a topic becoming prominent, but also to certain interpretation becoming dominant in a community. Since their output has bigger reach than others in the network, it is logical to assume that attribution and interpretation they make when commenting both vertical media and community issues participate in shaping the perception of a person or event discussed. As already stated, the network is not an egalitarian structure. On contrary, people take different roles – they are readers, commentators, contributors. Those individuals who establish themselves as important knots of the network become the valuable medium of connection for their communities. How they convey agenda of attributes, and how they form their own are important, not yet answered questions that could shed additional light to our understanding of attribute agenda setting.

Social media are expansion of our surrounding because they open the possibility to establish connections with people beyond our reach, to share our beliefs with them, or to be expose to their interests and views. At the same time, they are used by institutions and organizations, including vertical media to spread their messages. Therefore they can be researched as places where vertical and horizontal communication intersects and where (issue and attribute) agenda melding can be more directly examined. It can be a point where the dynamics between vertical and horizontal communication is revealing itself in a way that was not possible before.

While we cannot know what happens in a world beyond our reach without some sort of media (in most cases vertical one), when constructing meaning of an event we do not start from scratch. We rely on previously gathered knowledge, experience, our understanding of how it can influence our life, impres-

sions, emotional impact of news, but also on others with whom we communicate about issues. The interpretations offered by vertical media are not the only resource we use to make sense of events and issues. Horizontal community as well as personal involvement are also important factors that shape our understanding of public issues. The dynamics of this process is complex and it can be said that empirical exploration is at the very beginning, but online communication is suitable environment for this type of research which brings hope that further investigation will help us better comprehend why people understand the certain issues in a way they do.

5. Setting of media agenda

The breakthrough step in agenda setting theory was made in early 1980's when additional research question was opened. Along with interest in the way media agenda influences public, the new area of investigation emerged asking who sets media agenda.

“In this new line of inquiry, researchers began to explore the various factors that shape the media agenda. Here the media agenda is the dependent variable whereas in traditional agenda setting research the media agenda was the independent variable, the key causal factor in shaping the public agenda.” (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009: 11)

Media agenda is influenced by news sources – representatives of institutions, politicians, public officials, famous individuals and others about whose work media regularly report or whose opinions they quote in order to explain relevant public issues. Besides sources, media agenda is determined by factors such as media routine, professional journalistic norms and ideological standpoint of media. Media also have impact on each other, which is a phenomenon recognized and explored as intermedia agenda setting.

In current media environment, having in mind all changes brought by web 2.0, there is a new important consideration: can public influence media agenda? Does reverse agenda setting work in online space? Are vertical media accepting agenda set in public conversation on social media?

The notion of reverse agenda setting, which assumes preexistence of public interest recognized by media, is not new, but is actualized now when social media are significant factor of public conversation. Traditional media can observe

and estimate if same topics or events discussed on social media deserve their attention. At the same time, they can ask for and dedicate some space in media outlets for public input. Although the possibility for public to influence media agenda exist, can we say it happens?

The relation between traditional media and social networks was often framed as the question of intermedia agenda setting between these two types of communication. The major question was who is influencing whom? While there is satisfactory amount of evidence that the relevant traditional news media have impact on online horizontal communication flow, the existence of reverse agenda setting is rarely empirically established.

Meraz (2009) showed the impact that elite traditional newsroom blogs had on independent political blogs, Johnson (2011) revealed that citizens who used CNN's platform iReport.com to talk about 2008 election accepted issues set by traditional media, Kim and colleagues "demonstrated that the issue and attribute agendas of candidates in newspapers positively influence the issue and attribute agendas in tweets" (Kim et al., 2016: 4563).

Among those research that find reverse agenda is the one conducted by Groshek and Groshek (2013), even though they were able to confirm that relation only for one topic. "In this study at least, there was only clear evidence that social media influenced the agenda of traditional media in the case of cultural trending topics on Twitter having Granger-caused¹⁰ cultural coverage on CNN" (Groshek & Groshek, 2013: 21).

Research on the impact of Twitter political communication on mainstream media demonstrates that content travels from Twitter to news media, but amount of information and the ways of presentation and incorporation in media texts vary significantly between countries (Skogerbø et al., 2016). The only consistent finding across all studied countries (Norway, Sweden and Australia) was that elite political sources were dominant. This means that mainstream media continued to rely on already established politicians as a sources, since their messages from Twitter were most often taken over.

When exploring whether traditional news media agenda is overflowing into social media, or communication going in the reverse direction Neuman and colleagues (2014) were searching for time-series linkage between reporting

¹⁰ Granger causality is methodological framework often used by econometrician. It assume that "a measure x is said to 'Granger cause' a measure y, if y can be better predicted from past values of x and y together, than from past values of y alone (Freeman, 1983)" (Neuman et al., 2014: 11).

about 29 political issues. They were following, on one side, representatives of social media (Twitter, blogs, forum commentaries) and traditional media news stories during 2012, on the other. Authors find that dynamics of these conversations are complex and to think about them as one way influence would be misleading. They conclude that

“the relationship between political discussion in traditional commercial media and social media is better characterized as an interaction and differentiated resonance as each in its own way responds to the events of the day rather than a mechanical causal linkage.” (Neuman et al., 2014: 19)

Although they find, as a kind of surprise, the prominence of the social-to-traditional media direction, which means “social media Granger cause higher levels of attention in traditional media in 18 of 29 tests” (Neuman et al., 2014: 12), authors do not interpret it as a simple effect. Instead, they argue that “both crowds and the professional journalists are reacting to a shared perception that an event is significant and each is responding according to its own natural dynamic” (Neuman et al., 2014: 12).

However, their conclusion does not state that public do not influence media agenda. It rather emphasizes the fact that the process of influence is not simple, inevitable and one directional. There are examples when social media topics have become mainstream media issue.¹¹ The question is why they are not caught in research which were trying to establish that connection. One possible reason is that reverse flow, from horizontal to vertical media is not happening on daily basis. It is an exception, not a rule. Therefore, this phenomenon evades researchers who are studying a period of more or less regular communication activities. As occasional type of event, reverse agenda setting should be approached differently if we want to find out under which circumstances it happens, what are necessary conditions, are specific types of media in which it is more likely to occur? Those are some of questions that need further exploration if we want to better understand setting of media agenda in the digital age. In order to do so, agenda setting research needs to expend its area of investigation one more time. For a long time, understanding of media work within agenda setting theory was based on content analysis. Although this approach can reveal regularities and dominant topics, in order to explore reverse agenda setting,

¹¹ Newman and colleagues (2014) mention top 10 reverse-agenda cases in USA and Korea, but do not provide further analysis. In every country there are similar examples.

media production process needs to be additionally scrutinized. The analysis of case studies when public communication on social media had impact on vertical media agenda, as well as media production research, can explain why, when and how journalist take over issues from horizontal online flow and include them in media agenda. Research of this type should provide valuable answers on important question about public influence on media agenda.

6. Conclusion

Despite the fact that in contemporary world news are coming to audience through numerous media, the paper is focused on internet news communication. There are two reason for this decision. The first is that number of people getting news online is constantly growing, and the second is that the question of setting agenda in online environment is relatively new and thought-provoking area of research.

Contrary to pioneering empirical research which were exploring certain aspects of agenda setting on social networks, or the impact of social networks on traditional news, this paper was aiming to offer theoretical discussion about the agenda setting process in online communication. The categorization of theory stages (McCombs, 2005) and distinction between two different media types – vertical and horizontal (Shaw & McCombs, 2008; Weaver et al., 2010; McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2014; Vargo et al., 2014) were taken as starting points in discussion about online news communication.

This approach resulted in a set of questions that each chapter was trying to rise and offer some initial thoughts. Regarding basic or issue agenda setting, the main concern was is if we can still talk about unique agenda and if the answer is positive, how vertical and horizontal media participate in its making. The hypothesis is that vertical media play dominant role in setting public issue agenda in online communication, while horizontal modify it and make their own community issue agenda. If we look at the agenda from the audience perspective – everyone's agenda about public issues is composed of two parts. The fist is made by issues set by vertical media, usually those beyond immediate reach. The second part of agenda consist of topics with stronger personal interests usually communicated within horizontal community. Even though the issues occasionally overlap, they can be distinguished as public and community agenda with each of them having its specificities. Discussion about at-

tribute agenda is focused on the role of horizontal media and their influence on perception of issues, events and people. The question whether they are strong, even dominant factor in shaping attribute agenda is the central for this part of paper. Since they are considered to be kind of interpretative communities, the stated arguments uphold the assumption about the impact that horizontal, in this case social media, have on the way people perceive different public issues and figures. The main question regarding media agenda is whether the public, represented through horizontal media, has the potential to influence agenda of vertical media. Despite the fact that stories from social media occasionally find their path to vertical media, it is still under-researched process, and attempts to prove existence of reverse agenda setting did not brought conclusive results. The shift in methodological approaches is suggested as a possible direction for the further investigation on this topic.

The whole reflection expressed in the paper has an underlying assumption that the agenda setting theory offers concepts that help us understand what are the main issues in society, what their meanings are and how different types of media participate in formulating them. At the same time, when trying to explain the way the process works in online communication, the paper generated new questions that can be stimulating for further research. Among the most intriguing questions that come to mind are those centered on social media as the dominant type of horizontal media in online communication: how they modify issue agenda of vertical media, what is their role in creating attribute agenda for horizontal communities, how homogenous those agendas are, and who and how influences social media agenda. Even though the role of social media in contemporary online news communication can be studied from diverse perspectives, the feasibility to post some of the highly relevant questions within the agenda setting framework suggest that this theory can be adequate for providing answers to them.

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Agenda setting in the world of online news:
New questions for new environment

The circuit of culture: A model for journalism history

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doi: 10.5937/comman11-9516

Abstract: More than forty years ago, James W. Carey published his seminal essay “The Problem of Journalism History” and called for a “cultural history of journalism.” While his plea has posed intriguing questions, it has fallen short on providing specific answers to the challenges of contemporary journalism history. I propose that the circuit of culture model offers promising research strategies to flesh out Carey’s idea of journalism as a cultural practice. The circuit of culture model re-articulates Carey’s call in numerous ways. It circumvents the intangible concept of consciousness and instead focuses on the production, transformation and renegotiation of meaning in a social world structured (albeit not entirely) by regulative and institutional pressures. It puts more emphasis on acknowledging power and asymmetries in society. It accounts for economic pressures without privileging them. While holding on to the holistic notion of culture, the circuit of culture model identifies specific sites for research and thus allows for a more detailed view of the practice and reception of journalism. Ultimately, the circuit of culture approach complements Carey’s vision but re-articulates it in a more specific and nuanced way.

Keywords: journalism studies, cultural studies, journalism, history, James W. Carey

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1. Introduction

More than forty years ago James W. Carey published his seminal essay “The Problem of Journalism History.” Both an appeal and an admonishment, the piece “marked a turn in the writing of journalism history” (Schudson, 1997: 79). Carey wanted to “ventilate” the field of journalism history with “fresh perspectives and new interpretations” (1974/1997: 88) and called for a “cultural history of journalism.” In the wake of the essay, a “cottage industry” (Nord, 2006: 122) of Carey commentators developed.

Journalism, evidently, has changed over the last forty years, as has the intellectual landscape of media studies. Yet, Carey’s plea to study journalism as a “structure of feeling” and an “embodiment of consciousness” (Carey, 1974/1997: 93) could not be timelier. When if not now, at this watershed moment of the digital revolution, is it worth exploring how journalism and its symbolic practices are shaped by societal forces? When if not at this moment of a journalistic identity crisis is it worth examining how journalism itself is affecting the way in which the social world is represented through journalistic practices and how this changed over time?

