

#Journalism:
Twitter's impact on
21st century journalism practice

Kelly Fincham, MA (Research)
Thesis submitted for the award of PhD

School of Communications
Dublin City University

Supervisor:
Prof. Jane Suiter

January, 2023

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of PhD is entirely my own work, and that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge breach any law of copyright, and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: 

ID: 52149463

Date: 31 Dec, 2022

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I am beyond grateful to my supervisor Professor Jane Suiter for her continuous advice and support, not to mention patience, during my research and study. Professor Suiter's knowledge and experience has been hugely helpful during all stages of this journey, and I will be forever indebted.

Thank you also to Dr Declan Fahy at the transfer stage for his generous feedback and suggestions and to Dr Dawn Wheatley; Dr Eugenia Siapera and Dr Eileen Culloty for their wise counsel throughout.

I'd also like to thank Dr Krishnan Pillaipakkamnatt, Dr Susan Keith, Dr Leslie-Jean Thornton, Dr Jacob Nelson, Dr Andrew Ó Baoill and Dr John Singleton for answering any number of questions from me about data collection; theory and methods in any time zone and special thanks to fellow long-time DCU student Tony Flynn for always coming up with an Excel hack.

Finally, I wouldn't have had a chance of keeping this show on the road without the help of my partner Sean McPhail who has managed multiple house moves across New York and ultimately back across the Atlantic during the lifespan of this project.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents John and Irene Fincham and my cousin Hazel Somers.

ABSTRACT

#Journalism:

Twitter's impact on 21st century journalism practice

Kelly Fincham, DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY

This thesis explores the impact of the hybrid media system on journalism practice in the West. To do this I use a conceptual framework which discusses the normalisation hypothesis in the context of the hybrid media system and considers both homophily and institutional logics in an analysis of journalism-audience interactions on the social media platform Twitter. The study explores the question of normalisation through a quantitative analysis of political journalists' Twitter interactions and two qualitative textual analyses of social media policies from mainstream news organisations in the US, UK, Ireland, and Canada. This thesis finds that homophily influences journalists' interactions as they largely use Twitter to focus on each other, a type of practice that typifies "pack journalism" and is known to contribute to groupthink. News organizations are seen to reinforce traditional ideas of professional practice in their guidance which conceptualise the audience as passive, albeit potentially hostile, consumers rather than participants or collaborators and that while they neglect the potential for contributions from their news audiences they also lay down very prescriptive ideas about their employees can and cannot do on social media. These findings suggest that both practitioners and organizations are not only neglecting historic opportunities to create a renewed relationship with their audiences, but that they are also failing to develop proficiency in a system where power resides not just with those who held power in the older media system but also with those who best understand how to work with information in the newer system (Chadwick, 2017). The findings inform the concluding discussion which argues that journalism education needs to consider a hybrid curriculum rooted in academic research and industry practice to better prepare students for a media world of the future.

Table of Contents

1. OVERVIEW	1
2. INTRODUCTION	11
3. MAPPING THE TERRITORY/ THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	21
Hybrid media system	23
Normalisation hypothesis	25
Homophily	31
Institutional logics.....	34
Journalism education	42
4. DATA AND METHODS.....	45
Data	46
Methods.....	56
5. OVERVIEW OF WORKS	65
THE FIRST SUBMITTED WORK	68
Exploring political journalism homophily on Twitter: A comparative analysis of US and UK elections in 2016 and 2017. <i>Media and Communication</i> , 7(1), 213-224 (2019)	68
THE SECOND SUBMITTED WORK	74
Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences <i>Journalism Practice</i> , 2021 - Taylor & Francis.....	74
THE THIRD SUBMITTED WORK.....	76
Potential and pitfalls on Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists. In G. Gumpert, S. Drucker, <i>Social Media Laws and Ethics</i> Vol II. New York, Peter Lang. Forthcoming.	76

6. CONTRIBUTIONS	79
7. CONCLUSIONS.....	89
Future research questions.....	109
Limitations.....	111
8: FULL TEXTS OF SUBMITTED WORKS	114
Exploring Political Journalism Homophily on Twitter: A Comparative Analysis of US and UK Elections in 2016 and 2017	117
Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences	150
News organisations and Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists.....	184
9: REFERENCES & DATA.....	229
SOCIAL MEDIA POLICIES	229
REFERENCES	231
CODE BOOK.....	268

Tables listed for commentary only

Table 1: US and UK news outlets in 2019 study	51
Table 2: News outlets in 2020 study	54
Table 3: News outlets in 2022 study	55
Table 4: Submitted papers.....	114

Figure listed for commentary only

Figure 1: Prominence of journalist-to-journalist interactions	72
---	----

1. OVERVIEW

This thesis explores the way in which journalists and news organisations consider their news audiences amid the plethora of possibilities which have been facilitated by the rise of the hybrid media system and the implications for journalism education which is challenged anew by the demands of this new media environment. To do this I have created three detailed studies which enquire into the practice of journalism at a practitioner and organisational level in a hybrid media system, the expectations within the news industry around journalist activity on these platforms, and then discuss journalism education in light of these findings.

One of the core theoretical ideas in this thesis is the ongoing process of normalisation as journalism's offline structures and power relationships continue to evolve in a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017). Journalists' relationships have historically played a crucial role in which stories are covered in the news and normative expectations around hybrid media suggested that new social and digital media technologies could potentially facilitate the emergence of a range of new and diverse sources, and in doing so, incorporating formally passive audiences into the realm of online journalism, and enabling journalists to directly engage with their audiences, transforming traditionally detached journalism into a reciprocal and participatory practice. (Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Lee, 2020; Lewis, Holton, & Coddington, 2014; Robinson, 2011). The hybrid media system, with its blending of older and newer media logics created expectations around new terms of engagement between journalists and the people formerly known as the audience (Rosen, 2006) and while the normalisation hypothesis was raised early by Singer (2005) the

scholarship into journalists' interaction patterns did not discuss the issues much beyond reporting that "media actors overwhelmingly pay attention to other media actors on Twitter" despite evidence that such co-orientation was closely linked to homogenous news coverage and pack journalism in the mass media era (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019, p.26). At the same time, there was an emerging seam of scholarship into news organisation ideologies and priorities around their journalists' activity on social media yet little attention was paid to how the news organisations viewed their news audiences in a hybrid media system or indeed how they viewed any journalist-audience relationships. It became apparent that there was a gap in the literature around the specificity of journalism's interactions with their audience at both the level of groups of journalists (meso) and news organisations (macro); and that the hybrid media system would exacerbate the traditional tensions between critical analysis and instrumental instruction within journalism education as educators attempted to navigate the changing nature of journalism.

The research in this study offers an analysis of journalists' online relationships and newsroom priorities and draws on sociological, organisational and media theory to investigate how and why journalists operate as they do in relation to their news audience and the dominant logics within news organizations concerning their journalists' interactions on social media. To do this I use a conceptual framework which discusses the normalisation hypothesis (Margolis & Resnick, 2000), a model which retains enduring explanatory value (Chen, 2015) for understanding the potential impact of new technologies on journalism practice, and considers this in the context of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) through the two concepts of homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954) and institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) to allow for a thorough exploration of the processes of

normalisation within groups of journalists and news organisations. This line of research contributes to the body of work that examines how professional values and organizational inertia can work together to "normalize" new technologies, an area of study that was first explored by Singer in 2005 with her seminal investigation of the then-emerging practice of j-blogging (Singer, 2005). Singer's work was itself a modification of the "normalisation hypothesis", that was first introduced by Margolis and Resnick in 2000 when they looked at normalisation or equalisation in relation to political responses to the then new media.

Homophily provides an explanatory model into providing insight into the relationships that occur on social media networks and while the emergence of the hybrid media system did attract some scholarly attention around homophily (see Colleoni, Rozza & Arvidsson, 2014) it remained curiously neglected despite pronounced concerns about the prevalence of echo chambers and filter bubbles among general users online (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019). The results of this thesis indicate that political journalists are creating their own filter bubbles on social media by restricting interactions to those who are most similar to themselves, rather than using Twitter to engage in conversations with a diverse group of people. This phenomenon of "homophily" within political journalism, as observed in their interactions on Twitter, warrants further scrutiny, particularly in light of concerns about the potential for social media bubbles to impact citizens. Despite the significant attention that has been paid to individual voters' filter bubbles on social media, the issue of homophily within political journalism may be even more worthy of examination given the well-documented links between homophily and perception bias. Institutional logics, used in organisational theory, are helpful in journalism studies as they switch the focus from individual journalists to organisational responses and concerns in regards to their news audience by exploring the factors that shape such responses. The implications for

journalism education are explored through a discussion on best practice which is informed by the findings from all three studies. It is important to note that in discussing the news audience in this thesis I follow scholars such as Nelson (2021) by defining the “audience” as the established readership or viewership/listenership for news organisations, rather than the broader community that the news organisation may endeavour to serve.

The question of normalisation in journalism practice is considered somewhat settled (Broersma & Eldridge, 2019; Banjac & Hanusch, 2022), but the increasing dominance of social media journalism has re-opened questions in this area as researchers continue to explore the impact of these newer technologies on journalism practice (Degen & Olgemöller, 2021; Willnat & Weaver, 2018). This thesis is an effort to take a more detailed look at the specific routines which are being transferred from the legacy media system of newspapers, radio and TV to a hybridised legacy, digital and social media system and in doing so take a step back from the ongoing focus on change or “change paradigm” to explore the stasis that persists despite the upheaval within journalism (Peters & Carlson, 2019, p. 639). This thesis recognises that journalists’ work to maintain boundaries will play a role in such stasis as these boundaries confer very real benefits such as access to legal rights and access to sources of news, audiences and funding (Carlson, 2015; Scott, Bunce & Wright, 2019) with the result that journalists are partially dependent on these boundaries and associated norms as a way to secure their professional legitimisation (Deuze, 2005; Maares, Lind & Greussing, 2021, p. 202; Waisbord, 2013).

Like much of the infrastructure which underpins journalism, these boundaries have traditionally been concealed but the public nature of the social media platforms means that the struggle over who can lay claim to being a journalist has propelled many of these

tensions into public view, particularly the tensions around audience participation, as such collaborations could pose a significant challenge to the way in which journalism legitimates its role as society's authoritative storyteller (Banjac & Hanusch, 2022; Carlson & Lewis, 2015). Combining this theoretical discussion around the individual propensity for homophily with an understanding of current institutional logics offers an opportunity for journalism researchers exploring the "socio-technical" turn (Lewis & Westlund, 2015) to more fully consider factors in the "static elements of journalism that get taken for granted" (Peters & Carlson, 2019, p. 639) and help reveal influential ideologies within the industry itself.

While much existing research pointed to audience interactions as a normative good if not a normative goal for news organisations (see Nelson, 2019, for a detailed discussion on this), the second and third papers show that newsrooms did not prioritise such interactions and instead conceptualised social media as more a tool for marketing than journalism. The rise in malicious activity or "dark participation" (Quandt, 2018) in online fora is an obvious deterrent to online participation, not to mention the work that journalists do to maintain boundaries against non-journalists (Schmidt & Lawrence, 2022). Even so there is little guidance available that journalists can use to protect themselves online. All of which creates quite major challenges for journalism educators given the scale and pace of the hybrid media system. Moreover, as social media have become increasingly intertwined with the publishing, distribution and monetisation of news, news organisations must negotiate competing institutional logics between news (professional logic) and social media (commercial logic) because the public platforms are outside the newsroom and thus outside the news organisation's control.