Recent scholarship demonstrates the relevance of Carey’s thoughts and also shows a renewed interest in the theoretical and conceptual implications of studying journalism history. The 2013 spring issue of *American Journalism* devoted a special section to the question of “theorizing journalism in time.” Forde goes so far as to detect “an altogether new ‘ferment in the field’” (2013: 3). Nerone (2013) makes a passionate case for the need of journalism history by pointing out that each new journalism builds on a previous one. Vos (2013: 38) cites an essay that Carey wrote with Christians (Christians & Carey, 1989) to lay out his claim that journalism history must be theoretical, i.e. provide explanations that “rise to the level of abstraction above the empirically based stories we tell.” Schudson disputes the view that standards of newsworthiness and journalistic practices have varied little over time and instead defines the task of journalism historians “as examining the various social forces that have shaped news and prompted changes in its construction, delivery, and influence over time and likewise led to sometimes notably different formations of journalism across different nations” (2013: 33). A plea for more theoretical approaches in studying journalism history is also articulated by Roessner et al. (2013). And new interest in theorizing the changing nature of journalism is developing against

the backdrop of digital transformation, technological change and economic challenges. Special issues of *Digital Journalism* (2015) and *Journalism Practice* (2015) featured a variety of scholars who presented novel strategies of conceptualizing journalism in an interconnected, digital era (see also Zelizer, 2015). Moreover, these efforts come at a time when the field of cultural history has established conceptual tools in a variety of subdisciplines in historical research (see Lipsitz, 2008 and Glickman, 2011).

This paper is intended to make a modest contribution to the growing body of literature by journalism historians interested in incorporating theory into the study of history. In a first step, I will take a look at James W. Carey's call for a cultural history of journalism and describe its reception by journalism historians, identifying three areas in which Carey's terminology requires clarification and focus. Then, in the second section, I will describe the basic tenets of the circuit of culture model. In a third step, I will propose the circuit of culture model as a promising approach to re-articulate Carey's ideas. More specifically, I will suggest to reconceptualize some of Carey's central, yet vaguely defined, terms such as consciousness, ritual and community. In doing so, I hope to offer novel analytical tools to theorize the multi-layered practice of journalism in time.

Even though progress has been made towards an understanding what a cultural history of journalism could look like (for examples see Carey, 1985/1997; Nerone, 2011; Schudson, 1997; Schudson, 2015), critics of Carey repeatedly pointed out the weak spots of his conceptual framework. It is my hope that incorporating the circuit of culture model will not only help solidify the theoretical appeal of a cultural approach to journalism history but also encourage further efforts to study journalism history from this vantage point.

2. A cultural history of journalism

Carey's call for a cultural history of journalism was one of his most important legacies. He decried the "Whig" character of conventional historical accounts which "views journalism history as the slow, steady expansion of freedom and knowledge from the political press to the commercial press, the setbacks into sensationalism and yellow journalism, the forward thrust into muckraking and social responsibility" (Carey, 1974/1997: 86).

The "Whig" historians made an important contribution to the discipline by establishing a documentary record, Carey noted. Yet, their studies were not

sufficient to account for the complexity of social life, nor the particular role of journalism in society. For Carey, journalism was not just a medium for the message; it was not just about passing on news and information. Rather, it was instrumental in establishing the ways for a society to understand and constitute itself: “Journalism is essentially a state of consciousness, a way of apprehending, of experiencing the world” (Carey, 1974/1997: 91).

Carey’s concept of journalism has to be seen in the light of his efforts to describe communication as the condition and foundation of society. He emphasized the inherent interconnectedness between language and the social world. In his view, society was based on and structured by the use of language:

“Reality is not given, not humanly existent, independent of language and toward which language stands in paler refraction. Rather, reality is brought into existence, is produced, by communication—by in short, the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms. Reality, while not a mere function of symbolic forms, is produced by terministic systems—or by humans who produce such systems—that focus its existence in specific terms.” (Carey, 1975/2009: 20)

For Carey, the process of constructing, apprehending and utilizing symbolic forms was nothing other than culture. He defined culture as “the organization of social experience in human consciousness manifested in symbolic action” (Carey, 1974/1997: 91). In his seminal essay “A Cultural Approach to Communication” (1975/2009), Carey differentiated between a “transmission” and a “ritual” view of communication. While the first “is the transmission of signals or messages over distance for the purpose of control” (Carey, 1975/2009: 12), the latter “is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time; not the act of imparting information but representation of shared beliefs” (Carey, 1975/2009: 15). Both views have their roots in religious practice and thought but modernity — and especially industrialization in the nineteenth century — provided a framework in which these views unfolded. Carey argued that the dominance of the transmission view rendered impossible the full appreciation of communicative practices and their potential.

“Neither of these counterposed views of communication necessarily denies what the other affirms. A ritual view does not exclude the processes of

information transmission or attitude change. It merely contends that one cannot understand these processes aright insofar as they are cast within an essentially ritualistic view of communication and social order.” (Carey, 1975/2009: 17)

When Carey calls for a cultural history of journalism, he wants to highlight the “ritual” aspects of journalism — its potential to make sense of the world and create meaning. Journalism accomplishes that by a particular method of bringing order into chaos, sorting the important from the unimportant and presenting it in an intelligible way: the report. Carey encourages journalism historians to get to the bottom of the question why, how and when people accepted the report as “a desirable form of rendering reality” (Carey, 1974/1997: 90). The report is historically contingent but if we understand the circumstances under which this social interaction between journalists and the public came into being and how it changed over time, we can grasp journalism as “a particular social form, a highly particular type of consciousness, a particular organization of social experience” (Carey, 1974/1997: 91).

Carey’s essay triggered a lot of interest — but also confusion. What did he really mean by consciousness? How can we transpose the notion of ritual and its context of small, local communities to a larger scale of complex societies? What does it really mean to speak about a particular organization of social experience when that very experience is fragmented and mediated by economic and technological forces? And how could this be channeled into a research strategy of theorizing journalism in time? The very notions that made Carey’s conceptualization intriguing — consciousness instead of an exclusive focus on economy and technology; ritual instead of a top-down sender-receiver template; community instead of a world of isolated monads — also triggered critique. Various scholars engaged with the theoretical implications of these terms and problematized their usefulness.

Initial efforts to “operationalize Carey” zeroed in on the report as an expression of “consciousness.” Schwarzlose (1975) suggested a content analysis spanning over a period of 270-years to analyze content, technique and style of news reports. Erickson (1975) proposed to examine in how far news reports reflected flavor, ethos and climate of journalistic values. Marzolf (1975), too, underscored the importance of content analysis but was also interested in studying journalists as a group. In sum, as Nord noted, there was some “misunderstand-

ing” (1988: 122) because the early Carey commentators mistook a paradigmatic for a mere methodological challenge. While Nord applauded Carey’s initiative, he remained skeptical of the implications for the study of journalism history:

“The turn to cultural anthropology has its utility, to be sure. But it has some serious drawbacks as well. Specifically, the anthropological approach is weak on the study of power. This weakness may be minor for some types of cultural history; it is a major problem for the study of mass communication. The study of the mass media “from the bottom up” is enormously complicated by the fact that the messages arrive from the top down. In other words, the ‘consciousness’ embedded in the language of journalism is the product of larger institutions.” (Nord, 1988: 10)

Thus, instead of focusing on “consciousness,” Nord suggested to examine the business of journalism, the symbiotic relationships between press and government and the political culture. Instead of a cultural history, then, Nord advocated an institutional history. Interestingly, while institutional approaches to studying journalism have expanded into a vibrant field of scholarship (Cook, 1998; Kaplan, 2001; Ryfe, 2006; Sparrow, 1999; Vos, 2013) there is hardly any overlap with cultural conceptualizations (a notable exception is Williams & Delli Carpini, 2011).

While being sympathetic to Carey’s goals, Tucher (2009) suggested that “consciousness” might be too confusing a word to explore the history of journalism. Instead, she reframed Carey’s call for a cultural history and proposed to “explore the development of the most distinctive and elemental of journalistic tasks: the effort of some humans to persuade other humans they probably do not know that what they say is an acceptable (I do not specify ‘accurate’) representation of a world every one of them can glimpse” (Tucher, 2009: 290). The latest effort to re-read Carey’s call to action and draw conclusions for the practice of studying journalism history comes from Roessner et al. (2013). While detecting a “naïve optimism” in Carey, Roessner counters the popular perception that Carey did not offer a framework for crafting the cultural history of journalism. She recommends taking a closer look at the cultural historian Raymond Williams in order to tease out Carey’s understanding of cultural history (Roessner et al., 2013: 263–267). Her co-author Popp demonstrates that Carey’s journalism history essay “has become emblematic of broad historiographic questions” as to whether journalism history has ever followed the “cul-

tural turn” in departmental history and incorporated cultural theory (Roessner et al., 2013: 268). Both authors suggest to shift attention from conceptualizing “consciousness” as an entity to thinking about it as “real lived relationships among individuals, institutions, and cultures” (266) and “the circuits of market culture, or dense networks of exchange through which socioeconomic worlds are made and remade” (Roessner et al., 2013: 270–271).

While Carey was widely hailed as introducing an anthropologic perspective to communication research, his “ritual view” was equally criticized for uncritically reifying notions of community and inclusion to the detriment of marginalized groups in society (Soderlund, 2006² is representative). Additionally, critics and acolytes alike problematized Carey’s idealist leanings and demanded a more thorough investigation of power, ideology and social conflict (see Zelizer, 2009: 301; Durham Peters, 2006: 141). Carey countered this critique by pointing out that he was far from ignoring conflict. He suggested to conceptualize social and cultural struggles within a broader framework and gave as an example the Chicago School of Thought and its view of cultural struggle. It “views struggle not merely in class and economic terms but extended it to a full array of interests: aesthetic, moral, political, and spiritual. Such struggles were, of course, conducted on class lines but also along other fronts: racial, religious, ethnic, status, regional, and, we would have to add today, gender.” (Carey, 1996/1997: 32) Carey also acknowledged structural pressures weighing on the journalism as culture. He described journalism as an “industrial art” in addition to being a “literary art” and highlighted that “methods, procedures, techniques were developed not only to satisfy the demands of the profession but also to meet the needs of industry and to turn out a mass-produced commodity” (Carey, 1974/1997: 91-92).

All in all, however, it is probably fair to say that Carey was more interested in analyzing the cohesive forces of community than deconstructing the divisive forces of capitalist society. As this brief review of Carey’s approach has demonstrated, this limitation arises from a particular terminology that emphasized consciousness, ritual and community. I agree with Grossberg that some of the vocabulary in Carey’s version of cultural studies “may no longer have the power

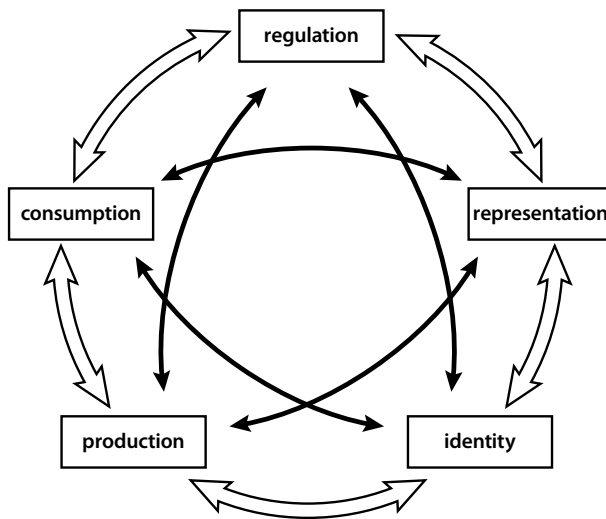
² “At the center of Carey’s plea for resurrecting the ritual model is the promise of a return to conditions in which ‘communal life,’ ‘community,’ and ‘shared experience’ can flourish. Yet Carey’s argument relies heavily and uncritically on the rhetorical weight of such concepts, which are conceived of in commonsense terms as intrinsic social goods.” (Soderlund, 2009: 106)

to do all that is required of it” (2009: 181). This view does not discount Carey’s merits; it just calls for a renewed effort to think about the complexities of theorizing journalism as culture.

In the next section I suggest to rearticulate Carey’s ideas by incorporating conceptual approaches of the circuit of culture model as developed in the British tradition of cultural studies. It is curious that although Carey was significantly influenced, amongst others, by Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall (Carey & Grossberg, 2006; Sterne, 2009), he kept his distance from the British tradition. He suspected that it had a tendency to reduce culture to ideology and put too much emphasis on the modes of production. Carey’s skepticism notwithstanding, I believe that initiating a conversation between his version of cultural studies and the British tradition as articulated by Hall and his co-authors would hold some promise for studying journalism history. I will argue that the circuit of culture model retains the originality of Carey’s thinking, yet sharpens its focus by identifying site of social interaction and mediated experiences; that it provides a more nuanced view of the journalistic marketplace and its constraining forces; and that it acknowledges the agonistic nature of public discourse in a globalized world instead of putting forward idealistic notions of community life.

3. Circuit of culture

The circuit of culture model (du Gay et al., 1997; Figure 1) is rooted in mainstream British cultural studies but takes a decisive break by discarding the realm of production as a privileged site to examine cultural practices. Instead, the model calls for treating production as one process or moment amongst others (representation, consumption, regulation, and identity) to analyze the “shared cultural space in which meaning is created, shaped, modified, and recreated” (Curtin & Gaither, 2007: 38). In doing so, the model emphasizes that meaning is not produced in one location but the result of multi-faceted, yet identifiable interactions and social practices. Culture, then, takes on a double meaning: it is the result of these different processes, yet it also provides an overarching framework in which these processes are embedded.

Figure 1: The Circuit of Culture

The model identifies five processes that a cultural analysis should focus on. Applied to case studies — i.e., du Gay et al. (1997) put forward an analysis of the making of the Sony Walkman — this analysis examines how cultural artifacts are represented, what social identities are associated with it, how they are produced and consumed, and what mechanisms regulate its distribution and use. From an analytical standpoint, these processes are distinct sections but “in the real world they continually overlap and intertwine in complex and contingent ways” (du Gay et al., 1997: 4).

This conceptualization of culture can be connected to the study of media and journalism in two ways: One option would be to view the media in general and journalism in particular as technological means “by which much (though not all) of [modern] culture is now produced, circulated, used or appropriated” (du Gay et al., 1997: 23). Viewed thusly as a kind of social technology, the media provide certain practices as well as a set of knowledge to sustain and produce culture. This is the interpretation that du Gay et al. propose and that they specifically lay out in their study of the Walkman. However, I would like to suggest another possibility of making the circuit of culture model productive for the study of journalism. In addition to being a technology, journalism can also be viewed in a more narrow sense as cultural product itself: journalistic forms are not only cultural tools; they themselves constitute cultural artifacts. Consider various journalistic forms such as the newspaper report, the news

broadcast, the magazine story, the interactive documentary, etc. Viewed from this perspective, then, journalistic forms can be studied like other artifacts. We may ask how they were produced, consumed, represented, regulated and what subjectivities (individual, collective) were associated with them. It is the latter context, i.e. journalism as a cultural form, that I will focus on to examine the potential of using the circuit of culture model for the study of journalism. While most of journalism scholarship studies the *content* of journalistic depictions and how it serves to frame issues and set the public agenda, this approach emphasizes that the *form* of news also creates a particular interpretive lens that privileges certain issues and discourages others. As Broersma (2007: xi) notes, “While the content of an article is unique and incidental, form and style are more universal and refer to broader cultural discourses as well as accepted and widely used news conventions and routines”. Scholars in a variety of media-related fields have shown that the news form, like other symbolic systems, is not as natural, transparent and invisible as some practitioners purport it to be. Moreover, historians of journalism have documented that the tension between fact and fiction, journalism and literature, information and story is a constitutive component of modern journalism.

Let me briefly review the five cultural processes in the circuit of culture model and how they may help to examine journalistic artifacts and practices. Representation refers to the textual and visual manifestations of a journalistic form (i.e. news article, photo, television broadcast). They are based on conventions that gained acceptance over time. As conventions are socially constructed, they embody values, constrain possibilities and, to some extent, prescribe certain outcomes. Production is more than the basic process of bringing a particular journalistic artifact into being. Rather, it is a cultural process that is informed by the interaction between intra-organizational practices and larger cultural forces — distinct ways of life within which journalistic forms need to resonate. Consumption encompasses a wider area of practices than merely focusing on actions such as buying a product or receiving a message. In the circuit of culture model, the consumer is not a passive victim of propaganda but an active agent of appropriating and constructing meaning in the practice of her everyday life. “[M]eanings are not simply sent by producers and received by consumers but are always *made in usage*” (du Gay et al., 1997: 85; original emphasis). As other social activities, journalism is regulated by legal controls of technological infrastructures, formal bodies of self-governance and institu-

tional educational systems. Business constraints, government regulation, and professional codes of conduct all play a role in shaping meaning. Identity refers to particular modes of subjectivity as individuals or groups. Practicing journalism creates an identity; yet journalistic forms also construct and conceptualize subjectivities — both in their depictions and in their interaction with readers and viewers. Moreover, identity is both multi-layered (individual, professional, institutional) and socially constructed (class, gender, race, etc.).

While it is possible to look at these five moments individually, the circuit of culture model emphasizes the inherent interconnectedness of these processes. Production cannot be examined without consumption, representation not without taking into account regulation and so on. These disparate elements and distinct processes form temporary units, forging fragile firmness and fleeting stability. Nothing about these connections is “necessary, determined, or absolute and essential for all time” (du Gay et al., 1997: 3). Rather, they evolve and dissolve in the course of what du Gay et al. call “articulations”. Grossberg (2006: 154) describes articulations as a “complex set of historical practices by which we struggle to produce identity or structural unity out of, on top of, complexity, difference, contradiction.”

To sum up, the circuit of culture model consists of five different moments that are joined by temporary (and thus changing) connections. Examining the characteristics of each moment as well as their various interactions over time provides multiple vantage points to study the emergence, presence and variability of journalistic forms. The circuit of culture approach is not a theory but a model to zero in on particular sites of social relationships. As Curtin and Gaither (2007: 105) note “the circuit of culture contains an inherent tension between the institutional and the particular, the macro- and microlevels of analysis. Such tension does not lend itself to easy analysis or categorization, yet it also avoids many of the shortcomings of more narrow and deterministic approaches.”

After having explained the specifics of the circuit of culture model, I would like to return to Carey’s call for a cultural history or journalism and demonstrate how the circuit of culture model offers a more nuanced terminology. As discussed above, Carey encouraged journalism historians to get to the bottom of the question why, how and when people accepted the report as “a desirable form of rendering reality” (Carey, 1974/1997: 90). Using the circuit of culture model, historians could flesh out what this process of becoming “a desirable

form of rendering reality” looked like if they describe how particular journalistic forms were produced and consumed, how they were textually and visually represented, what social identities were associated with it, and what mechanisms regulated their distribution and use. Let me be clear that I do not want suggest a new, all-encompassing master narrative. There simply is no privileged vantage point for any historical analysis of social relationships. Rather, I propose to use the circuit of culture model to focus on identifiable moments in the historical evolution of journalistic forms and how they changed over time. Of special importance are relationships, interactions, articulations, i.e. the interfaces between different moments. A cultural analysis does not have to cover all dimensions equally but could pick a particular articulation between two elements. For instance, how do organizational routines influence the textual and visual representation of news? How do patterns of readership and viewership matter in debates about regulation?

4. Rearticulating Carey

In the brief review of critical appraisals at the beginning of this paper I identified three areas in Carey’s concept that various scholars found intriguing but also troubling. They concerned Carey’s central, yet vaguely defined, terms consciousness, ritual and community. The second section presented a brief overview of the circuit of culture model and its basic tenets. In this final section I will discuss how the circuit of culture model alleviates some of the criticism of Carey’s concept. I see three specific ways in which the circuit of culture model substantiates and expands Carey’s concept of a cultural history of journalism.

(1) When Carey wrote that journalism was “a state of consciousness,” his conceptualization obscured more than it illuminated. Consciousness seems a vague and immobile concept to capture the complex and multi-directional forces sustaining journalism. Moreover, it is challenging to think about concrete methods to study and describe consciousness and its transformation over time in meaningful ways. Instead of focusing on consciousness as state of collective identity, the circuit of culture model suggests to break it down into a process. Instead of asking “What is culture?”, it investigates “What does culture do?” Therefore, in contrast to thinking about journalism as a state of consciousness, the model encourages us to conceptualize journalism as the circulation

of cultural forms. As such, it circumvents the intangible concept of consciousness and instead focuses on the production, transformation and renegotiation of meaning in a social world structured (albeit not entirely) by regulative and institutional pressures.

(2) Carey's basic motivation to emphasize a ritual view of communication was to push back against simplistic concepts focusing on the transmission of messages between senders and receivers. While this concept certainly provided a more holistic image of the human condition and the centrality of communication, it also proved to be elusive in a globalized world integrated by market capitalism. When he described the ritual interaction between journalists and their publics as "a particular organization of social experience" (Carey, 1974/1997: 91), he failed to acknowledge a crucial aspect of journalism: that it is also a business. The ritual view of communication is still valuable but it has to address the processes of production and consumption. The circuit of culture model moves practices and relationships into the center of the analysis by introducing a dynamic view of production and consumption. Journalistic forms are not produced as finished products; they are in a constant feedback loop. The activities of readers and viewers—how they accept, reject or transform journalistic forms—always already affect the introduction, modification and subsequent re-development of journalistic forms. Journalism is a ritual constrained by market forces but at the same time more than merely an economic exchange.

(3) Journalism, as Carey was envisioning it, is community-oriented or it is not journalism at all. As desirable as this vision might be, it is blind to the contested and adversarial nature of public discourse. The circuit of culture model, on the other hand, acknowledges power differentials and asymmetries in society. From this perspective, the construction, apprehension, and utilization of symbolic forms does not happen in a vacuum but is part of a public sphere in which meanings is constantly and irreducibly challenged. It is an agonistic arena where some participants have more resources than others. The circuit of culture model takes a middle position between a propaganda and an empowerment model. It acknowledges the decisive influence of powerful participants (like the propaganda model), yet also emphasizes the powers inherent in consumption (like the empowerment model). It equally rejects the deterministic, pessimistic propaganda model and the voluntarist, optimistic empowerment model.

An appreciation of the circuit of culture model would not be complete without acknowledging its limitations. At this point, I just want to briefly mention some areas of concern. Even as the model speaks about social and cultural technologies, it falls short of conceptualizing them in a comprehensive way. Not that it underestimates the impact of technology; it undertheorizes it. A second area of concern is that the dimension of “identity” only insufficiently and superficially addresses the ways in which cultural processes construct and conceptualize subjectivities. The model clearly prioritizes the moments of production and consumption. Finally, while the model integrates the importance of power differentials and economic disparities, both elements function more as underlying principles than fully developed components.

James Carey’s call for a cultural history of journalism had a lasting impact on the field of journalism research. However, in order to retain its energy and originality I believe it is necessary to sharpen its terminology. The circuit of culture approach complements Carey’s vision but also re-articulates it in a more specific and nuanced way. In fact, it is able to deliver exactly the kind of analysis that Carey called for but was not able to formulate himself:

“The cultural history of journalism would attempt to capture that *reflexive process* wherein modern consciousness has been created in the symbolic form known as the report and how in turn modern consciousness finds *institutionalized expression* in journalism.” (Carey, 1974/1997: 93, emphasis added)

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Alternative media and normative theory: A case of Ferguson, Missouri

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doi: 10.5937/comman11-9615

Abstract: This paper, based on in-depth interviews with journalists at alternative and advocacy papers in St. Louis as well as interviews with live streaming protestors, a new breed of citizen journalist, applies six characteristics commonly associated with the alternative press to coverage of the protests and police crackdown in Ferguson, Missouri between August 9, 2014 and March 2015. Journalists from the alternative newspaper in St. Louis focused on progressive or radical values less than the literature predicted. The African-American newspaper in St. Louis found itself influencing the national and global agenda regarding Ferguson and the ongoing oppression of blacks in the city and surrounding municipalities. Mobile media savvy protestors broadcast police actions from the front lines of dissent in nearly constant live streams day after day from August to November, altering the scope of counternarrative and providing distilled counter-propaganda. In this study, researchers provide a snapshot of the alternative/advocacy press as it rose to fill in gaps in coverage and to find untold stories in one of the most widely broadcast events of 2014.