The early debates concerning the classification of bloggers as journalists and the definition of "journalism" set the groundwork for the initial tensions surrounding the significant challenges posed by social media to the boundaries and professional principles of journalism (Lewis, 2012; Maares & Hanusch, 2020). Since then, similar tensions have developed within the news organisations as their desire to attract the audiences on third-party social media platforms is tempered by their fear of ceding control to those same spaces and is highlighted in social media policies which consistently request that news not be broken on external platforms (Ananny, 2018; Carlson & Lewis, 2015). The shake-ups within the news industry over the past 10 years have been so disruptive and far-reaching that educators who may have left the newsroom even recently face major challenges given that they first need to understand and theorise industry practices before they can formulate best-practises (Cervi, Simelio, & Tejedor Calvo, 2021; Kirchhoff, 2022). Educators are seen as struggling to keep up (Hepworth, Mensing & Yun, 2018), as the changes wrought by digitalisation and social media technology, particularly the transformation from a one-to-many mass media product to a many-to-many networked model, continue to impact the news industry, creating a more complex and more tenuous news work environment (Kirchhoff, 2022). Alongside of course the need to develop the critical thinking skills that they need in order to be effective journalists (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009; Wenger, Owens & Cain, 2018) this thesis unpacks current journalism practice in an effort to understand 21st century journalism and help guide journalism pedagogy.

This is an important contribution to the literature as it is a mixed methods study, using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The first published study contributes methodological innovation through the manual collation of data for the Twitter journalists' accounts in the comparative study as most datasets at the time pulled from automated

American feeds such as names on the US White House correspondent list or the Congressional Reporters' list which often include accounts that are no longer functional or refer to people who are more celebrities rather than reporters. For this study I initially built a list of accounts using information from the UK Press Lobby and then looked for comparable equals in the US. While the UK/US is still over-represented, the manual aspect of this study is unique. The method in the first paper is also unique in that I developed a model for measuring sustained interactions to better concentrate on the interaction partners. I did this by querying the data for the median number of times unique users featured in either a retweet or a reply in order to exclude any single retweets or replies. The query returned a median of 1 for retweets and replies for both countries' data which showed that at least half the users were of weak or limited value. This early finding supported the decision to focus only on the most prevalent users and to do so, this article adopted Meraz's "power law" (2009) which holds that the top 10 to 20 percent of users will attract the majority of attention, to identify the most-frequently-mentioned users. The first published study addresses a significant gap in the literature as there are very few journalism studies which specifically address homophily in relation to normalisation despite the known connection between homophily and homogeneous news coverage and insular reporting practises in the former mass media era. The second published paper contributes methodological innovation through the use of a content analysis approach which is the first published study to use social media guidelines as a research tool to explore news organisations' ideologies in relation to their news audiences. The third published study also adds to the literature as there are very few studies which interrogate news organisation concerns around their journalists' interactions or the prevailing organisational ideologies in relation to social media.

This thesis first explores journalist-audience interactions on Twitter to see if political journalists use the interaction-based affordances of social media platforms in relation to their audiences, defined here as their viewers, listeners, and readers for purposes of normalisation (the definition of which I will discuss in more detail in Section 3 below) or innovation. I then analyse these interactions to test for homophily, which relates to the tendency for people to seek out or be attracted to those who are similar to themselves and is discussed in more detail below. Analysing homophily, or the tendency for individuals to associate with others who have similar social attributes, can aid in the understanding of journalism practice on social media. This type of analysis can provide valuable insight into the ways in which journalists engage with their audience on social media platforms and can help to shed light on the dominant logic within news organizations concerning these interactions. Homophily is an understudied aspect of the hybrid media system despite the well-documented issue of “pack journalism” among political reporters in the legacy media which is connected to homophily, consensus and groupthink and there is little in the literature which makes similar connections between homophily and normalisation (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019; Matusitz & Breen, 2012).

I then use the institutional logics perspective (ILP) to examine the news organisations’ social media policies in an effort to determine if news organisations view journalist-audience interactions through a normalisation or innovation lens and thus consider whether there are organisational factors to consider in relation to the journalism-audience interactions. To the best of my knowledge this is the first study that has specifically analysed social media policies for evidence of normalisation and it draws on earlier work from Singer (2005) and Robinson (2006), who both observed that nascent online policies around blogging and comment sections “normalised the implementation of

new technologies and promote traditional conditions to buoy journalistic authority” and that traditional routines would inform the policies even in the presence of transformational technologies (Robinson, 2006).

The third paper looks at news organisations from an education perspective and finds that brand reputation is the most pressing concern for news media, a far cry from those earlier “don’t be stupid” declarations. To conclude, this thesis contributes to the research and knowledge around the continuing impacts of these new media technologies from a practitioner, organisational and pedagogical perspective by exploring the ways in which journalists and news organisations are continuing to “normalise” social media by adapting it to fit their existing practice rather than changing current practice and taking into account the implications for journalism education.

Overall, the findings show normalisation is the most prevalent trend in journalism; that journalists use the interaction-based affordances of social media, specifically Twitter in this case, to create insular in-groups online, rather than to make connections with their news audiences; that traditional routines continue to inform news organisation policy in relation to their news audiences, and that news organisations overwhelmingly view social media as a vehicle for their brand reputation rather than a way to carry out new forms of journalism. These findings indicate that the potential of social media to connect journalism to its news audience has so far been missed and suggest that educators employ careful negotiation around pedagogical praxis to help new and student journalists learn how to navigate the hybrid media system in a way that demonstrates that they (students) can move beyond the lexical meanings of what it means to be a journalist, to a more nuanced position

where they can develop a more critical perspective on the complex and challenging nature of the profession.

Taken together these three single-authored works make a contribution to our understanding of current journalism practice and news organisation priorities in Western democracies and form an integrated attempt to understand the impact of the hybrid media system on 21st century journalism practice, while also creating space for discussions for educators grappling with the same challenges in the classrooms. The following commentary strives to integrate the three papers into the overall inquiry which is aimed to synthesise our overall understanding of the impact of the hybrid media system on journalism practice.

2. INTRODUCTION

Journalism in the Western media system is currently experiencing a period of major institutional disruption laying the groundwork for what McChesney (2007) termed a “critical juncture” (McChesney, 2007). A critical juncture, as defined by McChesney, is a point in time at which a society must make a significant decision or confront a significant event that has the potential to impact its future trajectory. In the context of media, a critical juncture could be the introduction of a new technology, or the passage of legislation that influences the regulation of media. These junctures can have far-reaching and profound effects on the manner in which media is created, distributed, and consumed, ultimately shaping the broader culture and political environment of a society. Research on the disruption caused by these technological advances is crucial as it investigates whether the communications technology revolution will truly be transformative or simply reinforce traditional norms and routines within journalism practice (Chadwick, 2017; McChesney; 2007; Peters & Broersma, 2019).

The new digital and social media technologies have caused a fundamental shift in the way that news is disseminated and consumed through the emergence of social media platforms, like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat, platforms that have not only changed the dissemination of news in the early part of the 21st century (Bossio, 2017) but also created great expectations about their role in facilitating conversations between journalists and their news audiences in ways that were previously unavailable.

The social media platform Twitter came to dominate journalism, and thus journalism research, as it played an early and outsize role in journalism and politics (see

Molyneux, Holton, & Lewis, 2018; Tandoc & Vos, 2016; Harder, Sevenans, & Van Aelstt, 2017, p. 280; Langer & Gruber, 2021; Molyneux & McGregor, 2022) and thus this thesis focuses its attention on Twitter as a useful proxy for online media engagement with journalism.

The impetus for this study came from the need to understand the nature of journalism amidst this period of unprecedented change; at a meso level the study is concerned with understanding how journalists are responding to the hybrid media system and explores this through an in-depth study of their use of Twitter for online interactions; and at a macro level the study is concerned with news organisation ideology to better understand organisational concerns and to help inform journalism instruction and does this through a detailed analysis of their publicly available social media guidelines. These findings are then discussed in the light of the renewed demands on journalism educators to bridge the gap between the normative, somewhat “aspirational” (Miller & Nelson, 2022) goals of journalism and the more instrumental hands-on training which has traditionally played such a key role within journalism education.

While journalism and technology have been intertwined since the emergence of moveable type in the 1700s, the scale and pace of the change wrought by the emergence of new media technologies at the turn of the century has been “nothing short of earth-shattering” (Siapera & Spyridou, 2012, p. 77), in the way they radically transformed the way information could be produced and disseminated (see Humayun & Ferrucci, 2022, for detailed overview) and led to the creation of a networked social and digital, and ultimately “hybrid” model rather than the one-way mass media model of old (Chadwick, 2017; Deuze & Witschge, 2018). As the hybrid era emerged in the 2000s, the discourse surrounding the

internet's impact on journalism practice began to reflect earlier narratives from the 1990s about the internet's effect on politics. The internet had initially been perceived as a positive force due to its ability to increase direct contact between politicians and voters, as well as its potential to facilitate citizen participation through the creation of a space for open deliberation (See Stromer-Galley, 2000, for further discussion on the internet as a 'magic elixir'). Similarly, the discourse around new media technologies in journalism portrayed digital and social technologies as transformative tools that could increase audience engagement and potentially save the industry from financial struggles (Ramos-Serrano, Fernández Gómez & Pineda, 2018).

However, as the hybrid media system began to assert itself, researchers challenged the frothy hopes about a media “elixir” arguing that the same socioeconomic and political factors which wielded so much media influence offline would merely migrate online into the new cyberspace, a place Margolis and Resnick had memorably described in their “normalisation hypothesis” as “neither a mass breeding ground for liberated virtual communitarians nor a launching pad for electronic storm troopers bent on stamping out free expression and dissent” (Margolis & Resnick, 2000, p. 2). This theory that political elites would thus *normalise* the internet into their established practice, rather than using the internet to do something new or different was initially applied to politics in cyberspace but was repurposed by Jane Singer in 2005 when she reported that journalists were using the then-new technology of blogging to reinforce older journalism norms such as transparency and gatekeeping rather than changing their existing practice. Thus, Margolis and Resnick's “normalisation hypothesis” become a standard method to explore journalism practice in a hybrid media environment (see Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Broersma & Graham, 2016;

Chadwick, 2017; Hedman, 2016; Heinonen, 2011; Hujanen, 2016; Karlsson et al., 2015; Lasorsa, Lewis & Holton, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2014; Molyneux & Mourao, 2019; Tandoc & Vos, 2016).

These questions about normalisation or transformation have persisted along with the maturation of digital and social technologies and even as the Twitter platform played a key role in journalism, it was just one of many social media platforms that, theoretically at least, offered journalists the ability to build relationships, to pull back the curtain on their reporting and to potentially bring their news audience into the process. Such grand theoretical possibilities for journalism originally centred on similar “grand narratives of democracy” around “proximity, dialogue and horizontal relationships” (Peters & Witschge, 2015, p. 19; Ramos-Serrano et al, 2018, p. 124) and while early-adopting journalists were predictably the most enthusiastic (Graham, Broersma, Hazelhoff, & Van't Haar, 2015), the sense of optimism was widespread early on amid a general sense of agreement that journalism was set for a fundamental - and positive - transformation if not democratisation of much of the news production process (Beckett 2011; Bowman & Willis, 2003; Deuze, 2003; Gillmor 2004; Pavlik, Caruso, Tucher, & Sagan, 1997; Pavlik, 2001).

The utopian ideas that technology would make things “easier”, “faster”, and “better” (Baym, 2015; Kling, 1996) were so pervasive throughout scholarly research during the earlier years of online journalism that they were reproduced time and again in conferences and journal articles (Domingo, 2008, p. 682), as researchers reimagined journalism as “something profoundly more grassroots and democratic” (Gillmor, 2004: xxiii) and re-cast the audience as de facto researchers and reporters who could exponentially expand the quantity and quality of information through their own

contributions (Russell, 2011, p. 44). These “complete assumptions” (Baym, 2015) encapsulated the normative dimensions of much of the technological determinism of the time as the enthusiasts conceptualised the formerly passive audience as more active participatory contributors resulting in a utopian trifecta of what Miller and Nelson (2022) labelled the “aspirational journalistic movements” of engaged (Wenzel, 2020) participatory (Karlsson et al., 2015) and reciprocal (Lewis et al., 2014) models all considered potential challengers to the dominant legacy version of journalism in which “a major factor in journalists’ visions of their audiences has always been journalists’ visions of themselves” (Anderson, 2011, p. 564).