Keywords: Ferguson, alternative news media, advocacy press, qualitative method, normative theory, live streaming.

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1. Introduction

Ferguson, Missouri, Police Officer Darren Wilson shot and killed 18-year-old Michael Brown August 9, 2014. Wilson initially stopped Brown and his friend, Dorian Johnson, for jaywalking, but Wilson also realized that the two young men matched the suspect description from an earlier strong-arm robbery. Brown, according to St. Louis County Police Chief Jon Belmar, physically assaulted Wilson through the window of Wilson's police vehicle and reached for Wilson's gun. After one shot was fired, Brown and Johnson fled, with Wilson pursuing. When Brown stopped and turned to face Wilson, the officer fired at Brown several times, killing him.

Protests, most peaceful but others violent, followed the shooting. The protesters argued that the shooting was racially motivated—Wilson is White, Brown was Black—and that Wilson shot an unarmed man trying to surrender, leading to chants of “Hands up, don't shoot.” More protests followed the November 24 announcement that a St. Louis County grand jury decided not to indict Wilson. The U.S. Department of Justice cleared Wilson on civil rights violations March 4, 2015, although they did report a pattern of racial bias in arrests and fines by police in Ferguson and surrounding municipalities.

The purpose of this study is to explore the role of the alternative press in the coverage of the Wilson-Brown shooting and subsequent protests. Media often simultaneously perform various roles, some of which are complementary, others of which are contradictory. In this study, the term “alternative press” will be used to encompass the media ecology of a non-mainstream press, including alternative newsweeklies, ethnic media, and citizen journalists broadcasting primarily livestreaming video but also publishing via other media.

2. Alt Press and Normative Theory

The alternative press historically has been known by many names: partisan (Pasley, 2001), dissident (Ostertag, 2006; Streitmatter, 2001; Kessler, 1984), underground (McMillian, 2011; Lewes, 2000; Armstrong, 1981), alternative (McMillian, 2011; Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Peck, 1998; Armstrong, 1981; McAuliffe, 1978), and online (McMillian, 2011; Streitmatter, 2001). A non-mainstream press system is neither time-bound nor period-bound but has existed alongside the mainstream press since the earliest days of the republic

(Kessler, 1984). An alternative press surfaced throughout American history to service the informational and communication needs of social movements.

The characteristics of the alternative press differ depending on national context. Any press system exists within an overarching political, social, economic, and legal framework. In the United States, that press system has several distinctive features. One, there is a defined autonomy from the state (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) based on legal and normative rules concerning issues such as free expression, access to information, privacy, and intellectual property (Starr, 2005). Two, commercial newspapers developed relatively early, marginalizing other forms of noncommercial media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Baldasty, 1992). Three, there was an early expansion of literacy and primary education (Starr, 2005; Hallin & Mancini, 2004), creating a public and potential audience. Fourth, journalistic professionalism is relatively strongly developed with a value system and standards of practice rooted in public service (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Members of the alternative press in the United States often describe themselves as serving the public *better* than those working in the mainstream.

The central role alternative media serve is providing a radical voice (Christians et al., 2009; Atton, 2002). Protest groups, radicals, and those on the fringes of society traditionally have been underserved or ignored by mainstream media (Kessler, 1984). The response of these groups has been to circumvent the mainstream press by starting their own newspapers, magazines, and Web sites (Streitmatter, 2001; Kessler, 1984). Alternative media seek to give voice to the voiceless (McMillian, 2011; Atton, 2002; Kessler, 1984; Armstrong, 1981), and to invert the power hierarchy of access by developing media spaces where activists and ordinary people can present accounts of their experiences and struggles (Atton, 2002). The alternative press recognizes and refutes mainstream media power centers, and as technologies change the mainstream press *may* become more capable (Couldry & Curran, 2003). The ultimate goal of alternative media is the transformation of roles, responsibilities, ideals, and standards for journalism and society at large (Atton, 2002).

The alternative press typically is based on and compared to the mainstream press (Lewes, 2000). Several characteristics could be used when defining and then comparing the alternative and mainstream press systems. In this study, researchers will focus on six characteristics found in the literature: content or story selection, the use of objectivity, sourcing, tone, efforts at community building, and relationship to the mainstream media.

2.1. Content or story selection

The search for and retransmission of certain kinds of news and information is a key component of any normative definition of journalism (Christians et al., 2009). However, the media's relationship to social, economic, and political power shapes their ability to perform the monitorial role adequately (Christians et al., 2009; Gans, 2005; Herman & Chomsky, 2002; McChesney, 1999). New technologies give individuals the capability to monitor those in power, whether they hold elected office or wield media power (Keane, 2013). Taking the monitorial role to its logical limit, Keane (2009) suggests the future of democracy is built on this kind of monitoring where electing leaders is perhaps less important than monitoring and influencing them once they hold office. This type of monitoring is an extension of a role alternative media have claimed for decades.

Alternative press scholars have argued the mainstream press traditionally did not thoroughly or adequately fulfill its role to provide an outlet for people to express their views, especially if those people are non-elite, non-white, non-male, or express dissident or radical viewpoints (McMillian, 2011; Atton, 2002; Kessler, 1984; Armstrong, 1981). These scholars argue that forms of dissident, underground, and alternative media have attempted to expand the public sphere by creating a two-way channel of communication between writers and audiences; by inverting the power structure by publishing the stories, opinions, and perspectives of non-elite sources; and by serving the bridging and bonding functions of establishing communities.

Alternative media serve the function of filling the gaps left by mainstream media (McMillian, 2011; Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Armstrong, 1981; McAuliffe, 1978). News topics uncovered, under-covered, or mis-covered by the mainstream press are given space in alternative publications (McMillian, 2011; Ostertag, 2006; Streitmatter, 2001; Armstrong, 1981).

2.2. An approach to objectivity

Objectivity is the belief that one can and should separate facts from values (Schudson, 1978). The mainstream press adheres to standards of objectivity (Mindich, 1998; Schudson, 1978). The alternative press makes no claim that it is objective (Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Lewes, 2000), and is by definition partisan (Atton, 2002). Partisanship here is not tied to a political party but instead is

issue-oriented. One problem of the mainstream press, according to critics in the alternative press, is its adherence to objectivity (Lewes, 2000). It is impossible to separate facts from values, and morally and politically wrong to do so (Atton & Hamilton, 2008). As Carpentier, puts it,

“one should keep in mind that information is not a neutral concept, and that it is epistemologically impossible to map out the exact boundaries between ‘factual’ information and the representations information contains. Factuality builds on representational regimes that are unavoidable in their presence, varied in their nature, and at the same time targeted by hegemonic projects. But it still remains possible to elaborate (factual) information characteristics which offer to strengthen the democratic quality of media output.” (2009: 15)

Facts, when grouped together as “information” become even more value laden. But even if it were possible to separate facts from values, objective facts are not the same as the truth, and facts are less important than the truth (Lewes, 2000).

News, therefore, is not objective; instead, it is a selected account chosen for its ability to please both advertisers and readers (Baldasty, 1992). The constructed reality of the news is the result of a negotiation between journalists and other institutions, including sources, advertisers, political parties, government agencies, and readers (McChesney, 1999; Baldasty, 1992), and public relations firms.

2.3. Sourcing

One structural choice that goes hand-in-hand with objectivity is a reliance on authoritative sources (Mindich, 1998). Objectivity forces reporters and editors to rely on official sources, and this reliance propagates the status quo by leading journalists to seek official, authoritative power holders as primary sources of news and comment (Mindich, 1998). This reliance on official sources biases the news because it limits the number and variety of voices that are heard in the press system, and these sources might not always be credible.

Underground journalists relied almost exclusively on non-official sources (McMillian, 2011; Lewes, 2000). Part of the reason was that a reliance on official sources led to a news system that was framed or slanted against the coun-

terculture and toward the mainstream middle (McMillian, 2011; Lewes, 2000). Reporters in the underground press wanted the voices of ordinary people to balance this perceived news slant (McMillian, 2011; Lewes, 2000).

2.4. Tone

Alternative publications use a hip, with-it tone—including the use of four-letter words, as well as sometimes-explicit references to sex, nudity, and drugs (McMillian, 2011; Peck, 1998; Armstrong, 1981). This cool, with-it tone also served as a way for underground journalists to differentiate themselves from the mainstream press. Tone became one marker of the radical perspective. Tone and content also were a way for underground journalists to construct a society by differentiating between an in-group (those who understood and accepted such language and visuals) and an out-group (everyone else).

2.5. Efforts at community building

Alternative media tend to be heavily community centered (McMillian, 2011; Christians et al., 2009; Armstrong, 1981). For the alternative press, community is forged through an alliance of the powerless, and the politically and culturally disenfranchised. Here, the radical role intersects with the collaborative and facilitative roles.

For a mainstream press, the collaborative role implies a partnership built on a mutual trust and shared commitment between the media and the state to mutually agreeable means and ends (Christians et al., 2009). Alternative media also perform a collaborative role. However, the alternative press collaborates by being a change agent instead of collaborating to maintain the status quo. The collaboration is between alternative journalists and their community instead of established, mainstream state and economic institutions.

In the facilitative role, the media seek to promote dialog among readers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate (Christians et al., 2009). The media, in the facilitative role, promote communication that engages readers to participate actively (Christians et al., 2009). However, the facilitation provided by the mainstream press traditionally has spoken for and to the homogenous middle (Ostertag, 2006; McChesney, 1999; Kessler, 1984). There is little room for dissident viewpoints or radical critiques.

Dissident groups, therefore, must create their own communications systems to construct an alternative reality if they want to share their ideas and ideals (Kessler, 1984). These groups seek two audiences with their media outlets. The first audience is internal, and the aim is to build a counterculture community of like-minded voices (Kessler, 1984). The second audience is external, and the aim is to convert more people to the cause by expanding the base of people hearing the protest message, to transmit the protest message of the dissident group on its own terms, and to provide a channel for a mainstream audience to communicate with the dissident group (Ostertag, 2006; Streitmatter, 2001; Kessler, 1984).

2.6. Relationship to mainstream media

Alternative media also serve as an oppositional voice to the mainstream media (Atton, 2002). Indeed, radical journalists assume the mainstream media are part of the power elite that the alternative press publications seek to subvert. Alternative media, therefore, watch the watchdog by monitoring traditional media outlets (Lewes, 2000). The watching the watchdog role arose out of the underground press, which sought a rebellion against both the national establishment and the mainstream media. That tradition continues today, with the alternative press providing needed context to news stories, providing differing frames and views, critiquing the mainstream press' coverage of certain issues, and poking fun at the mainstream press when it begins to take itself a little too seriously. The alternative press also serves a community as a second source of news (McMillian, 2011; Armstrong, 1981), assuming the role of the second paper in cities with only one daily newspaper.

3. Method

The researchers conducted nine semi-structured interviews between March 18-24, 2015—two with journalists (Chris King and Kenya Vaughn) at the *St. Louis American*, an African American weekly newspaper published continuously since 1928; four with journalists at the *Riverfront Times* (Jessica Lussenhop, Ray Downs, Danny Wicentowski, and Lindsay Toler), established in 1977 in St. Louis and sold in 1998 to what became, through merger, the Voice Media Group; and three with livestreaming broadcasters (Mustafa Hussein, Lee Mai-

bes, and Bassem Masri), protestors who provided live video and micro-blogging coverage using lightweight cameras and/or mobile-phone cameras. Eight of these interviews were in-person; the interview with Mr. Masri was conducted via phone because he was not available to meet in person. Researchers used a semi-structured interview approach, which allowed them to strike a balance between gathering detailed, first-person accounts while still ensuring that the concepts organizing this study were addressed by each interviewee. The researchers explored the phenomenon by gaining a thick description from those who experienced it and could retell that experience in a comprehensive way (Creswell, 2006; Geertz, 1973).

Interviews are not neutral but are a negotiation between two or more people that result in a contextually based outcome (Fontana and Prokos, 2007; McCracken, 1988). Researchers let respondents tell their own stories, not strictly answer pre-planned questions (Berger, 1998; McCracken, 1988). Interviews were loosely structured around topics, not questions, such that each conversation started and ended wherever necessary to get the most rich, useful information. Conducting interviews also allowed the researchers to dig deeper by including more specificity over the course of long encounters (Fontana and Prokos, 2007; McCracken, 1988). Interviews lasted 45-75 minutes each.

4. Findings

The news organizations and citizen journalists studied here each provided alternative voices to mainstream news coverage, and to each other. Chris King described the *St. Louis American*, the oldest active alternative publication in the city, as a community and advocacy paper for the oppressed African-American community in St. Louis:

We don't really see ourselves as an alternative in the sense that it's used in our industry. *The Riverfront Times* is an alternative newspaper, and we're not in that sense, but we're certainly not a mainstream newspaper, so we're an alternative to the mainstream, but we're also, frankly, an alternative to the alternative media because a lot of alternative media covers, you know, they cover smut a lot, and they do a lot of crime reporting, and they're attention grabbing in many ways that we're mostly not. We have a huge newspaper-in-education section, and our newspaper is read in schools as

part of that program, so we're conscious that our papers are picked up by school kids, so we are kind of a family publication in ways that very few newspapers are anymore.

Jessica Lussenhop, managing editor of *The Riverfront Times*, described her paper as being far less radical than historical alternative papers. *The Riverfront Times*, from her perspective, is not an advocate in the community; however, covering Ferguson put the paper in touch with its radical roots:

I've worked in this company for almost five years. Sort of the gospel was always that, "We don't want to do what you think a typical liberal alt-weekly would do. We don't want everyone saying this is just the liberal rag or whatever. We want to do stories that are objective and that take a surprising and interesting look at things and don't just sort of do the knee-jerk liberal story." And I've been hearing that from my bosses and sort of "corporate" for as long as I've worked here, and I agree with that to a certain extent. But it was interesting that as soon as all this stuff started happening, it seemed so obvious that there needed to be a slightly more liberal voice in local media here. The *Post-Dispatch* does a good job, I think, but people don't trust them for whatever reason, and there's just not a lot of other media, in print anyway, here, so it was interesting to sort of get back in touch with the sort of liberal roots through this whole Ferguson experience.

The most radical points of view were expressed on the front lines of the protest. With the advancement of affordable, mobile personal video broadcasting capabilities, protestors were able to document and livestream their activities and police actions during the protests. They documented their own sentiments, interviewed other protestors, and showed at times millions of online viewers what militarized police tactics look like from the protestors' viewpoint. Livestreaming broadcaster Mustafa Hussein considers himself a reporter first and a protestor second. He described his approach as "embedding" with protestors. Hussein and other volunteers had been working to resurrect the name of the African-American newspaper the *St. Louis Argus* and rebrand it as a radio station for independent music and left-wing political talk when Michael Brown was killed and the Ferguson protests began.

We had just purchased a bunch of livestreaming equipment for the purpose of doing concerts for independent artists, and we had actually purchased

that on August 8, the day before Michael Brown was shot in Ferguson, and on the 13th, my wife and I were watching Fox 2 [local], flipping back and forth between CNN, KMOV [CBS local], trying to get a feel for what was going on in Ferguson, and in between the traditional standard program scheduling for a major news outlet like that you would only get bits and pieces and by the time the news clip or the b-roll of what was going on in the community, by the time that got through the producers and the editors and everything, you would get even less of a sense of what was going on in Ferguson, so I literally told my wife I'm going to take the livestreaming equipment and go out there.... The first night, I was livestreaming [August 13], the livestream went viral: 3.5 million viewers. I was actually in the bushes hiding from the St. Louis County Police as they were advancing through the neighborhood when Chris Hayes called from MSNBC.

Hussein created an alternative media source, or at least the potential for one, out of chance timing and consistent coverage of protests for close to three months after the Wilson-Brown shooting.

Hussein was not the only livestream broadcaster. The *Argus News Radio* Web site broadcast video from several livestreamers, including Hussein. Additionally, several independent livestreamers emerged from the protests to document their own experiences via video-streaming sites and Twitter. Each has the ability to display raw video online and to determine the course of coverage according to their agendas.

The rest of the findings are organized according to the six characteristics of alternative press found in the literature review. Comparisons between the African-American community advocacy paper, the alternative newsweekly, and the protestor-broadcasters are fascinating to consider as each had its own orientation to protestors, police, and the global public via mainstream media proxies and/or the Internet.

4.1. Content or story selection

Riverfront Times journalists described three overlapping periods of Ferguson coverage that influenced story selection. The first time period stretched from the August 9 shooting death of Michael Brown to August 12, when large numbers of national media arrived. The next period started August 13 and lasted

about eight weeks, fueled to some degree by another police-involved shooting October 9. During this period, national and global mainstream news coverage was at its height. Journalists “parachuted” in to cover the protests and police crackdown, and the newspapers sought under-covered alternative stories. Between mid-October and the November 24 announcement that Wilson would not be indicted, the organizations were able to focus on weekly deadlines and the more sporadic “Ferguson October” protests (Ferguson Timeline, 2014).

Covering breaking news stretched the resources of *The Riverfront Times*, according to Lussenhop:

In the earliest days, the news coming out of Ferguson was 24 hours, so we just had to break [our reporting] down just by time of day.... I hate the phrase, but just “bearing witness,” just feeling it was important to have someone out there, especially at night, to observe how the police were behaving.

Lussenhop said reporters Ray Downs and Danny Wicentowski covered protests together daily until 3 or 4 a.m., and it became difficult for them to craft independent narratives. Wicentowski covered looting August 10 by driving directly to a strip mall, but that kind of breaking-news coverage became unnecessary once the national news media arrived. Wicentowski said,

It was a stated aim to look for the stories the national media were not covering once the hordes appeared in Ferguson.... The mainstream was covering the stuff everybody knows.... We were always looking for something other than that.

With only four-to-five reporters and editors covering Ferguson, *The Riverfront Times* journalists reported stories with fringe appeal because mainstream media organizations began blanket coverage.

King described the *St. Louis American* content before, during, and after the height of the Ferguson protests as focusing on the community:

We emphasize positive news about the African-American community in the St. Louis region, so we’ll cover a lot of things that a daily newspaper and an alternative newsweekly both would think is ridiculous, simple good-news stories, and we won’t do them only on a slow news week. We don’t actually think we have a front page unless we have something that’s

inspirational in some way, and that's partly because we're reporting about and to a community that's under siege and was under siege before everyone else noticed.

After the immediate breaking-news phase passed, *St. Louis American* Web Editor Kenya Vaughn walked from her home to the protests. She was a constant presence. "I covered the mundane protests.... I tried to show that most protests were peaceful." Reporting from the "body" of the crowd, Vaughn offered a perspective that advocated without agitating. "We're not *blind* advocates," she said.

Livestreamers' mere presence constantly documenting protests provided an alternative source of information for audiences. Their video feeds showed police action from the protestors' point of view, providing a counterpoint to the official narrative. Content often included interviews with protestors and documented hostile confrontations with police. Argus Radio featured stories on issues underlying the protests, such as an article about a man who was fired from a hotel in St. Louis for posting a picture of a Department of Homeland Security vehicle parked in the hotel parking lot. Hussein said,

The local channels did not want to touch it because Drury Inn is a St. Louis company, and we picked up the story.... We got some footage from the parking garage before the Department of Homeland Security had an opportunity to move their vehicles, which they promptly did after we published, and then CNN picked up that story from us, and it gained national attention.

Other livestreamers considered themselves protestors more than journalists. Lee Maibes accumulated more than 340,000 views during dozens of protests:

I realized that being behind the camera but also knowing the people allowed me to...narrate what was going on.... The biggest thing for me is like first-person coverage of the movement but trying to take myself out of it like explaining police tactics, trying to explain what demonstrators are doing and why they're doing it...and why the chants are being used.

Thus, livestreamers brought both issues and tactics to audiences around the globe.

4.2. Objectivity

Demonstrating a measure of objectivity in reporting was more important for editors and reporters at *The Riverfront Times* than journalists at the *St. Louis American*. Livestreamers argued that they were documenting reality with their cameras but also readily acknowledged that where they direct the cameras could carry inherent bias.

St. Louis American editor Chris King does not believe that any news organization is objective:

People need information, and they need people to give it to them, and I think they should be provided the information as plainly and as transparently as possible—disclosing your motive and your agenda as a medium—and everyone has an agenda, especially the ones that act like they don't.

Livestream broadcasters said that their raw-video streams presented a measure of objectivity, but they recognized their efforts were to demonstrate police actions and abuses. Lee Maibes said,

I think it shows reality as it is, but pure objectivity, no. People need to be honest about this, about being a livestreamer. You're embedded with the crowd almost 100 percent of the time. You're not going to film people doing things that could get them in trouble. Your job is to be very careful about those things. It's more to shine a light on police and police behavior because I don't think traditional journalism or mainstream media is being objective either. That's the thing really. That's why I say it's counter-narrative.

Similarly, Bassem Masri said, "When I'm out there, and I'm streaming, I don't *tell* people the truth. I let them watch it for themselves. So you can say that it's objective in a way, but I give them an angle that most of them can't get."

Perhaps most surprisingly is the level of objectivity sought by Lussenhop, *The Riverfront Times* managing editor: "We want objective, surprising, interesting stories." The corporate culture of Voice Media Group could be influencing the attitude of the newspaper, according to Lussenhop, and the directive is to not be predictably liberal. Lussenhop said she reined in Reporter Ray Downs at times when he became argumentative in his copy. Downs said he had reasons for eschewing the objectivity norm:

People think that you have to have both sides of the story. “This person says this, and that person says that.” That’s one way of doing it, but, in this case, you had these people that are angry about the police; the police are not making any statements about it, about what people think about police brutality, so it’s kind of hard to get the other side of that story. So, the story is obviously there’s some kind of tension here...Here’s what these people think about it.

When Wicentowski covered radical actors, he said: “I was trying to be objective and to evaluate, but also to objectively reflect just how shitty this situation was and that the system itself was a failure and that it was already rotten and that it was objective to paint it as that.”

There is a decided aversion to sensationalism in the *St. Louis American* that allows for balance in the organization’s orientation to officials without forcing anyone to adhere to the objectivity norm in reportage. *St. Louis American* staffers invited St. Louis City and County police leaders to its offices to meet with editorial staff before the Wilson grand jury decision. King said,

So-called objectivity often distracts from the truth. If one person says something that has a lot of credibility, and you just call the other side for them to deny it, and you give them equal space, one side has a lot of credibility, and the other side is simply denying it because the truth hurts them.... We are always making judgments on what is true by how we present information. I think all we can do is be transparent about where did we get our information, how can we substantiate it, and how does it compare against other things that we know to be true?

4.3. Sourcing

Livestreamers primarily used fellow protestors as sources but occasionally got responses from police. *The Riverfront Times* was limited to protestor and witness testimony in many cases, though its reporters attempted to get official sources. *St. Louis American* journalists stuck with the same key sources they had relied upon for years.