These optimistic visions of social media’s impact on journalism should have been somewhat tempered by the depth of historical scholarship available around earlier “newer” media technologies (see Baym, 2015, and particularly Mosco, 2004, p. 117-140 for a discussion of the telephone’s then revolutionary abilities), but this belief in the “automatic consequences of the social adoption of the invention” (Domingo, 2008, p. 682) has persisted in technology cycles that, like the dawn of social media, typically begin with transformative rhetorical flourishes and invariably end in regret and disappointment and a more measured re-appraisal as the once-new technology, follows the path of the earlier “rhetoric of the electrical sublime” in our everyday lives (Bijker et al., 1987; Carey & Quirk, 1989, p. 396).

Like the electric era that came before them, social and digital media technologies may not have created the utopia they once promised, but they are still a reflection of ourselves and thus they demand that that we grapple with them in an attempt to understand the technologies, and by extension ourselves (Castells, 2001). Understanding the

technologies in relation to journalism and social media also means considering the relationship between the institution of journalism and its viewers, listeners, and readers who theoretically at least, were now being empowered to take a more active role (Walters, 2022).

While the internet is not the first technology to disrupt journalism it is, as yet, by far the most consequential and wide-reaching and although online journalism is well institutionalised into news production (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009), there are questions about the “shifting conceptual terrain” and interplay between social platforms and journalism practice (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016, p. 407). While the technical journalism utopian dream never materialised in the way the technological optimists initially envisaged, Fenton (2014) argued that the techno-pessimists were not wholly right either, as the internet did engender some change for good through the facilitation of new venues for expression (see Fenton, 2010; Loader & Mercea, 2011). Such a techno-centric (Fenton, 2010) or even “socio-technical” viewpoint (Westlund, 2014, p. 21) leaves space for a more nuanced understanding of the influences and relationships or indeed “hierarchies of influences” (Reese & Shoemaker, 2016) which can develop within groups or organisations and reflects both the evolving hybridity of the media system and the need for more hybrid models to conceptualise the fast-changing media environment.

Thus, this thesis adopts a layered approach to avoid a reliance on technological determinism perspectives which see organisational structure and cultural practices being shaped by the relevant technology or indeed a social constructivism perspective which sees the technology shaped by the culture. While technological determinism is a common, if reductionist, model for understanding technological change, it largely discounts the user’s

agency in their use of technology whereas a social constructivism or cultural determinism approach would take the opposite standpoint and sees the user's agency as the starting point. While questions about the social and the technical have accompanied technology for centuries (see Marcuse, 1964, for more) there is a new impetus in asking questions now about the interplay between culture and technology and the resulting social relations, particularly in relation to the technological functionalities or *affordances* on social media given how deeply new platforms became embedded in politics and media (Thimm, 2018).

Understanding how journalists and news organisations view "affordances" like Twitter's reply and retweet features is crucial to this study, as it is the use of such functions which powers the possibilities to create connections between networks of connected users and this is why journalism research uses such affordances to operationalise connectedness (Arceneaux & Schmitz Weiss, 2010; Bucher & Helmond 2017; Nagy & Neff, 2015; Peters & Witschge, 2015; Sundar, 2008). While the understanding of affordances in social media is relatively new, the concept itself originated in 1979 with ecological psychologist James Gibson who used affordances to explain how different users could perceive and use the same object in different, or similar ways, and thus relied on user agency "either for good or ill" as Gibson put it (1979, p. 127; Kiesow, Zhou, & Lei Guo, 2021; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013). Consequently, affordances are often used to explore the intersections of media and technology to explain "how new IT, including social media, becomes perceived and used in similar and different ways across various social environments" and are of interest in journalism studies as the ways they are used may indicate paradigm shifts in journalism practice (Harmer & Southern, 2020; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013, p. 80; Nagy & Neff, 2015). Earlier research examined how journalists reconciled professional norms and established practices through their use of affordances (Singer 2005; Hermida 2013; Herrera & Requejo,

2012; Meier & Reimer, 2011; Lasorsa, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2014; Rogstad, 2014;) while this thesis follows Usher and Ng (2020) in thinking about how affordances can help us understand the sense-making that is taking place among journalists and within news organisations.

This thesis focuses on the social media platform Twitter as it quickly became the dominant social media platform for journalists in Western media systems, and while not originally designed for journalism, was nevertheless a place where news organisations in the Western democratic media environments expected their journalists to participate making it a unique platform in that it was both integral and yet external to the newsroom (Bélair-Gagnon, 2015; Canter, 2015; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). This thesis uses Twitter as a proxy to understand the underlying processes and affordances and how journalists and news organisations engage with these platforms and the findings here can be considered applicable on other platforms. There were few indications in the early days of Twitter that it would assume such prominence in journalism practice and the handful of newsroom social media guidelines from that period show that news organisations were relatively indifferent to journalists' social media activity specifying only that they not use the platforms to break news (in a nod to the professional logic) and generally asking that they don't do anything stupid. As Twitter gained in prominence, US journalists like then-NPR-editor Andy Carvin became notable in the literature for their efforts to give news audience a larger role in "telling and sharing stories that wouldn't otherwise be told or exchanged and, crucially, connecting such personal narratives to bigger, political questions" (Garcia de Torres & Hermida, 2017; Hermida, Lewis & Zamith, 2014; Siaper, Boudourides, Lenis & Suiter, 2018, p.2).

However, while Carvin's experiments indicated the realms of what was possible, questions about normalisation were already starting to emerge with studies (Lasorsa et al, 2012; Lawrence et al, 2014 and Lewis et al, 2012), finding that with the exception of Carvin, journalists were more likely to maintain their position as information gatekeepers by deciding which messages can proceed past the gates (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) on Twitter and restricting access to any newer voices, practises which reflected Singer's earlier study showing that journalists were "normalising" blogs and ignoring the format's new interactive capabilities (Haas, 2005; Deuze 2005; Phillips 2010; Singer, 2005). Additionally, while journalists were observed trying "newer" journalism routines such as monitoring, networking, engaging, sourcing, publishing, promoting and branding were emerging these were largely located in areas that supported their professional role conception and helped bolster their professional authority (Broersma & Graham, 2016; Hedman & Djerf-Pierre, 2013; Lasorsa, Lewis & Holton, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2014; Lewis, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Molyneux, Mourão & Coddington, 2016; Tandoc & Vos, 2016). Thus, Twitter became a real-time journalism laboratory as it provided researchers with a very public gallery to observe journalism practice in the hybrid media system and serves in this thesis as a proxy for online media engagement with journalism.

Author's note

For my first research article I designed a collection programme to collect data from US political journalists covering the 2016 US presidential campaign to explore which sources they were most likely to interact with and to observe if they were using social media to draw from established sources or to seek out newer voices on the web. However, a year

into the project I was forced back into the literature to try and understand why the data consistently showed that journalists were overwhelmingly more likely to interact with other journalists. This early finding played havoc with the initial hypothesis where I had been prepared to discuss sourcing and talk about the prevalence of “official”; “activist”; or “citizen” voices as journalists’ interaction partners online. Instead, I had thousands and thousands of rows of data labelled “other journalist”. The pattern was repeated six months later in the UK 2017 election except for a 24-hour period when campaigning was suspended in the wake of the suicide bomb attack at the Manchester Arena on 22 May in which 22 people died. For those 24 hours, the UK journalists interacted with a far greater number of non-journalists than they would during any other time of the two-week collection period. While this skewed the data on a temporal basis, it was very short-lived as the journalists quickly returned to their insular interactions. These patterns drew me back to the literature and I soon noted a paucity of studies which explored this tendency towards in-group interactions in more detail. At the time of writing, my first research article “Exploring Political Journalism Homophily on Twitter: a Comparative Analysis of US and UK Elections in 2016 and 2017” was only the second published work (after Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019) about journalistic homophily on social media in Western media systems.

3. MAPPING THE TERRITORY/ THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To answer the question about the hybrid media's impact on journalism, this thesis uses a conceptual framework which discusses normalisation (Singer, 2005) in the context of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) in an effort to understand why new and emerging ways of making journalism and interacting with the public through the new interaction-based affordances of social media on platforms like Twitter doesn't necessarily lead journalists to interact with their audiences and may in fact be contributing to filter bubbles and insular group activity among journalists (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). In doing so this study considers group behaviours such as homophily (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954) and organisational indicators such as institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991) as factors that might be shaping those behaviours and then discusses these findings in the context of the challenges for journalism educators who are caught between the needs of industry and the complex pedagogical practice required for teaching journalism in an era marked by declining levels of trust and revenue.

For example, while homophily has been well-documented among journalists working in older forms of media such as newspaper, TV, and radio (Parmelee, 2013; Rafter, 2009) it is understudied in the literature around normalisation and the hybrid media system (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019). This is an important avenue for journalism studies given the new and pressing questions about groupthink and journalism filter bubbles online, an issue which is typically discussed in the context of individual users rather than journalists (Wihbey, Joseph & Lazer, 2019). These questions demonstrate the importance of understanding which practises are migrating from the legacy to the hybrid media system as journalists still play influential roles in helping their news audiences understand the issues

particularly at election times (Siapera et al, 2018). While the first study looks at the individual practises in normalisation through the lens of homophily the second study follows Bélair-Gagnon, Lewis and Agur (2020), in exploring institutional logics to determine the relevant “rules, premiums, and sanctions” in relation to any potential innovation around journalist-audience interactions and does so through the exploration of newsroom policies around social media.

This is not to say that news organisation policies wholly influence journalism behaviour as studies have shown that their effect is indirect at best (Boeyink, 1994, p. 894) but more to help understand if the newsroom policies continue to promote professional logics such as traditional journalism authority and thus normalisation (Robinson, 2010). The third study takes a wider exploratory lens to the social media policies and shows that brand reputation and potentially harmful activity by journalists are among the most prevalent concerns among news organisations, while not surprising in of itself complicates efforts within journalism education to help students adapt to the hybrid media system which has transformed, and is transforming, journalism in the Western media system, and thereby requires a critical lens from both practitioners as much as researchers. The studies are all based in four countries of the so-called “Liberal’ media system - specifically the US, UK, Ireland and Canada (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Hybrid media system

The emergence of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) radically transformed the conditions in which journalists in the North Atlantic/Liberal media systems conduct their work (Hiltunen, 2021). The single most significant change wrought by the development of this system has been the shift from the one-to-many linear models of the older media system to the more interactive, networked and participatory models of newer media (Xia, Robinson, Zahay, & Freelon, 2020) which sees power defined and wielded by those who “create, tap, and steer information flows to suit their goals and in ways that modify, enable, and disable the power of others, across and between a range of older and newer media” (Chadwick, 2017). Here both digital and legacy media converge adapt and appropriate everyday journalism practices from each other (Harmer & Southern, 2020) creating new risks and opportunities for journalists on these general-purpose third-party spaces which are governed by co-evolving rules between the users and the platform providers rather than emerging from news organisations or indeed journalism organisations (Bruns & Nuernbergk, 2019).

Early normative research into the hybrid media system led to technological optimism that the new potential for journalist-audience interactions could lead to a more egalitarian version of journalism (Borger, van Hoof, Costera Meijer, & Sanders, 2013, p. 126; Chadwick, 2017; Hermida, 2010; Lawrence, Radcliffe, & Schmidt, 2018; Lewis et al, 2014). US media professor Jeff Jarvis became perhaps the best-known proponent of this “technological optimism” with his vision of “professionals and amateurs working together to get the real story, linking to each other across brands and old boundaries to share facts, questions, answers, ideas, perspectives” (Borger et al, 2013; Chadwick, 2017, p. 185;

Jarvis, 2006) but at the very least observers anticipated that new forms of two-way communication would develop between the journalists “and the people formerly known as the audience” (Domingo, 2011; Rosen, 2006). Chadwick’s theory, which was the first major effort to try and conceptualise the ways in which the then-new forms of media would impact traditional political communication, portrayed the chaotic communications environment as a more strategic mix of old and new, or “older” and “newer” in Chadwick’s parlance where new digital media practises emerged alongside, but not in place of, older media practises that were primarily associated with broadcast media and print media. This theory sets the context for an environment where journalists and news organisations are working to promote practise professional journalism and maintain traditional values (Culloty & Suiter, 2018) while also trying to figure out “what it is that differentiates them from the rest of the information universe” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 215) amid unprecedented competition from interlopers who in some cases are leveraging the hybrid media system to gain attention away from mainstream media, which also serves to promote journalism’s professional authority (Chadwick, 2017; Eldridge, 2019).