Police departments strictly forbade officers from talking to media outlets. Livestreaming protestors such as Bassem Masri, however, would instigate contact with police and try to elicit a response. He also would interview protestors

about their experiences with police. Lee Maibes described “sourcing” police in her livestream broadcasts as a way to keep tabs on them and to try to protect protestors:

Police are a lot less likely to act when there’s a livestreamer present. Well, it depends, but the last time I was out...the commander was like, “Are you going home?” I’m like, “Are you going to pick people off when I leave?” He’s like, “You’re not going home then.” I’m like, “Are you going to arrest people?” And he was like, “No.” And I was like, “I think you’re full of shit, but I’m going home anyway.” So on my way home, I catch him pulling people over and harassing them. So it’s basically to try to keep people safer, to show the reality of confrontation with police.

Riverfront Times’ Lussenhop invited commentary, even anonymous commentary, from police officers whom she previously had interviewed. She said one officer toyed with the idea:

He’s a nice guy...it seems like he’s not racist as far as I could tell, so I thought it would be great to have a cop, just any cop. Just give us your perspective anonymously that we could say, “Here’s someone that’s been patrolling Ferguson; here’s what it’s like for them.” And he wouldn’t do that. I wanted to get a sense of what it was like—like will you have lunch with me off the record to chat, and he was like, “Sure, that’s fine.” And he said, five minutes later, “I just talked to my supervisor, I can’t.” I was like, “Even to chat?” And he was like, “I can’t.”

All of *The Riverfront Times* journalists described their efforts to contact police only to be rejected and left with nothing or with a press release including a stock quote. Wicentowski said his reporting often looked imbalanced not because he was disinterested in the police point of view but because police refused to be interviewed. Lussenhop said she eventually gave up contacting police sources because it became a waste of time contacting individuals and departments she knew were not responsive.

St. Louis American reporters had the sources everyone else wanted. Editor Chris King asked for commentary from key contributors before media hordes arrived knowing that the newspaper’s key sources would be spending a lot of time being interviewed for cable TV news and for national newspapers and magazines. King noted that his number got passed around national media

outlets, and he was frequently the first call reporters made when they arrived in town:

I can't tell you how many people I saw on CNN before I saw in the *Post-Dispatch* who we'd covered for years, and the *Post* used to really have very poor sources in the black community. The *Post-Dispatch* really benefited from Ferguson because now they actually know the influential African-Americans in the community.

St. Louis American reporters assumed news consumers received the official police account from local television or from the *Post-Dispatch*, so they generally sourced their articles to tell stories from a different perspective.

4.4. Tone

Live broadcasters, as frontline activists, often struck an aggressive tone while narrating livestreams, but there was variation based on the individual behind the camera. At *The Riverfront Times*, individual reporters determined tone, although editors checked Ray Downs' more argumentative approach. *St. Louis American* reporters were quite restrained, skeptical but not incendiary. *St. Louis American* Web Editor Kenya Vaughn lives near Ferguson. She walked to protests without credentials and covered dozens of protests for daily online deadlines. She described her tone as trying to be the voice of reason despite how the police activity affected her:

I was driving home on Wednesday (August 13) because I have to drive through Ferguson to get anywhere I'm going to go. They had West Florissant blocked off, so I had to go through a back street, and I saw this girl holding a baby. It was her little sister. She said, "We can't get home. Police have our car blocked in.... We came to protest, now we're ready to go." So I asked, "Did you ask police to move the car? Would you like me to ask?"

So I said, "Excuse me, officer." They pointed their guns at my chest.... They never drew down. They said they were going to have to wait until the morning to move their car, so I gave them a ride home. So that was how I was introduced to what was going on, the relationship between the police and the protestors.... I tried to make sure that I didn't let that feeling permeate through my stories, that I didn't go too hard, anti-police.... I mean

if this is your first experience with unjust policing, then of course you're going to be angry. I mean, I've had 30 years to let it settle in.

Global media outlets were reporting issues the *St. Louis American* had covered for decades. Behind the scenes, Chris King was talking to police and protest organizers to keep violent elements out. Vaughn covered the “mundane” protests in straightforward tones. “My stories were more chill, more human because I felt like the core of what the protests were for, like they were getting lost in that, so my goal was that the people responsible for Ferguson unrest existing still had a voice.”

Bassem Masri is well known for being one the most radical, outspoken protestors. Of Palestinian descent, he lived for a time in Jerusalem. St. Louis now is his home. He was featured on national cable television outlets shouting at a police officer that he “spits on police” and speaking in heated language day in and day out at protests. During the protests, he reached a total of 1.5 million views. Masri said,

My tone was very angry, very passionate, you can say, you know a lot of conviction basically because it's not something fabricated. It's very genuine. That's why people are attracted to that stream. It's because I'm telling the truth, and I'm saying it in a way that can't be written down and pre-planned.

In his livestream broadcasts, Mustafa Hussein set a less incendiary, protest-positive tone. Protest organizers communicated directly with him to let him know beforehand when and where they would be staging demonstrations outside of Ferguson, and he would provide live coverage with an effort *not* to sensationalize. Hussein said,

I think one thing that we discovered really quickly is there's no such thing as true, unbiased coverage of anything, even without any narrative or any vocal prompting on the livestream from behind the camera, what you point your camera at dictates the tone. Two people can be livestreaming the same event. If your camera is pointed at police, the tone of your livestream is set by the ideal that you're looking to catch the police do something wrong. If your camera is pointed constantly at the protestors, then the tone of your livestream is we're going to catch them looting in this building, or we're going to catch them doing something wrong.

Hussein conflates tone and truth strategy because of the way livestreaming functions. Constant, live broadcasts carry implied tones for audiences, and livestreamers quickly learn how to manipulate that for effect. It is vernacular video countering the surveillance state with its own surveillance. Livestreamers have an in-group including thousands of Twitter, YouTube, and Ustream followers.

Reporters at *The Riverfront Times*, the only media source in this study that self identifies as an alternative newsweekly, described their tone as “vanilla, passionless” (Jessica Lussenhop), “not trying to shame officials” (Lindsay Toler), and “really resistant to trying to make points or trying to build to some kind of, you know, message” (Danny Wicentowski). Ray Downs’ tone was critical:

You know, I’ve always been interested in police militarization and police heavy-handedness in how they deal with certain things, and the fact that they brought out the MRAPs and SWAT teams and all of that on the first night before anything happened with the protestors was fascinating, so I kind of jumped on that angle and covered just the protests for the first couple of weeks.

However, as stated previously, Downs’ editors told him to tone down his articles. The attitude of *Riverfront Times* journalists was that the situation was as radical as it gets in St. Louis and that covering it without taking the police perspective essentially would prove to be hip enough. This attitude was not the same as jazzing up a restaurant review or posting a slideshow of a burlesque show. The event was both radical and reactionary. Covering it without taking police press releases to heart and without inciting riots was the primary goal.

4.5. Community Building

The journalists interviewed from *The Riverfront Times* stated that community building was not their intent. They made it clear their publication is not an advocacy paper. For the *St. Louis American*, community building is the mission, and the Ferguson protests provided an opportunity to demonstrate their ongoing efforts to build community by demanding positive attention and change. Protest violence, early rioting, and the police crackdown generated lasting images in the national psyche, but the real result of Ferguson might be changed municipal policing practices or the collapsing of several municipalities

into one dominated by suburban African-Americans. Toward that end and in support of local leaders, the paper did its job. Livestreamers were demonstrating new tools and techniques for online organization. The role Twitter played in the Arab Spring uprising has been well documented. Now such protests have a videotrack used to unite home viewers with activists and citizen protestors. The concern among livestreamers is that the federal government always is preparing to fight a mass uprising in many cities as though it were a civil war and that the militarization of police is not understood for what it is—a sort of second National Guard loosely organized in the hands of municipalities with varying levels of oversight and varying concepts of what “proper use of force” means. The community being built in Ferguson was one of hundreds, at times thousands, of local protestors with exponentially more people watching at home. That said, more people saw the sources the *St. Louis American* provided to the national media than any of the livestreams at the height of the protests.

4.6. Relationship to mainstream media

By pointing cameras at police, livestreamers argue they were bringing balance to coverage because mainstream outlets carried the official version of events while livestream viewers had a forced perspective: They had no choice but to see the protest through activist eyes.

Livestream broadcasters did see their video co-opted by mainstream news organizations in ways that brought the protestors’ point of view into viewers’ living rooms, although, according to the three livestream broadcasters interviewed for this study, their video often would appear without attribution and would be divorced from much of the context they were trying to provide. They were offering a counter-narrative filtered to suit the protestors’ purposes to countervail what they often saw as blind, “press release journalism” on the part of the local major metro daily, the cable networks, and some national newspapers.

Perhaps the most nuanced relationship was the one the *St. Louis American* had with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and parachute journalists from national newspapers and networks. Many national political reporters followed Chris King on Twitter as it became clear that Ferguson was a national story and that he had contacts in the city. King spoke of meeting for beers with reporters as they landed in town and of giving phone numbers and feeding leads to reporters because his mission was to get the *St. Louis American’s* stories out to a wider

audience, not to grow the paper or generate fame for himself. At the same time, he was competing with the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on how to frame issues and whom to interview, and the continued community-building work in St. Louis falls more squarely on the shoulders of the community advocacy paper than on anyone else studied here.

5. Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of the alternative press while covering the Darren Wilson-Michael Brown shooting and subsequent protests beginning August 9, 2014. The researchers conducted nine in-depth interviews with journalists from *The Riverfront Times*, the *St. Louis American*, and livestreaming broadcasters. In these interviews, researchers focused on six characteristics of the alternative press found in the literature: content or story selection, the use of objectivity, sourcing, tone, efforts at community building, and the relationship to mainstream media.

Each of the three types of media performed the radical role. One major component of the alternative press is to provide a voice to the otherwise voiceless (McMillian, 2011; Atton, 2002; Kessler, 1984; Armstrong, 1981). Livestreamers, some of whom considered themselves protestors rather than journalists, showed police action from protestors' point of view, providing a necessary counterpoint to the official narrative. Similarly, *St. Louis American* reporters generally sourced their articles from a non-official perspective because they assumed the mainstream press provided the official police account.

In such coverage, these news outlets also sought to monitor traditional media (Lewes, 2000) by providing a second source of news (McMillian, 2011; Armstrong, 1981). This coverage was part of both the radical and monitorial role. *The Riverfront Times* sought uncovered or under-covered stories, especially after the arrival of the national media. *St. Louis American* journalists, however, had a nuanced relationship with the mainstream press, readily sharing sources and ideas with the daily *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and national print and broadcast media. Chris King considers the *St. Louis American* a community paper, alternative to the mainstream but also to traditional alternative media, and he sought to extend his newspaper's message in any way possible.

Filing the gaps left by mainstream media also is part of the monitorial role of the alternative press (McMillian, 2011; Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Arm-

strong, 1981; McAuliffe, 1978). The monitorial role, or the search for and retransmission of certain kinds of news and information, is a key component of any normative definition of journalism (Christians et al., 2009). *Riverfront Times* journalists sought to balance coverage because mainstream media outlets carried the official version of events. In the *St. Louis American*, journalists emphasized positive news about the African-American community, which they described as being “under siege before everyone else noticed.”

In the facilitative role, media seek to promote dialog among readers through communication that engages them and in which they actively participate (Christians et al., 2009). Alternative press journalists were uneven in promoting that dialog, though not because of a lack of effort. Livestreamers primarily sourced to fellow protestors but occasionally received responses from police, generally following provocation. *Riverfront Times* reporters sought dialog and balance, but their stories typically were one sided because police departments strictly forbade officers from talking to the press. *St. Louis American* journalists were the most successful at fulfilling the facilitative role by relying on official, nonofficial, and community sources developed long before Ferguson became a national story.

Alternative media tend to be heavily community centered (McMillian, 2011; Christians et al., 2009; Armstrong, 1981) and seek collaboration between alternative journalists and their community, not collaboration with state and economic institutions. Community building is the stated intention of the *St. Louis American*; its reporters seek positive attention and change. To that end, editor Chris King spoke with police and protest organizers to keep violent elements out of Ferguson. For livestreamers, the community is global, so they demonstrated new tools and techniques for online organization. *Riverfront Times* journalists do not consider themselves an advocacy paper, so they attempted to stick to hard news instead of trying to build community.

Traditional normative theory focuses on the radical role of the alternative press, but this focus will not suffice as a means of describing these organizations and individuals in the so-called Digital Age. Alternative media can inhabit many roles. In this study, we show examples of alternative publications, websites, and activists serving radical, monitorial, collaborative, and facilitative roles, sometimes simultaneously. Technological advancements and the abandonment of radical roles by some of the more well-established alternative publications have

afford the opportunity for new actors to assume these roles and to act as a check on mainstream publications and broadcasters, but we cannot say with certainty whether or how the live streamers and web publishers will continue to operate. All we can add in terms of theory is the imperative that scholars must continue to monitor and describe the many normative roles these myriad rising publications and individual activists with dedication and data plans can fulfill.

Let us revisit the premise of this piece and offer a broader take on how this study relates to literature on monitory democracy (Keane, 2013). Keane (2013) explicates how institutions who monitor democratic society and its actions can serve “‘minoritarian’ democracy” (p. 85). What the researchers have shown in this study is some evidence that the nature of representation is changing in relation to technological affordances. It is one thing for a monitoring institution to print and distribute free papers offering a radical point of view to urban dwellers who are fed up with the American mainstream press. It is another to establish beachheads in online and mobile spaces for real-time livestreamed media commentary. The livestreamers share similarities with the institutional alternative press, but they extend the capabilities and functions to the individual. Keane (2013: 85–86) established the concept: “where the old rule of ‘one person, one vote, one representative’—the central demand in the struggle for representative democracy—is replaced with the new principle of monitory democracy: ‘one person, many interests, many voices, multiple votes, multiple representatives.’”

The individual livestreamer represent her or his views and those of dedicated audiences. Using their “second screens,” viewers could watch mainstream media on cable television and simultaneously hear the radical point of view online on their laptops or mobile devices. Not only could they see and hear a radical point of view, they had several choices, multiple cameras all coming from heads in the crowd of protestors. It is significant that technology affords those with radical voices a way to illustrate their experiences using live video, which, although it is not unassailable, is difficult to refute. Livestreaming can be an *individual act*. Livestreamers can have and be one of the many representatives Keane (2013) speaks of.

The three livestreaming protestor/broadcasters interviewed here had different relationships with protest organizers and viewed themselves with varying degrees of opposition to police forces. What unified them was a feeling they could serve deeper truths by livestreaming what they and other protesters were

doing and how they were treated by police throughout the days and nights of action. One livestreamer was attempting to start a media business. Another was more closely aligned with protest organizers and wanted to demonstrate the essential messages of protestors. The third might be classified as an independent radical taking his personal concerns about police profiling in St. Louis, where he lives, to the epicenter of the Ferguson protests. That the public *can* hear about these versions of the truth does not mean that they *will*, but this kind of monitoring is immediate, constant, and independent to the point that individuals can comment on mainstream agendas, affect them, and create new ones. Thus, this study bears witness to an important moment for minoritarian democracy as it arises through the establishment of monitory regimes. The new monitors build on norms established by existing monitorial institutions in the established alternative press and carry out many of the same functions, but they also represent a new capability, perhaps a responsibility, for individuals who challenge power.

One limitation of this study is that the researchers did not interview mainstream media professionals to analyze in what ways they applied professional norms in their coverage of Ferguson. We decided not to take this approach because it would have softened the focus of the work. While we do address relationships between media outlets here; they are dealt with from the alternative media point of view. This frame delimits our study and allows for a depth of analysis that would not otherwise be possible. Indeed, even within our limited scope, we found complex relationships between norms in organizations and between the norms organizations followed and those livestreamers were working to establish. The subject of alternative media coverage of socially contentious events deserves as much time and attention as we can spare given the importance of the alternative press, the potential of monitorial democracy and the dearth of theoretical work.

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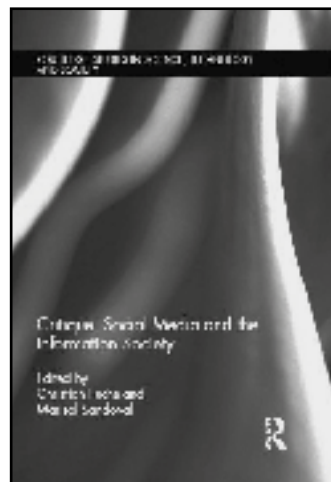
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Kritičke studije medija i informatičkog društva

Christian Fuchs & Marisol Sandoval (editors),
Critique, Social Media and the Information Society, Routledge, New York, 2014.

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Zbornik *Critique, Social Media and the Information Society* koji su uredili Kristijan Fuks (Christian Fuchs) i Marisol Sandoval (Marisol Sandoval) nastao je kao rezultat rada četvrte ICTs i društvene konferencije *Critique, Democracy and Philosophy in 21st Century Information Society: Towards Critical Theories of Social Media*, održane 2–4. maja 2012. godine na Univerzitetu u Upsali. Neka od centralnih pitanja koja su postavljena na konferenciji tiču se uloge kritičke teorije danas i mogućnosti analize savremenih medija iz ugla kritičke teorije, uloge informacija u savremenom društvu, značaja krize, kapitalizma, moći, borbe i demokratije i njihove veze sa digitalnim medijima.

U uvodnom tekstu zbornika, urednici Fuks i Sandoval ekspliciraju da je kritička analiza društvene dimenzije medija, odnosno promišljanje uticaja medija i informacija na način na koji funkcioniše ekonomija i, šire gledano, društvo, ono što povezuje tekstove koji su odabrani da uđu u zbornik u jednu cjelinu. Dijalog se u ovom zborniku vodi u vezi sa tim kako kritički pristupiti ideji informatičkog društva, odnosno da li uopšte savremeno društvo treba nazvati informatičkim. Uprkos nesumnjivom značaju koji mediji i informacione tehnologije imaju za društvo, insistiranjem samo na toj dimenziji društva

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u stvari se podržava dominantni neoliberalni diskurs i zanemaruju drugi segmenti. Savremeno društvo, naime, nije samo informaciono-kapitalističko, već je i finansijski-kapitalističko, hiperindustrijski-kapitalističko, društvo „krize“ itd. Prenoseći Adornovu dijalektičku analizu industrijskog društva na savremeno informatičko društvo, autori zaključuju da je odgovor na fundamentalno pitanje o strukturi savremenog društva, tj. o alternativni kapitalizam ili informatičko društvo, u stvari dijalektički. Savremeno društvo je informatičko društvo na nivou proizvodnih snaga kojima se koristi, a to su znanje i informacione tehnologije. Međutim, ono je i dalje kapitalistički uređeno kada je reč o proizvodnim odnosima kao što je to bilo i u Marksovo (Marx) doba.

Odatle upravo proizilazi i druga nit koja povezuje tekstove u ovom zborniku, a to je pitanje današnjeg uticaja i značaja Marksove teorije i marksizma za razumijevanje društva, medija i politike. Savremeni mediji predstavljaju zanimljiv predmet analize stoga što, iako zavise od kapitalističkih proizvodnih odnosa, ujedno imaju i određeni potencijal da razviju odnose proizvodnje i svojinske odnose drugačije od kapitalističkih. S tim u vezi jeste i akcenat na analizi onih medija koji se najčešće nazivaju „društvenim“ medijima, uključujući blog, društvene mreže i sajtove za razmjenu podataka. Ovim medijima se u zborniku pristupa sa kritičke distance, budući da se u vezi s njima prije svega otvaraju pitanja u vezi sa problemima prekarijata, nejednakosti i eksploatacije, što je u suprotnosti sa dominantnim diskursom u kojem su savremeni mediji gotovo isključivo prikazani kao inkluzivni, kreativni i demokratski.

Zbornik je podijeljen u tri cjeline: kritičke studije informatičkog društva, kritičke studije interneta i društvenih medija i kritičke studije rada u okviru medija i informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija. Prvu cjelinu otvara tekst jednog od urednika zbornika Kristijana Fuksa, u kojem autor razvija marksističku analizu interneta i savremenih medija, zasnivajući je na klasičnom marksističkom pojmu rada. Savremeni mediji i informatičke tehnologije zavise od najgrubljih i najsuptilnijih vidova eksploatacije radnika i radnica širom svijeta. Fuks analizira sve nivoe proizvodnje informatičkih tehnologija i medija, od pribavljanja osnovnih sirovina u rudnicima Afrike, preko proizvodnje aparata u podjednako nehumanim uslovima u fabrikama u Aziji, sve do onog najsuptilnijeg nivoa eksploatacije u vidu neplaćenog intelektualnog i kreativnog rada koji svakodnevno obavljamo na društvenim mrežama. Ali se Fuks ne zadržava samo na kritici kapitalističkog informatičkog društva, već daje primjere *Vikipedije* i

pokreta *Occupy*, kao pozitivnih (iako ne idealnih primjera prakse), kojima se pokazuje da internet ima potencijal da funkcioniše tako da mijenja uvrežene proizvodne i svojinske odnose, tako da se oni više ne zasnivaju na logici kapitala. I u narednom tekstu u ovoj cjelini zbornika Hofkirchner (Hofkirchner) takođe problematizuje mogućnosti informatičkih i komunikacionih tehnologija da budu od koristi u unapređenju društva na najširem globalnom nivou, te da budu efikasna sredstva u borbi različitih oslobodilačkih pokreta, poput pokreta *Occupy*, usmjerenog protiv globalnog krupnog kapitala. Hofkirchner postavlja pitanje kako formirati globalno održivo informatičko društvo (*Global Sustainable Information Society – GSIS*), koje predstavlja društvo u kojem se informacije koriste kao osnova za održivi razvoj na globalnom nivou.

Tema teksta koji slijedi je značaj kritičkih studija savremenog informatičkog kapitalizma i djelo je šest mladih autora i autorki, kako se oni sami određuju. Iz ugla mlade generacije, tzv. „generacije Y“ ili „milenijalsa“, oni se vraćaju osnovama marksizma, ukazujući na to kako kapitalizam ujedno zadržava tradicionalne forme eksploatacije, ali i pronalazi nove načine da valorizuje znanje i informacije. Osim pojmom eksploatacije, oni se koriste i Marksovim konceptom akumulacije kapitala, kako bi objasnili podvojenost društva na one koji imaju i one koji nemaju, kao i podvojenost uloge informatičkih i komunikacionih tehnologija u društvu. Jedan od primjera koji navode jeste institucionalna podrška zaštiti intelektualne svojine naspram mogućnosti izgradnje kolektivnih izvora znanja i otvorene kulture zasnovane na dijeljenju. Autori i autorke ovog teksta čine još jedan kritički i politički iskorak analizirajući sopstveni prekarni i nesigurni položaj na akademiji, a navode i primjere studentskih pobuna, čime se ovaj kolektivni rad ističe na još jedan način u odnosu na ostale tekstove u zborniku. U posljednjem tekstu u ovoj cjelini zbornika, autorka Bredli (Bradley) analizira materijalnu osnovu proizvodnje u sektoru informatičkih i komunikacionih tehnologija. Ona ispituje uslove rada, radnu organizaciju, principe i politike vezane za isplatu nadnice, radne sate i sl. Koncept digitalnog rada je, kako ova autorka smatra, veoma širok i stoga mu treba pristupiti interdisciplinarno, saradnjom između sociologije, socijalne psihologije, političkih nauka, informatike, nacionalnih i globalne ekonomije i drugih disciplina.