Chadwick’s theory was - and is - considered ground-breaking as it changed the narrative from a dichotomous either/or conversation around newer and older media and indicated how the blurred boundaries around journalism could lead to power struggles between traditional and new actors as they gained an understanding of how proficiency in both newer and older forms of media could lead to favourable outcomes (Chadwick, 2017). These power struggles can be observed now between journalists and the platforms of Silicon Valley as traditional news audiences turn to platforms for news and information putting the onus on news media “to interact with platforms, regardless of whether journalists are willing participants” (Russell & Vos, 2022). Chadwick’s hybrid media

theory provided a suitable scheme for mapping the evolving power relations as they emerged at this “critical juncture” in journalism where new media technologies are emerging more rapidly than models are being developed to explain them.

Normalisation hypothesis

Research shows that the emergence of new media technologies are generally considered as a driving force for change, whether dystopian or utopian (Deuze and Marjoribanks, 2009; Domingo, 2008; Steensen, 2011) and each new media technology has at one time been hailed as the technology that could signal “the end of history” (Mosco, 2004, p. 13) with the lowly landline telephone once expected to “end life as we have known it” since “we are all equals on the phone” (Mosco 2004, p. 127). Mosco argued that each new technology contains its own myths about their transformative power and such mythic pronouncements about the equalising forces of the developing hybrid media system were in evidence again in the early 1990s as the then new-internet came into view. In politics of course the cyber-optimists saw the internet as a potentially equalising or innovative force as its technological affordances, the specific properties that permit social action, could make political campaigning more accessible to smaller parties or challengers (Corrado & Firestone, 1996).

Of particular note in the early 2000s was Democratic candidate Howard Dean’s successful use of the multimedia, hyperlinks, and interactivity affordances in the 2004 US presidential campaign as he transformed himself from a relative unknown into a political and media heavyweight (Stromer-Galley, 2014). Dean’s early success was soon eclipsed

as the political elite took note of the new technologies and began to incorporate those same digital affordances into their established campaigns signalling that they now recognized the power of the “new” new media (Margolis & Resnick, 2000). The initial hype about the radical change promised in the internet and then later social media platforms is a familiar story in media technology and is often linked to early impulses to view such changes through the lens of technological determinism (Boczkowski, 2004a, 2004b; Steensen, 2011). This techno-optimism reached its zenith in 2011, a year that began with the Arab Spring and culminated with the Occupy movement in New York City, driven by the initial “implicit understanding” that social media like Twitter were “a force for good in the world, on the side of the people and their revolutions” (Tufekci, 2018, p.2).

In journalism, there were similar mythic pronouncements around the internet’s potential for transformation and innovation and much optimistic hype around the pending online utopias to the extent that this sunny outlook may have played a role in stalling any critical examination of the actual impact of the technologies at the start (Boczkowski, 2004; Domingo, 2006, p. 54; Pavlik, 2001). This optimism was rooted in normative expectations that the new technologies and their web-enabled innovations such as interactive hypertext could usher in new journalistic approaches that could transform the practice (Domingo, 2006). There were debates about the “end of journalism” amid expectations that the technological affordances of the new media could transform journalism (Bromley, 1997; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012; Pavlik, 2001). Early studies suggested that the social media’s interaction-based affordances could impact the practice of journalism by offering new venues and platforms for interactions and participation with their historically marginalised voices as well as the readers, listeners and viewers who made up their news

audiences (Hermida, 2013; Lasorsa, 2012; Rheingold, 2008; Rogstad, 2014; Herrera & Requejo, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2014). There was much optimism about the innovative potential in platforms like Twitter for collaborations and participations between journalists and citizens and activists with expectations of interactive or participatory practises or “participatory” journalism emerging from the new technologies (Singer et al., 2011; Hermida, 2012; Borger et al., 2016; Lawrence et al., 2018) and a study on American journalist Andy Carvin’s use of Twitter sources during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian uprisings suggested grounds for “a new style of near real-time gatekeeping, where journalists cite a potentially broader set of sources through social media” as journalists and activists flocked to the new platforms (Hermida et al, 2014, p. 495).

However, the success or failure of any such collaborative ventures depended on the journalistic use of the interaction-based affordances (Deuze et al., 2004; Domingo, 2007; Domingo et al., 2008; O’Sullivan & Heinonen, 2008; Robinson, 2010) and researchers described a “strong inertia” among journalists towards the pursuit of such interactive practices (Domingo, 2008) which suggested a reluctance amongst journalists to engage with their audience even as myths about the new utopia persisted (Steensen, 2011). Robinson (2010) reported two distinct types emerging in newsrooms with “convergers” seen as “willing to interact with readers in the forums” and “traditionalists” seeking to maintain journalistic authority - and distance - from their readers in keeping with objectivity and cherished gatekeeping norms (Robinson, 2010, p. 126).

This concept of convergers and traditionalists mirrors the normalisation/innovation hypothesis which views the use of the internet through either a normalisation lens where

the internet reinforces existing and thus traditional authority or through a converger or innovative lens which is where the internet is used to change existing practises and traditional authority (Gibson & McAllister, 2015; Margolis & Resnick, 2000). Originally conceptualised for politics, the *normalisation hypothesis* (Margolis & Resnick, 2000) understands that the new technologies will eventually reinforce and reflect existing patterns of power and equity once the elites recognise the value of the new technology in a sort of “politics as usual” with all the structural inequalities that this often entails (Margolis & Resnick, 2000). The new technology, in this case the internet, will thus be shaped to fit traditional goals and practice rather than being used to change existing roles or practices and thereby providing a new bottle for old wine (Lasorsa et al, 2012; Phillips, 2010, p. 101).

While normalisation had been viewed as somewhat settled in relation to the internet and politics (Gibson & McAllister, 2015; Klinger, 2013; Larsson, 2016) the impact of the hybrid media system and a now-maturing social media system has prompted renewed scrutiny with Bené (2021) finding evidence for both normalisation *and* innovation in a recent study of Facebook use in the 2019 European elections. The literature offers three ways to conceptualise normalisation and this thesis adopts the normalisation hypothesis developed by Margolis and Resnick (2000) and adapted by Singer in 2005 which considers normalisation as the counterweight to more optimistic claims of innovation or equalisation around new technologies and that new technologies will be integrated in ways that further existing practice rather than creating new or innovative practises. Other interpretations of normalisation include May and Finch’s Normalisation process theory (2009) which identifies, characterises and explains key mechanisms that promote and inhibit the

implementation, embedding and integration of new technologies (May & Finch, 2009) or the normalisation *process* which considers how journalism can “normalise” radical ideas, actors or discourse and can help facilitate the process through which ideas and actions become taken-for-granted (Krzyzanowski, 2020, p. 435).

Singer’s 2005 examination of mainstream political journalists’ blogs to explore their use of the participatory and interactive functions of these potentially transformative spaces is considered foundational in this area. Singer showed that while journalists were frequent users of the hypertext functionality, they did so to promote either their own work or the work of their news organisations rather than use those early interaction-based affordances for “new” routines like linking out to newer voices or sources. Singer concluded that journalists were “normalising” their blogs to fit existing norms and practises as they sought to retain their gatekeeping function and power and that they largely maintained their traditional professional practices as they transferred their norms and work habits over to the new platform. This normalisation was prominent throughout the first iteration of online journalism as journalists treated their then-new-media blogs as a “high-tech outgrowth of an existing commentary format” and used it to reinforce and extend their existing roles and practice (Singer, 2005, pp 192/3). This thesis owes much to Singer’s (2005) study, and in some ways can be considered a logical development of her work, as while Singer was concerned with the ways in which political journalists were adapting to or normalising their use of *blogs*, this thesis is concerned with the extension of traditional journalism practice on the *micro*-blog platform Twitter and the continuing questions about the efficacy of normalisation.

Early studies (see Lasorsa et al, 2012) noted some small potential for journalists to adjust their norms to fit the new Twitter logics but newer research considers these as hybrid norms co-evolving in areas such as branding, sourcing, or “marketing the news” rather than interactions with the audience (Molyneux & Mourao, 2019; Tandoc & Vos, 2016). Accordingly, such hybrid normalisation has been noted in activities which journalists use to attract resources and attention to their individual brands where they might step outside (but do not relinquish) traditional roles as gatekeepers of a one-way flow of information (Lawrence et al., 2014); where they can experiment with objectivity and transparency (Bélair-Gagnon & Holton, 2018); express some of the “interpersonal humour and flavour of social media” (Holton and Lewis, 2011, p. 12), or indeed engage in activity in any areas that expand organisational goals (such as marketing or revenue) where the legitimisation of journalism is not contested (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Broersma & Graham, 2016; Chadwick, 2017; Hedman, 2016; Heinonen, 2011; Hujanen, 2016; Karlsson et al., 2015).

The current research also reflects Singer’s earlier findings in relation to gatekeeping where she noted some signs of innovation in areas such as expressing personal opinions among columnists who, as she noted, are very different to typical reporters, but nothing that would affect their professional role perception or indeed traditional practices such as gatekeeping (Kollias & Kountouri, 2020; Lawrence et al, 2014) as the sharing of such spaces means that “journalistic authority in terms of its institutional cache cannot help but become diluted as it makes room for such expansions” (Robinson, 2007, p. 318).

Homophily

Overall, even as studies began to indicate that journalists were building visible “journalism-centred bubbles” by interacting mainly with other journalists on Twitter (Lasorsa et al, 2012; Lawrence et al, 2014; Lewis, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Mourão, 2015; Nuernbergk, 2016, p. 877) homophily was largely neglected as a focus of study, despite the known concerns around the “uncritical consensus, groupthink, and pack journalism” that could emerge from such homophilous networks and groups (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019; Matusitz & Breen, 2012). The 2019 study by Hanusch & Nölleke was the first to specifically explore homophily and their analysis of general news reporters in Australia observed that beat, gender, news organisation and type of news organisation played a role in journalistic homophily on Twitter. The first published paper in this study builds on the work started by Hanusch and Nölleke by taking a closer look at political reporters, rather than general news reporters, to try and gain a more nuanced understanding of the processes which are staying the same in the midst of this great change. This question of homophily in political journalism is pressing when considered in the light of the campaign coverage in the US presidential election in 2016 which indicated a likely win by Hillary Clinton and the campaign coverage in the UK in 2017 which pointed to an overall win by the Tory party. In both cases the political journalists’ consensus was wrong.

First introduced in the 1950s (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1954) homophily is a sociological theory which describes the process whereby individuals tend to associate and interact with others who are similar to themselves in terms of social characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, occupation, education, and lifestyle. Homophily plays a major role in facilitating communication and community and has been used to understand

how individuals build networks around shared values in areas like religion or sport or around shared status in areas such as race, ethnicity, sex, age, religion, education, and occupation (Calanni et al. 2015; McPherson et al., 2001). As McPherson et al (2001) wrote: “People who are more structurally similar to one another are more likely to have issue-related interpersonal communication and to attend to each other’s issue positions, which, in turn, leads them to have more influence over one another” (McPherson et al., 2001 p. 428).

The tendency of political journalists to influence each other in pursuit of the same angles and quoting the same sources, is a hallmark of the well-documented practice of pack journalism where reporters, particularly political reporters, “feed off each and reinforce their joint focus” when covering institutions or political campaigns (Rafter, 2009, p. 97) to the point that “individual group members became hesitant to raise contrary points of view” (Matusitz & Breen, 2012, p. 902). The term “pack journalism” derives from the 1972 US presidential election when Rolling Stone reporter Tim Crouse described the travelling press corps as so intently focused on each other that they created a groupthink about the day’s most important stories and a pack dynamic so strong that “after a while, they began to believe the same rumours, subscribe to the same theories, and write the same stories” even though they were ostensibly competing against each other (Crouse, 1973; p.7-8). Where Crouse (1973) had to physically travel on the campaign bus to observe interactions among political journalists, Twitter helps us see the shared focus - and potential groupthink - within groups of 21st century political journalists as the journalist networks are very visible on these public social media platforms (Bruns & Nuernbergk, 2019).