Drugi, centralni dio zbornika, koji je posvećen kritičkim studijama interneta i društvenih medija, najobimniji je i čine ga tekstovi sedam autora i autorki. U tekstu koji otvara ovu cjelinu, Finberg (Feenberg) koristi pristup koji naziva

kritičkim konstruktivizmom, zasnovanim na marksističkoj kritici, a koji preuzima iz studije *(Re)Inventing the Internet*, čiji je kourednik sa Tedom Hamiltonom (Ted Hamilton). Kada piše o informatičkom kapitalizmu, autor preuzima ideje o dva moguća modela borbe, koja je zastupao i Markuze (Marcuse), prvi tokom šezdesetih godina, a drugi u sljedećoj deceniji, sedamdesetih. Na dilemu između, s jedne strane, radikalne promjene sistema i, s druge strane, strategija stalne institucionalne borbe, a u slučaju interneta i komunikacijskih tehnologija, Finberg odgovara tako što ukazuje da je, uprkos svim razočaranjima u radikalne i revolucionarne ideje, kritika i dalje nužna, kao i ukazivanje na nove mogućnosti djelanja koje bi vodile u smjeru racionalnog i održivog sistema.

Merdokov (Murdock) esej je posebno zanimljiv, jer prikazuje kako se dijahronijski razvijala kultura komodifikacije (*commodity culture*), od perioda novina, preko filma, televizije, sve do interneta. U narednom tekstu urednice zbornika Sandoval, propituje se „nedruštvenost“ društvenih medija, odnosno kritički se pristupa kvalitetima poput dijeljenja, saučestvovanja i participacije, koji su najčešće u vezi sa ovim medijima, i to posredstvom analize proizvodnih odnosa koji određuju način na koji funkcioniše medijska produkcija, distribucija i, konačno, „konzumacija“ medija. Značaj ovog teksta je i u tome što autorka analizira prakse najvećih informacionih i komunikacionih korporacija – kompanija *Apple*, *Google*, *New Corporation*, *Microsoft* i *HP*, da bi pokazala kako „društveni“ mediji ne postoje zarad povećanja društvenosti i solidarnosti, već zbog održanja i povećanja profita globalnog kapitala.

Naspram ovih korporacija, tj. „digitalnog fronta“, stoji „globalni radnik“, kako savremene „gospodara i roba“ naziva Dajer-Vajtford (Dyer-Witheyford). Globalnog radnika/icu karakteriše to što je transnacionalan/a i ujedno mobilan/a migrant/kinja unutar i van granica, prekaran/a, „feminizovan“ jer žene trpe dvostruku eksploataciju radeći za nadnicu, ali i neplaćeni kućni rad i, konačno, povezan je sa dvije milijarde internet računara i šest milijardi mobilnih telefona. Takav položaj digitalnog radnika/ice dovodi do povratka problema alijenacije, o čemu i u sljedećem tekstu u zborniku piše Andrejević. Iako je pojam alijenacije višestruko kritikovan, Andrejević pokazuje da njega ima smisla koristiti u svijetu u kojem naš rad dovodi do generisanja podataka koje drugi mogu sakupljati, uređivati i analizirati kako bi osmislili nove načine da nas što efikasnije obmanjuju i da nam omoguće ili onemoguće pristup zaposlenju ili obrazovanju, zdravstvenoj zaštiti i drugim oblicima socijalne zaštite i blagostanja.

Posljednja dva teksta u ovoj cjelini zbornika, autora Dalgrena (Dahlgren) i Olsona (Olsson), bave se demokratskim uređenjem i problemima političke participacije u informatičkom kapitalizmu. Dalgren pravi razliku između participacije *u* medijima i participacije *posredstvom* medija, kako bi objasnio da su mediji značajni za političku participaciju onih koji politički djeluju i van medija, poput aktivista i aktivistkinja, dok za većinu „društveni“ mediji ne predstavljaju direktno političko učestvovanje, već privatne razmjene sa istomišljenicima. Sljedeći tekst se, s jedne strane, može čitati i kao svojevrsan zaključak i sumiranje stavova izrečenih u prethodnim tekstovima. S druge strane, aAutor kombinovanjem teorijskog promišljanja i analize konkretnih primjera pokazuje kako mediji u zavisnosti od konteksta mijenjaju i svoje viđenje onoga što se naziva arhitekturom participacije (*architecture of participation*), čime se i zaključuje ova cjelina zbornika.

Tri teksta čine treći i posljednji dio zbornika, čija su tema kritičke studije rada u okviru medija i informacionih i komunikacionih tehnologija. Autorka Makerčer (McKercher) u zbornik uvodi feminističku perspektivu, pišući o frilenserskom (*freelance*) novinarstvu u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama i Kanadi. Iako je „frilens novinarstvo“ isprva moglo biti idealizovano kao zaista slobodno i nezavisno, prekarni radnici i posebno radnice suočavaju se sa višestrukim pritiscima i ekonomskim problemima u pokušaju da žive od svog rada i da taj rad naplate. Autorka Melin takođe se koristi feminističkom teorijom kako bi na primjerima iskustava novinara i novinarki koji odlučuju da izađu iz hijerarhizovanog i seksitičkog prostora novinskih redakcija, a u želji da poboljšaju uslove rada, pokazala njihov položaj. Ona analizira mane prekarnog rada, ali i prednosti i mogućnosti kreativnih rješenja problema sa kojima se posebno suočavaju novinarke. Treći i zaključni tekst u ovom poglavlju zbornika, autora Moska (Mosco), vraća se na teorijske rasprave iz prve dvije cjeline zbornika, te se fokusira na „povratak Marksa“, odnosno na kritički pristup radu, medijima i komunikaciji, zaokružujući na taj način zbornik u dobro povezanu cjelinu.

Kvalitet ovog zbornika je prije svega u tome što kritički pristupa savremenim medijima, kombinujući teorijski marksistički pristup sa analizom prakse radnica i radnika na svim nivoima, od tehnološke proizvodnje, preko uredničkih redakcija, do ličnih računara. Tri poglavlja zbornika se međusobno dopunjuju i povezani su u logičnu celinu, uprkos tome što svaki autor i autorka

samostalno doprinose osvjetljavanju ponekad i sličnih pitanja. Ipak, uprkos potencijalu koji ima ovakav pristup medijima, postavlja se pitanje zbog čega je on ograničen samo na tradicionalne marksističke pojmove poput alijenacije ili na višestruko problematizovane pojmove poput klase prekarijata. Zato se ovaj zbornik može čitati kao dobra osnova za marksistički pristup medijima i informacionim i komunikacionim tehnologijama, ali ju je nužno u sljedećem periodu i proširiti uzimanjem u obzir savremenijih marksističkih pojmova i teorijskih praksi. Moto toga mogao bi biti ne „povratak Marksa“, već „napred ka Marksu“.

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Primer: (Weber, 1989: 59); (Veber, 2011)

Prikupiti pune bibliografske podatke izvora iz kog su preuzete informacije, uključujući i brojeve relevantnih stranica. Na kraju teksta treba priložiti spisak literature koja je navođena u tekstu. Spisak literature se organizuje abecednim

redom po prezimenu autora. Kada delo nema autora, navodi se naslov dela i sortira u listi ili bibliografiji prema prvoj reči u naslovu, sa uvlačenjem drugog i narednih redova reference (Word: Format/ paragraf/indentation/ special: hanging), na način kako je to prikazano u primerima, kako bi se naglasio abecedni red. Kada je u pitanju delo više autora, u slučajevima sa dva do pet autora dela, navode se prezimena i inicijali svih, dok se u slučaju šest i više autora navodi prezime i inicijali prvog i skraćena, „i sar.“ ili „et al.“. Kada se isti autor navodi više puta, poštuje se redosled godina u kojima su radovi publikovani. Ukoliko se navodi veći broj radova istog autora publikovanih u istoj godini, radovi treba da budu označeni slovima uz godinu izdanja npr. 1999a, 1999b... Navođenje neobjavljenih radova nije poželjno, a ukoliko je neophodno treba navesti što potpunije podatke o izvoru.

Ako je u pitanju knjiga, bibliografski podaci treba da sadrže:

Prezime, inicijale imena autora/urednika. (godinu izdanja). *Naslov dela*.
Mesto izdavanja: Izdavač.

Primeri:

Bausch, P, Haughey M. & Hourihan M. (2004). *We Blog: Publishing Online with Weblogs*. NY: L&A Associates.

Conway F. & Siegelman J. (2005). *Dark Hero of the Information Age*. New York: Perseus Group.

Guerin, W. L. et al. (2005). *A Handbook of Critical Approaches to Literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Luman, N. (2001a). *Društveni sistemi: Osnovi opšte teorije*. Novi Sad: Izdavačka knjižarnica Zorana Stojanovića.

Luhmann, N. (2001b). *Znanost društva*. Zagreb: Politička kultura.

Poglavlje u zborniku navodi se na sledeći način:

Luhman, N. (1986). The autopoiesis of social systems. In F. Geyer & J. Van.d. Teuwen (eds.), *Sociocybernetic paradoxes: Observation, control and evolution of self-steering systems* (pp. 172–192). London: Sage.

Milojević, A., Ugrinić, A. (2011). Spremnost novinarske zajednice u Srbiji za tehnološke promene. U R. Veljanovski (ur.), *Verodostojnost medija, dometi medijske tranzicije* (str. 133–152). Beograd: Fakultet političkih nauka.

Ako je u pitanju članak u časopisu, neophodno je navesti sledeće podatke:

Prezime, inicijale autora članka. (godinu izdanja). Naslov članka. *Naslov časopisa*, broj izdanja/volumena: brojevi strana.

Primer:

Luhmann, N. (1992). Autopoiesis: What is Communication? *Communication Theory*, 2(3): 251–259.

Web dokument. Za sve informacije sa **elektronskih medija** pored gore navedenih podataka treba navesti datum pristupanja informacijama, ime baze podataka ili tačnu web adresu (URL):

Prezime, inicijali imena autora (godina). *Naziv dokumenta* (kurzivom). Datum kada je sajt posećen, internet adresa sajta.

Primeri:

Degelman, D. (2000). *APA Style Essentials*. Posećeno 18. 5. 2000. URL: <http://www.vanguard.edu/psychology/apa.pdf>.

Sopensky, E. (2002). Ice rink becomes hot business. *Austin Business Journal*. Posećeno 16. 10. 2002. URL: <http://www.bizjournals.com/austin/stories/2002/10/14/smallb1.html>.

Uz *e-knjige* kojima se pristupa preko specijalizovanih čitača potrebno je navesti digitalni broj (doi) ili sajt sa koga je knjiga preuzeta:

Prezime, inicijali imena autora (godina). *Naziv knjige*. URL: <http://www.aaaa>.

Prezime, inicijali imena autora (godina). *Naziv knjige*. doi:aaaa.

Za sve nedoumice u vezi sa navođenjem literature konsultovati <http://www.apastyle.org>.

OSTALI ELEMENTI TEHNIČKOG UREĐENJA RADA

Slike i tabele. Slike (crteži, grafikoni, sheme) i tabele se moraju se pripremiti u elektronskom obliku. Svaka ilustracija i tabela mora biti razumljiva i bez čitanja teksta, odnosno, mora imati

redni broj, naslov i legendu (objašnjenja oznaka, šifara i skraćenica).

Statistički podaci. Rezultati statističkih testova treba da budu dati na sledeći način: $F=25.35$, $df=1,9$, $p < .001$ ili $F(1,9)=25,35$, $p < .001$ i slično za druge testove. Za uobičajene statističke pokazatelje ne treba navoditi formule i reference.

Fusnote i skraćenice. Fusnote treba koristiti samo za propratne komentare. Skraćenice, takođe, treba izbegavati osim izuzetno poznatih.