Studies into journalists' interactions on Twitter have shown the development of silos-within-silos (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018); with journalists seen self-segregating by gender and/or age (Artwick, 2014; Parmelee, Roman, Beasley & Perkins, 2019; Usher et al., 2018), journalists focusing on those inside their own news organisation (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Larsson, Kalsnes, & Christensen, 2017) and journalists focusing on those who shared regional similarities (Vergeer, 2015). Similar behaviour was noted in political reporters' interactions on Twitter during the 2012 and 2016 US presidential debates (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Mourao, 2015;) retweets and indirect mentions among a sample of national general reporters in Italy (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018); and in retweets and mentions among national and regional reporters in Australia in a study which considered only journalist-to-journalist interactions (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019). The evidence on replies was mixed with some studies seeing homophily (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019) and others seeing nascent heterophily (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Brems et al, 2017) although this could also be attributed to the types of one-off responses observed by Parmelee and Deeley (2017) who have queried the value of such metrics in measuring political journalists' engagement on Twitter as simple "thank-yous" to readers are not useful in measuring sustained interactions and conversations (Parmelee & Deeley, 2017).

Thus, the first published study explores the use of replies, mentions and retweets as a way to understand the processes of normalisation and professionalisation that are occurring in hybrid media journalism and considers the impact of homophily on any normalisation occurring within those interactions.

Institutional logics

A common thread throughout this thesis is the focus on the questions about normalisation or innovation in journalism during this period of majorly disruptive technological change and the extent to which individuals or organisations applied the processes and affordances of new media technologies to foster change or stasis in their interactions with the news audience. Given the profound technological and structural changes that have taken place in news and journalism, there are new questions to be asked about the organisational contexts within the newsroom as these are known to play a significant role in innovation adoption or normalisation of technology (Domingo, 2008; Hermida & Thurman, 2008; Paulussen & Ugille, 2008, p. 36; Singer et al., 2011). While the first paper explored the question of normalisation among journalists through analysis of their social media interactions, the second paper explores the question of normalisation among news organisations through analysis of their formal social media policies in an effort to identify the enduring norms and values which help shape newsroom policies relating to interactions between journalists and their news audiences.

To do so this thesis uses an institutional logics perspective or ILP as research into management and organisational sociology has shown that such logics play a pivotal, and endogenous, role in the development of organisational norms and values, particularly during periods of great change and can help answer these questions around inhibition or promotion of innovation by offering insight into the guiding policies behind the acquisition and interpretation of new digital tools and related expertise (see Lounsbury, 2007; Lowery, 2018; Schildt, 2020, for more). Studies of institutional logics consider how the interplay between institutional and organisational structures (Barbour & Lammers, 2015) helps

shape actor beliefs and behaviour and explains how intricate interrelationships within organisations can combine to determine the accepted and acceptable goals. “As collective identities become institutionalised, they develop their own distinct institutional logic, and these logics prevail within the social group” (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 111).

Originally derived from the so-called “new institutionalists” (Reese, 2022) who argued for a cultural element in what had previously been considered “rational and realist” analysis an institutional logics perspective (ILP) identifies the “broader cultural beliefs and rules that structure cognition and guide decision-making in a field” and thus offers insight into the organisational norms and values which underpin an organisation’s sense-making frameworks (Lounsbury, 2007, p. 289; Lowrey, 2018, p.136). In this way, ILP helps explore the factors that affect both structure and agency and offers a compelling lens into the internal forces that are shaping journalism as it adapts to social, technological, or regulatory pressures that are both disruptive and potentially transformative (Reay & Hinings, 2005; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Sahlin, 2008; Lowery, 2018). Conceptualised as the “socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organise time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality” (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804; 2008, p. 1), an ILP consider norms and values as cultural forces or logics that help shape power within organisations and with logics shaping individuals as well as individuals having some impact on shaping logics, thereby govern the interpretation through which power is enacted (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2015, Thornton, 2004).

A classic example of conflicting logics in the news media is the longstanding tension between the needs of journalism's public service mission and its revenue expectations (Lischka, 2020); a pair of hybrid dualities which Bourdieu (1979) conceptualised as "pure" and "commercial" (see Raviola & Dunbin, 2016, for wider discussion on this) and which have been described as "loosely-coupled" (Lowery, 2018) in that they are both critical and in conflict at the same time with professional and commercial logics evident (Waldenström, Wiik & Andersson, 2019). The professional logics largely situate the journalist as a neutral and objective gatekeeper tasked with maintaining professional control over the news, while the market logic views the news content as a commodity to be produced and sold to both advertisers and audiences (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020). The resulting tension between these two logics causes obvious conflict between mission and revenue, a conflict which news organisations have historically resolved by compartmentalising the departments for advertising and news into separate physical offices, if not separate buildings (Lischka, 2020; Ponte, Pesci, & Camussone, 2017, p. 196) demonstrating to, paraphrase Engesser and Humprecht (2015) that journalism is well-practised, if not always skilful, in negotiating a path between these competing imperatives.

While such logics were presumed separated by a "wall" between editorial and commercial considerations no such buffer exists in a hybrid media realm where the emergence of these newer social and digital media technologies has complicated an already complex institutional environment by introducing a third "digital technology" domain into the equation and prompting renewed clashes as news organisations actively negotiate these competing domains, a process which often leads to unpredictable change between individual journalists, managers and departments as they try to make sense of conflict or change amid the emergence of newer logics which may, or may not, reinforce existing

practises (Lischka, 2020; Lowery, 2018; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury 2012). Understanding how logics evolve is thus crucial to understanding whether or not organisations will tend towards stability and sameness making ILP a useful way to analyse organisations in the midst of ongoing and significant disruption (Deuze, 2011; Deuze & Fortunati, 2011; Keij & van Kranenburg, 2022; Lischka, 2020; Lowery, 2018; Raviola 2010; Raviola & Dubini, 2016).

The ILP has been criticised for its lack of attention to the transformative power of resistance within organisations (e.g. Foucault, 1980) but this is not to say that the ILP sees resistance as futile, rather, the ILP sees the exercise of resistance and mobilisation of power as mutually-reinforcing processes but views power alone as insufficient to effect organisational change (see Thornton et al., 2012, pp. 188–191). This interpretation of power leans more to Weber’s comparative symbolic meaning rather than a Marxian perspective, which emphasises the redistribution of material resources (see Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012 for more) and indeed Thornton earlier argued that the internal persuasive power of logics were more likely to predict institutional change than any external factors in her analysis of the publishing industry response to the threats and challenges of potential acquisition (Thornton, 2001). The emphasis on the interplay between agents and a dominant institution as mutually-reinforcing processes (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) helps bridge the gap between macro-level institutional theory and actor-agency (Jackall, 1988; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Lowrey, 2011; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999) as it locates what is considered to be legitimate and appropriate behaviour and provides “a frame of reference that preconditions actors’ sensemaking choices” in areas that “cannot be understood by looking only at external factors” (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020; Bourdieu, 1998, p.39; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; Thornton, 2004; Thornton et al. 2012, p. 54).

While institutional theory is of course a very broad field, understanding the mechanisms that play a role in reinforcing or replacing dominant social processes (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Thornton, 2004; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, 2008) is key to this study which explores how organisations are shaped or reshaped during periods of disruption. Given the ongoing “shock to the system” wrought by new media technologies an ILP’s emphasis on the internal processes or “supply-side” internal factors that influence media decision-making can help explain how and why institutions evolve over time in a way that is difficult to discern in traditional institutional approaches which typically focus on the “demand side” in assuming that news organisations evaluate environmental factors such as market conditions and make rational-choice decisions (Lowery, 2018; Peer & Ksiazek 2011, p. 45; Reay & Hinings, 2005). This is not to dismiss those approaches but more to say that the ILP offers a more compelling way to explore the internal change/stasis paradigm within organisations as they adjust to turbulent environments (Friedland & Alford 1991, Greenwood et al, 2002; Thornton, 2004; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p. 101) particularly in the case of complex organisations like news media which while not classical institutions, nor indeed classical professions, nevertheless display typical institutional characteristics such as symbolic and empirical rules, norms, and beliefs (Scott 2008, p. 222) “distinct and identifiable structures of knowledge, expertise, work, and labour market” and “distinct norms, practices, ideologies and organisational forms” and can thus be viewed with an institutional lens (Leicht, 2005, p. 604; Leicht & Fennell, 2008).

Institutional approaches have become more common in news media research in recent years (see Cook, 2005; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Lowrey, 2012; Ryfe, 2006, 2012; Witschge, 2014) but ILP is relatively new to journalism studies and Bélair-Gagnon has been instrumental in introducing ILP to the field (for more see Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke,

2020; McMullen Cheng & Bélair-Gagnon, 2022; Zamith, Bélair-Gagnon & Lewis, 2020; Bélair-Gagnon, Bossio, Holton & Molyneux, 2022) and has helped nudge journalism studies beyond earlier technologically-centric approaches around innovation or transformation. This form of enquiry is moving more towards considering the role of the internal, opaque factors which influence organisational priorities in shaping the resulting rules and sanctions which govern the adoption and interpretation of new technologies which in turn plays such a significant role in shaping and reshaping news organisations. However, the relationship between logics (the underlying assumptions and beliefs that guide an institution) and practice (the actual actions and behaviours of an institution) is complex and not well understood. Logics orient practice, in the sense that they provide a framework for how institutions should operate, but they also depend on practice to exist, because they are only meaningful if they are enacted in the real world. At the same time, practice reinforces logics, because the actions of institutions can help to reinforce and validate the underlying assumptions and beliefs that guide them. Despite this complex relationship, institutional logics and institutional work are often conceptualized as purely cognitive constructions, with little attention paid to the ways in which they are enacted in practice. There have been some attempts to develop a practice-oriented perspective on institutional logics, but these are still relatively rare in the broader field of institutional theory (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020; Raviola & Dubini, 2016, p.199; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012).

In sum, ILP can help in researching a host of organisational transformation issues in multi-domain organisations such as the news media as it allows for a more crucial heterogeneous approach around journalists' potential to be "change agents" (Hughes, 2006, p. 19); In addition, given the earlier findings of resistance to innovation arising within

groups of journalists, and even among groups-within-groups such as sub-editors, reporters and journalists in the same newsrooms (Achtenhagen & Raviola, 2009; Bélair-Gagnon et al., 2020; Deuze, 2011; Fortunati et al., 2009; Raviola & Dubini, 2016); there is a new imperative for more understanding of the internal factors which work to encourage or discourage normalisation. So far, the developing research into ILP has been used to explore intrapreneurial innovation regarding chatbots in news organisations (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020) journalistic fact-checking websites (Lowrey, 2015); and interinstitutional conflict around media revenue (Sparviero, 2020) and there is developing evidence that news organisations' struggles around innovation are related to conflicting institutional priorities (Kosterich, 2021). This study adds to this literature by investigating how news organisations' institutional logics are shaping any adaptation or innovation in relation to the audience and joins Blassnig and Esser (2022) in offering a conceptual framework for understanding how news organisations are changing (or not) in response to the new audience considerations and how they view and make sense of these changes (for more see Bélair-Gagnon & Steinke, 2020; Ferrer-Conill & Tandoc, 2018) and how these assumptions shape their decision-making and in sum helps explain why news organisations make the assumptions they do about the news audience.

Again, it is this question about normalisation or innovation that guides the second submitted work to explore the “agreed-upon goals, values, and prescriptions” (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020 p. 292) which are conveyed through the news organisations' social media policies in relation to journalist-audience interactions. In this way we understand that professional logics will re-conceive the journalists' role, as the authority over the news with viewers, listeners and readers who are perceived as passive recipients or consumers and confined to spaces like “letters *to* the editor”; while an innovation logic would see the

audience as a potential collaborator or participant and invite them in for discussions *with* the editor (Ananny, 2014, 2018; de Sola Pool & Shulman, 1959, p. 145; Deuze, Bruns, & Neuberger, 2007; Lischka 2020; Lowrey, 2018; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Nelson, 2018; 2021a; Robinson, 2010). Indeed, while research into journalists' practice on social media is relatively well-advanced, due in no small part to journalists' rapid adoption of social media and the public nature of their exchanges, research at the organisational level is comparatively sparse (Jost & Koehler, 2021) and an institutional logics approach is a useful lens to examine news organisation goals and values as it helps explain how "things tend to remain the same in organisations" (Reese, 2022, p.255).

Finally, while an ILP at least suggests the dominance or prominence of a central or single logic it also acknowledges that more than one logic may be in contention at any one time (Lischka, 2020) and it is this flexibility which makes this approach so useful in exploring the potential organisational factors which may be contributing to normalisation in journalism practice as it offers researchers a way to understand the oftentimes overlapping and conflicting cultures and goals within organisations and creates a lens to view the institutional context which can help shape the way actors behave and also the ways in which they understand their professional identity (Barbour & Lammers, 2015; Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott, 2013; Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Journalism education

Where does this all leave educators? The context for the third published work was focused around the paucity of best practice on the professional use of social media against the backdrop of consistent research which pointed to a pressing need for such guidance among journalism students, many of whom reportedly perceived the platforms solely as venues for personal communication (Heravi & Harrower, 2016; Jungherr, 2014; Lawrence 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2017; Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015). While journalism texts may agree that students should learn how to develop contacts and sources online there has traditionally been no consistent agreement on how and why those practices should develop and even less consensus on journalism as a subject area or even on ways of thinking or practising journalism (Evans, 2014; Holmes et al., 2013). These tensions are not new of course. Journalism education has traditionally focused on preparing new workers for news organisations since it was founded in the West in 1908 at the University of Missouri in the US with the resulting persistent debate as to whether journalism is a trade to be learned through practice, and perhaps a trade school, or a subject to be taught at university level amid a general lack of agreement on how and why journalism practice should develop and even less agreement on how it should be conceptualised (Deuze, 2007; Evans, 2014; Folkerts et al, 2013; Holmes et al., 2013; Mensing, 2010). However, the scale and pace of the upheaval engendered by the hybrid media system has made the role of journalism education increasingly critical precisely because of the increased demands coming from a hybrid media environment (Folkerts et al, 2013; Maniou, Stark, & Touwen, 2020). But while there is a clear need for increased practical guidance as discussed in the third published work, the current journalistic climate suggests that journalists must move beyond the practical understandings of what it means to be a journalist and engage in critical

thinking around journalism and the challenges of practising journalism in a hybrid media environment rather than a focus on teaching practical skills and preparing students for the workplace (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2009).

For example, while mainstream news organisations in the Western democratic media environments increasingly expect journalists to use Twitter, there are concerns about journalism students who are generally uncomfortable with the professional aspect of social media and do not fully understand the distinction between personal and professional use (Saks et al., 2019). Many so-called “digital natives” often arrive at college with little to no experience in using social media for professional purposes, such as content sharing or production and researchers have pointed to an “urgent need” for more instruction on professional and proficient use of platforms like Twitter (Filak, 2014, p. 11). Studies have consistently reported that journalism students, even those working in student media outlets, are far more likely to use social media to “tick a checkbox” and “lack a clear sense of how best to use [social media] as a tool to further their journalistic endeavours” with some studies claiming that journalism education is consequently lagging behind quite major shifts in the industry (Castaneda & Haggerty, 2019; Cozma & Hallaq, 2019; Hirst & Treadwell, 2011).

Balanced against this of course is the need for educators to look beyond the industry. But it is also crucial that students have a critical understanding of the technologies, practices, and power relationships within the sector, and that we ensure that journalism classes come with “a mode of instruction and pedagogical materials that would inspire critical engagement with a way of being in the world beyond just a way of setting up shop” (Deuze, 2017, p.322). Indeed, the literature suggests that journalism pedagogy should

switch focus away from the narrow needs of news organisations and towards the broader needs of citizens and communities that journalism purports to serve and the “communities of practice” model from education is useful here in conceptualising how students can develop those cultural competences which are pivotal to such practice (see Garman, 2005; Kruger, 2022; Rupar, 2021). A “communities of practice” (Lave & Wenger, 1991) is conceptualised as “groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly” (Wenger, 2011) and provides an alternative framework for educators as it creates space for participants to consider the *goals* of the community as well as the work and is thus useful in helping students understand the changing and changed nature of journalism. I return to this discussion in the conclusions section where the findings of the third paper are discussed in the context of a hybrid media system where my experience as an educator has shown me that the focus now needs to be both on the practice and the interpretation of that practice if we are to help fully prepare students for a hybrid media environment and its demands for higher level of both practical and cultural competences.

4. DATA AND METHODS

Given the nature of journalism research and the fact that researchers have been adopting new methods from other disciplines to understand digital practice this thesis is a mixed method study and uses three different sets of data and two different methods for the three papers, which are all discussed in more detail below. In all three studies, Hallin and Mancini's North Atlantic or "liberal" media model (2004) provided the case selection. The first submitted work (Study 1) is a quantitative content analysis and investigates 57,812 tweets from 202 political journalists in the pivotal 2016 and 2017 elections in the US and UK. The second submitted work (Study 2) is a qualitative analysis of the text of 12 sets of social media guidelines which were collected in 2020 from 12 mainstream newsrooms in the North Atlantic. The third submitted work is a qualitative analysis of the text of 13 social media policies which were collected in early 2022 from mainstream newsrooms in the North Atlantic and which also included revised versions from three news organisations (AP, BBC, and *The New York Times*) as well as a formerly unpublished policy from *The Guardian* in the UK. In total, I created three data sets for original quantitative and qualitative analysis and these data constitute the empirical basis of the three self-contained articles. Using this data, I am able to explore instances of a larger phenomenon, the continuing impacts of the hybrid media system on journalism practice and also the implications for education. The specific research questions illuminate larger questions around practice, organisational ideology, and the lack of specific best practices for new and student journalists and therefore how they hold potential significance for the field. The data and methods for the three submitted works are explained in detail here.

Data

Twitter

This thesis defines social media as sites that “enable users to articulate and make visible their social networks” and it is important to remind ourselves that while neither Facebook nor Twitter laid any claim to news ambitions when they launched publicly in 2006, their fast-growing audiences soon attracted attention from news organisations who were bleeding audience and revenue between 2007 and 2009 as a global recession slammed into an already-shaky news industry (boyd & Ellison, 2007; Carlson & Lewis, 2018). As social media audiences increased, by 2011 Twitter alone had reached 100 million users, legacy media audiences were in steep decline and news organisations began to view social media sites as a potential source of new or returning audiences (Nelson, 2021).

It wasn’t just news organisations who were coveting these social audiences. News makers, the political and celebrity actors who had previously relied on news organisations to share their messaging were quick to recognise how social media could accomplish two main objectives; share their messaging to massive audiences and do so without needing to go through the gatekeepers of traditional journalism.

The move to the platforms for audience acquisition provided clear goals for news makers but the benefits for news organisations were less clear given the risk to their market-oriented and professional objectives by outsourcing the dissemination of their professional product but there was a very strong sense at the time that social media, following other innovations such as online video, iPads and paywalls, would be the one to “save”

journalism and the use of social media continued in an often chaotic, ad hoc way as journalists and news organisations tried to navigate the early days of social media (Chadwick, 2017; Hermida, Fletcher, Korell & Logan, 2012; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018)

The focus on Twitter derives from the integral and dominant role it has come to play in journalists' daily work practises where it affects news judgement, news conversations and ultimately news coverage (Heravi & Harrower, 2016; McGregor & Molyneux, 2020; Nulty, Theocharis, Popa, Parnet & Benoit, 2016; Parmelee, 2013; Usher et al, 2018). Journalists quickly, if not skilfully, integrated Twitter into their work routines (Engesser & Humprecht, 2015; Hermida, 2010; Lasorsa et al, 2012; Parmelee 2013; Rogstad 2014; Nuernbergk 2016; Canter, 2015; Canter & Brookes, 2016; Hedman 2015) even though the Twitter environment is markedly different from print, television, and radio format (Singer 2005; Deuze 2005; Hedman & Djerf-Pierre 2013; Lee 2015). While it is fair to say that Twitter is not representative of the larger population (Usher et al, 2018) it is, by some measure, representative of the journalism population (Hamby 2013; Hanusch & Bruns, 2017; Kreiss, 2016; McGregor & Molyneux, 2020; Nuernbergk, 2016) with a recent study showing some 75 percent of journalists working in Western media are on Twitter (Laor, 2022). Subsequently Twitter is often used in journalism studies "as a vehicle for understanding processes of normalisation and professionalisation" (Molyneux & Mourao, 2019).

The past 10 years have seen much research about the innovative role Twitter has played in highlighting issues that might otherwise have gone unrecorded because of its facility in providing a platform for voices who might otherwise be marginalised, particularly in areas where media access is tightly limited or restricted (Hamdy, 2010;

Tufekci, 2017; Lee, 2018; Hermida, 2013; Ince et al. 2017; Jost et al. 2018; Agur & Frisch 2019). As discussed earlier Twitter's prominent role in the organisation and coverage of protests and civil unrest (see Penney & Dadas, 2014, for Occupy Wall Street and Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013, for the 2011 Egyptian uprising) prompted no small amount of optimism that journalism could work to include collaboration with people affected by the issues in the news and there was much debate about the potential for greater journalist-audience engagement and its prospects for pluralization and democratisation through the use of social media (Heinonen 2011; Robinson 2011).

Researchers have measured journalists' adoption of Twitter through the use of interaction-based affordances such as replies, mentions, and retweets, and the early research about the potential of these affordances, like the early research into social media platforms, was largely positive as they were viewed as having the potential to help create innovation in journalism (Steensen, 2011). Interaction-based affordances are one of the three most-used technological affordances of social media, with the others being multimedia and hyperlinks (Harmer & Southern, 2020). Affordances are considered "relational" (Gibson, 1979) in that they "do not dictate participants' behaviour, but they do configure the environment in a way that shapes participants' engagement" (Boyd, 2011, p. 39). But while journalists can, and do, use Twitter's affordances for innovation this is typically in areas that do not challenge their professional role conception such as monitoring, networking, promoting, and branding (Broersma & Graham, 2016; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). The research suggests that interaction-based affordances are primarily used for interactions with other journalists (Larsson, Kalsnes, & Christensen 2017; Lasorsa et al, 2012; Nuernbergk, 2016; Lawrence, Molyneux, Coddington, & Holton, 2014; Lewis, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Nuernbergk, 2016; Parmelee, 2013). Understanding

how journalists interact by observing their use of these affordances is more helpful than analysing other affordances of Twitter such as hashtags which are often used more as a vehicle for strategic actors for their own ends (Siapera et al, 2018). For a more detailed overview of affordances in Twitter see Bucher and Helmond (2017).

Journalists

To select the journalists for the analysis I included only political journalists and, following Artwick (2014), I excluded political columnists, political commentators and political editors as their work and use of Twitter would be considered significantly different to the work of a day-to-day political reporter (Artwick, 2014; Rogstad, 2014) although it should be noted that other studies have included columnists, commentators and editors (see Lasorsa et al., 2012; Usher et al., 2018; Singer, 2005). To create the UK list, I drew from the official 2015 UK register of UK Parliamentary Lobby Correspondents to build a database of current members. I then manually cross-referenced this information with Twitter to see if the journalists had a Twitter account and if so to ensure that I had their official account rather than any parody or fictitious accounts. Once I had the full list of journalists and their respective accounts, I filtered the list to focus only on *active* political reporters which I defined as someone who tweeted on average more than once a day to ensure that the data collection yielded sufficient tweets for analysis (Artwick, 2014).

While this method was not an absolute guarantee of sufficient tweets the at-least-once-a-day metric ensured that the accounts were at least minimally active. The US study was somewhat more challenging given the much larger scale of the journalism population. I first created a manual list by using Twitter's on-site search function to identify accounts

of people who publicly represented themselves as political journalists in the US by searching for keywords (such as “politics”, “political”, “politic”*, “correspondent”, “campaign”, “reporter”, “journalist”, etc.) in the user’s profile and then cross-referencing those names against the US White House Correspondents Association; the US Congressional Press Galleries; and Cision press lists.

While this is undoubtedly a laborious method of data collection in contrast to other studies which relied on pre-made press lists such as those compiled by Muckrack and/or the US public relations firm Cision (see Artwick, 2014; Lasorsa 2012; Lasorsa et al, 2012; Lawrence et al. 2013) a manual approach is preferable for a more detailed study such as this as it is possible to verify the authenticity of accounts and users and indeed other studies have built much larger datasets in a similar fashion (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019). This manual collection/selection approach resulted in a list of 54 male and 43 female reporters from 26 outlets in the US and 75 male and 30 female reporters from 29 outlets in the UK and the list of outlets can be seen in Table 01.

Table 01: US and UK news outlets in study

US News Outlets			
Broadcast	Digital	Print	Wire
ABC CBS CNN Fox NBC NPR	Bloomberg Daily Beast DC Examiner Fusion Politico The Hill The IJR Vox Wired Yahoo News	Boston Globe LA Times National Review New York Daily News The New York Times USA Today Washington Post Wall Street Journal	AP Reuters
UK News Outlets			
Broadcast	Digital	Print	Wire
BBC Channel 4 ITV Sky	Business Insider Bloomberg BuzzFeed Huffington Post inews PA Parly Politico Politics.co.uk The Independent The Spoon Total Politics	Daily Express Daily Mail Daily Mirror Daily Telegraph Evening Standard Financial Times The Guardian The Independent The Sun The Times	AP PA Reuters

Table 1: US and UK news outlets in 2019 study

Tweets

To collect the data, I used a custom-made collection tool through a service called DiscoverText (now discontinued) which pulled the data through the Twitter “firehose”. The tweets were collected during the two weeks prior to each national election (October 22 to November 8, 2016, in the US; and May 22 to June 8, 2017, in the UK) a typically intense period for political reporters (Van Aelst & De Swert, 2009). In common with other studies

(Mourão & Molyneux, 2021) the data collected included the information about the date created, tweet number, follower number, as well as tweet text, timestamp, number of favourites, and any retweets or replies associated with the original post. The data was collected by using “day forward” data collection on Discover Text which returns all user tweets from Twitter’s REST API rather than using Twitter’s streaming API which delivers only a sample of tweets (Jungherr, 2016). The search returned 26,820 tweets from the US journalists and 30,992 tweets from the UK journalists. A garbled command in the U.S. collection resulted in the absence of three journalists; Sopan Deb, Margaret Brennan, and Maggie Haberman; but both Deb and Brennan agreed to share their Twitter archives for the research while Haberman declined to do so.

Social media policies

Formal news organisation policies communicate organisational priorities (Barkho, 2021; Opgenhaffen & d’Haenens, 2015; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013) in a way that is helpful in shedding light on the “agreed-upon goals and values” within news organisations and thus helps us explore why journalism is “as it is” (Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020 p.292, Peters & Carlson, 2019). This is not to say that individual journalists’ practices are necessarily linked to their news organisation’s policies but more that the policies provide an essential lens into practice.

To select the policies that were used for this study I followed Krippendorff’s six-question criteria (1980) as described below:

1. **Which data are analysed?** Social media policies from national news organisations
2. **How are the data defined?** Documents designed to guide journalists on audience-interactions on social media
3. **From what population are the data drawn?** The four countries of the North Atlantic media system: Ireland, Canada, the US, and UK.
4. **What is the relevant context?** Institutional logics in journalism
5. **What are the boundaries of the analysis?** Publicly available social media guidelines from mainstream news organisations over a 10-year span
6. **What is to be measured?** Evidence of institutional logics

The fifth criteria of using *only* publicly available guidelines significantly limited the number of available policies as many news organisations keep such policies private. However, this was not considered a significant impediment as the resulting sample size is similar to those in other published studies which also used only publicly available policies (Ananny, 2014; Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). To collect the policies, I used a combination of Google searches (terms such as “social media policies”, “social media guidelines”, “journalists” and “journalism”), personal enquiries to news organisations and site searches.

The guidelines were collected in mid-2020 and early 2022 and the links are available in the section labelled data in the appendix. The 2020 search for the second submitted study resulted in the guidelines from 12 newsrooms in the four countries which are listed below along with the year of their most recent update. The third study draws from a slightly different set of guidelines as some of the news organisations (AP; BBC and RTÉ)

updated their guidelines in early 2022 and *The Guardian* publicly released their social media guidelines in 2022 which resulted in a total of 13 updated and revised policies and an expanded set of data for analysis and both sets of outlets can be seen in Table 002 and Table 003 below.

Table 002: News outlets in 2020 study (third paper)

Outlets (2020 data)	Country	Year	Type
Associated Press (AP)	US	2013	Wire
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	UK	2015	Broadcast
BuzzFeed	US	2019	Digital
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)	CAN	2017	Broadcast
Daily Express and Daily Star	UK	2018	Newspaper
ESPN	US	2017	Broadcast
Globe and Mail	CAN	2017	Newspaper
National Public Radio (NPR)	US	2019	Radio
New York Times (NYT)	US	2017	Newspaper
Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ)	IRL	2013	Broadcast
Reuters	UK	2018	Wire
SKY News (SKY)	UK	2015	Broadcast

Table 2: News outlets in 2020 study

News organisations listed alphabetically by name with their country; year of most recent update and type of outlet

The 2022 search for the third submitted study resulted in the guidelines from 13 newsrooms in the four countries which are listed below along with the year of their most recent update. The new and updated guidelines are highlighted as a visual aid.

Table 003: News outlets in 2022 study (third paper)

Outlets (2022 data)	Country	Year	Type
Associated Press (AP)	US	2022	Wire
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	UK	2020	Broadcast
BuzzFeed	US	2019	Digital
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)	Canada	2017	Broadcast
Daily Express and Daily Star	UK	2018	Newspaper
ESPN	US	2017	Broadcast
Globe and Mail	Canada	2017	Newspaper
Guardian	UK	2022	Newspaper
National Public Radio (NPR)	US	2019	Radio
New York Times (NYT)	US	2017	Newspaper
Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ)	Ireland	2021	Broadcast
Reuters	UK	2018	Wire
SKY News (SKY)	UK	2015	Broadcast

Table 3: News outlets in 2022 study

News organisations listed alphabetically by name with their country; year of most recent update and type of outlet

The second submitted work is the first study to focus specifically on institutional logics within social media policies and the third submitted work is the first study to use social media policies as data to help build a framework for guiding best practice in the classroom. Earlier studies have used social media policies to explore the conflict between opportunity and risk in the newsroom (Lee, 2016); to discuss news production and dissemination (Sacco & Bossio, 2017) to consider changes to policies over time (Adornato & Frisch, 2022); to guide interviews with news managers about newsroom policies (Adornato & Lysak, 2017); to analyse the relationship between policies and story frames

(Barkho, 2019; Bloom, Cleary & North, 2016); to understand newsroom attitudes around social media (Ihlebaek & Larsson, 2018; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2016) and boundary setting (Ananny, 2014; Duffy & Knight, 2019).

Methods

Case selection: The Liberal or North Atlantic media model

The four countries used for all three studies in this thesis; the US, Ireland, Canada, and the UK, were grouped together in the Liberal or North Atlantic Media model by Hallin and Mancini in their landmark 2004 attempt to identify the major structural and political similarities in news media in Western democracies along four categories: media markets, political parallelism, journalistic professionalism, and the role of the state (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). The resulting three models; Mediterranean/Polarised Pluralist Model; the North/Central European/Democratic Corporatist Model; and North Atlantic/Liberal Model have been hailed as “central,” “seminal”, and “landmark” in helping establish a comparative framework for media studies (Jones 2008; Wessler, Skorek, Konigslow et al 2008; Brüggemann, Engesser, Buchel et al 2014). This thesis uses the Liberal media model as a comparative framework to explore the normalisation issue in journalism in practice in Western media systems as the countries share enough strong cultural and political ties to be considered *broadly* similar and thus offer a solid starting point for research (Esser, 2014; Jones, 2008). It should also be noted that there are significant differences within the model in relation to the idea of national cultures particularly within the US and UK systems. Critics say the authors over-play the Americanisation while underplaying significant differences between the UK and the other three countries, a point that Hallin and Mancini

later acknowledged (Couldry & Hepp, 2007; Robins & Aksoy, 2005; Hallin & Mancini, 2017). More recently, the Liberal model has come under intense debate particularly since the 2016 US election with Edgerly (2022) and Nechushtai (2018) noting increased polarisation in the US to the point that “the U.S. is more like a polarised liberal system, with a larger share of blatantly politicised news, fragmented and unequal news markets, and low public trust” Edgerly (2022). Differences have also been noted between the Irish and US and UK sectors with the US and UK seen as “moving away” from norms like impartiality and balance (Suiter, Culloty, Greene & Siapera, 2018, p. 409).

It is interesting to note here that the first study in this thesis found higher levels of Twitter homophily within the US broadcasting/cable and the UK press sectors, comparable to those in the same sectors in the other countries of the Liberal model, which corresponds with Hallin and Mancini’s findings of higher political parallelism in those same areas. At the time Hallin and Mancini developed their model they wrote that the US TV sector was being pulled into a “distinctive rightward tilt” by a station called Fox News which in 2004 had been on the air for just eight years (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p. 217). Overall, despite the concerns expressed by critics around an imperfect and somewhat limited model (Ryfe, 2016) and taking into account the observed differences noted by Suiter et al (2018) there are enough broad similarities between the media systems of Ireland, Canada, the UK, and US, to help guide the identification of any shared set of logics in respect to journalism-audience interactions and the broader factors which shape news organisation concerns about journalists’ use of social media.

Quantitative analysis (First submitted work)

Note: At the time of publication this research became only the second published study (after Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019) that primarily addressed the question of journalistic homophily on Twitter and the first published study to specifically look at homophily in political journalism in the Western media system. Given the lack of literature in the area this study closely followed the methodology in Hanusch and Nölleke's study as is described below in using paired t-tests and Cohen's d to study effect sizes in the political journalists' interaction patterns.

The first submitted work is a quantitative analysis which is built on a comprehensive dataset of tweets sent to and from a specific list of political journalists in the UK and US in the two weeks prior to the 2016 and 2017 elections and is similar to datasets created by Hanusch and Nölleke (2019) in their work around social media homophily among general journalists on Twitter in Australia and a study from Maarek et al (2021) which explored tweeting patterns among general journalists on Twitter in Austria. The data were refined to include only the following interaction tweets: simple retweets and replies (categorised by DiscoverText) and the newer quote retweets (categorised manually by identifying Twitter status URLs). Mentions, replies and retweets are all considered interaction-based affordances (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019), but this study focuses only on replies and retweets to operationalise connectedness as they are considered more useful than mentions which can often be used as a shout-out between journalists rather than a measure of interactive intent (Usher et al, 2018) thus diluting their effectiveness as a distinct measure of interactive intent.

Hashtags were not considered for this study. Previously used to facilitate the formation of ad hoc issue publics around timely topics (Bruns & Burgess, 2015), hashtags are now often seen as a fleeting measure of such connectedness, as recent studies (see Keller, Schoch, Stier & Yang, 2020) have shown that popular hashtags are soon inundated with spam or bot content.

The collection process resulted in 13,747 retweets and 6,764 replies for the UK and 12,562 retweets and 2,919 replies for the US. The metadata provided by Discover Text included “retweet-link” and “reply-to-link” which ensured that the intended object of the reply or retweet was accurately retrieved. Adapting a taxonomy from Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney, Pearce, & boyd (2011); and Hermida et al (2014), the data was then queried separately to locate the most frequently referenced actors. This was a laborious approach but this method ensured that we identified the accounts that were more likely to be retweeted or replied to before labelling the accounts as journalist or other. Other studies (see Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019) examined tweets which mentioned or retweeted any one of the journalists named on their existing database. These data sets were coded manually by the author according to the following categories using information from the user’s Twitter profile and following Hanusch and Bruns (2017) the outlets were coded as broadcast (commercial, public, TV and radio), print, wire service, digital or freelance.

The senders and users were labelled as same-to same or same-to-different by gender, news organisation and type of news organisation. The coding was largely generated by the data on their Twitter biography profiles (Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017), and this information was saved as a static record by DiscoverText at the same time as the data collection. When the bio information was absent from the downloaded data (as in the case

of quote retweets which comprised about 10 percent of the overall data), a careful Google search was implemented for both user and workplace information at the time of the relevant election. This two-pronged archiving method helped build a single static set of data and thus avoided the methodological issues associated with collating data from online profiles which can be problematic as the profiles can generate different data, depending on the date of collection (Lewis et al, 2013, p. 45). Following the recommendation from Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2013) reliability tests were performed on a random sample of 114 profiles of those mentioned in retweets and replies (10 percent) to test the validity of the data and using Krippendorff's alpha test (Freelon, 2013) for nominal coding, the reliability was rated excellent with 0.85 for type of journalist; 0.95 for gender; 0.92 for news organisation and 0.83 for type of news organisation.

Accordingly, the retweets and replies were coded by 1) sender; 2) name of referenced actor; 3) news organisation of sender and referenced actor; 4) type of news organisation of sender and referenced actor (whether broadcast, print, wire or digital); and 5) gender of sender and referenced actor with the acknowledgment that male/female gender binary distinctions are problematic. To better answer the questions around the prominence of certain discussion partners, this study followed Usher, Holcomb & Littman (2018) in adopting Meraz's "power law" (2009) to measure the use of replies and retweets in the journalists' interactions by focusing on the most prominent 10 percent of actors in the network who generally attract the lion's share of the attention (Meraz, 2009) rather than doing a simple count of the occurrences. By doing this the study was able to focus on the actors who received the most attention from campaign reporters in retweets and replies.

This study adds to the literature on homophily on Twitter and the findings are discussed in the conclusions. Briefly, the study found that a journalist's membership of the UK newspaper sector or the US TV sector was the biggest predictor of homophily, a finding which mirrors Hallin and Mancini's 2004 finding that the UK newspaper sector featured the most political parallelism with the US TV sector a growing area of concern for its "rightward tilt". Another key finding was that male voices were most likely to be amplified by all genders, a finding which suggested that Twitter was reproducing offline networks and hierarchies.

Qualitative analysis (Second and third submitted works)

The second and third submitted works are both qualitative studies based on the textual analysis of units of text drawn from publicly available social media policies from mainstream news organisations in Canada, the US, Ireland, and the UK. While the two studies are broadly similar, I used two different sets of data as is explained below. These studies were the first to use social media policies to explore the questions of institutional logics and to create a framework of best practice for new and student journalists.

The research shows four ways to approach research into the underlying dominant structures or ideologies at work in news organisations (Fowler, Hodge, Kress, & Trew, 2019, 2nd ed). In the first instance, researchers can interview news workers, with the proviso that such self-reported data can be inexact (Adornato & Lysak, 2017) and also that the researcher is relying on the news workers to tell "the truth and nothing but the truth" (Fowler et al, 2019, p. 158). In the second instance the researcher can explore formal instructions or guidelines; in the third instance they can trace the development of news stories from start to finish; and in the fourth instance the researcher can work backwards

from the published product to the underlying guidelines (Fowler et al, 2019). This thesis uses the second method and explores the formal policies, in this case the text of the formal social media policies, to answer the questions about institutional logics and best practice for student journalists. This approach also makes a contribution to the research in this area given the methodological gap noted by Adornato and Lysak (2017) who said their study into the implementation of social media policies in the newsroom would have been strengthened by “*an analysis of actual policies*”, (my italics) as they said their study were limited by their reliance on “news managers’ knowledge and understanding of what is included in their organisations’ policies” (Adornato & Lysak, 2017, p. 97).

While content analysis of editorial policies (see Barkho, 2021) is a standard research technique to explore news organisation ideologies, journalism scholarship based on analysis of social media policies is still developing as research was delayed by the news organisations’ earlier reluctance to provide formal guidance on social media with *The New York Times* once claiming that their journalists didn’t need any formal direction at all (Davis, 2011). Since then, most news organisations, including *The New York Times*, have issued formal policies and these have formed the basis of enquiries into norms which guide journalism professionalism such as objectivity, gatekeeping, and transparency (Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Ananny, 2014; Barkho, 2019; Bloom et al., 2015; Duffy & Knight, 2019; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Lee, 2016; Opgenhaffen & d’Haenens, 2016; Sacco & Bossio, 2017; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013). Earlier work from Singer (2005) and Robinson (2006) has shown that news organisation policies normalise new technologies when used to promote journalists’ professional role conception and authority and while they did not specifically focus on the social media audience; Ananny’s 2014 inquiry into press autonomy and Duffy

and Knight's 2019 work on boundary-setting are of interest here, as they both suggested that the policies normalised technology to promote journalism practice.

The literature largely shows five traditional approaches to doing qualitative research (Creswell, 1998); narrative research, which can tell stories of individual experiences; phenomenological research, which describes the experience of a lived phenomenon; grounded theory research, which generates or “grounds” the theory from the data collected; ethnographic research which describes and interprets shared patterns of the culture of a group; or case study research which is an in-depth understanding of a case or cases. This study draws from the grounded research approach to try and generate, or discover, what Corbin and Strauss (2007, p.7) described as a “unified theoretical explanation” for a process or action through close examination of the text. Unlike *a priori* research, this approach creates space to allow the theory to develop or unfold from the data and this approach was more helpful for a study such as this which is looking to determine themes arising from the data rather than imposing categories on it at the start. Following earlier studies involving similar textual analysis (see Ananny, 2014; Barnard, 2016; Barkho, 2019; Robinson, 2010) the discrete pieces of text were analysed using open, axial, selective coding techniques developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998). In this study, the open coding process was employed to identify emerging themes and categories. This process was initially inclusive, but gradually became more selective as axial and selective coding were applied.

Both the second and the third submitted work draw from the grounded theory approach and the interplay between the data collection and analysis to develop the coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). However, in contrast to the second study, I initially used “sensitising concepts” (Blumer, 1954); “concepts that ‘suggest directions along which to

look' when approaching empirical instances" (Hepp & Loosen, 2021). This approach has been used by others (Annany & Finn, 2020; Hepp & Loosen, 2021; Opgenhaffen and d'Haenens' 2015) to find a way into empirical data and is well-suited to a study like this as these concepts "give the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitising concepts merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954, p.7). This approach helped inform the open, axial, and selective coding in which I looked for evidence in the phrasing or word choice of broader themes in the open coding. I then developed a set of axial codes "whose purpose is to make connections between categories" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2017, p. 252) and kept only those that were "saturated" (i.e., containing textual evidence from at least three different policies). To do so I read each policy thoroughly three times to identify the categories. Once I had defined the categories, I re-read each category to locate more specific themes, which I then worked on for further analysis and comparison. This type of close reading and constant refining and comparisons of categories conforms to best practice in qualitative research method (Wimmer & Dominick, 2013). A key intention of this research is to provide insights for researchers and educators to better understand the use of social media by new and student journalists and the implementation of guidelines by media organisations. From a practical perspective this study is aimed at helping educators shape guidance to help new and student journalists navigate the hybrid media system. It is important to state here that this study is an analysis of publicly available policy documents and that while this resulted in a relatively small sample size this sample is similar to work by others (see Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Ananny, 2014; Barkho, 2019; Bloom et al., 2015; Duffy & Knight, 2019; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Lee, 2016; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2016; Sacco & Bossio, 2017).

5. OVERVIEW OF WORKS

It is important to state here that this thesis is not making an effort to argue for a form of technological determinism or simply attempt to define journalism through the power of technology. Rather this thesis follows Zelizer (2019) in recognising that while journalism is well intertwined with information and communication technologies these do not define the practice. Instead, this thesis is an effort to understand what practises, norms and routines have remained stable in journalism throughout the changes wrought by technology and then discusses those practices in the context of journalism education. Specifically, this thesis is interested in patterns of journalistic sense-making among journalists and the dominant organising ideologies within news organisations, as both groups grapple with the ongoing upheaval within the practice and business of journalism. This work follows scholars such as Deuze and Chadwick in rejecting the binary discourse of utopian or anti-utopian values and considering more holistic, if not hybrid, arguments (Deuze, 2005). Like earlier efforts from Haas (2005), this study seeks to understand the processes which have stayed constant across the emergence of these new media of communication and to what extent, if any social media fundamentally changes the role and affordances of journalism. The theories of homophily and institutional logics have been identified as important factors in helping to understand the processes of normalization in journalism practice and by considering both homophily and institutional logics, researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of the normalization process in journalism and the factors that influence it. It is important to note that these theories are not the only answers to questions about the relationship between technology and society, but they are recognized as crucial elements of the normalization hypothesis.

It is these contradictions and ambiguities around the ideas of continuity and change which are at the heart of this thesis and as stated earlier there are three aspects to this investigation. First, I address the debate of normalisation on Twitter, taking into account the context of a hybrid media system with a focus on interaction patterns and potential homophily among political journalists and their interlocutors on Twitter. Second, I examine news organisations' formal social media policies, to investigate the prevailing institutional logics in relation to journalist-audience interactions. Third, I explore the news organisation's policies to locate the most prominent concerns for employers to guide journalism pedagogy around interactions and, more broadly, the competing tensions between personal and professional activity on Twitter which are then discussed in terms of journalism pedagogy in the conclusion to the thesis.

The contribution from each of these studies provides a detailed understanding of specific ways in which journalism is being conceptualised by practitioners and organisations in the 21st century and how this can help inform journalism pedagogy, as journalism learns how to navigate the hybrid media system (Laaksonen & Villi, 2022; Saks, 2014; Reyes-de-Cózar, Pérez-Escolar, & Navazo-Ostúa, 2022). The first study highlights how journalistic sense-making as mediated through social media is shown to be exceedingly insular in nature and mirrors the pack dynamics noted in the legacy media era and thus raises renewed questions over consensus and groupthink as it identifies homophily as a causal factor in normalisation and suggests that more attention be paid to such filter bubbles on Twitter, as the journalists “enjoy power and visibility both on and off Twitter,” and retain the power to set the agenda (Siapera et al, 2018). The second study shows that news organisations are using social media to reinforce the status quo in relation to journalist-audience interactions as professional logics are seen as most prevalent in news

organisations' social media guidelines with news organisations conceptualising social media more for *promoting* journalism rather than practising journalism. The third study concludes that news organisations see very limited opportunities for use of social media outside brand promotion and consider all journalists' social media activity as covered by their guidelines and this third study highlights how journalism education is (again) stranded between the need to understand the nature of contemporary journalism practice and the need to prepare student journalists for the contemporary newsroom and in doing so highlights the complexities of current pedagogical praxis - all of which helps inform the concluding discussion as to how journalism educators can best respond to the challenges of the hybrid media system.

THE FIRST SUBMITTED WORK

Exploring political journalism homophily on Twitter: A comparative analysis of US and UK elections in 2016 and 2017. *Media and Communication*, 7(1), 213-224 (2019)

This study is the first to the author's knowledge to explicitly explore the question of homophily among political journalists on Twitter during an election campaign in a Western democracy and this study is notable for the empirical evidence it provides about the specific usage by political journalists in two national elections. The data draws from a manually curated list of political reporters who were identified by their profiles on Twitter as political reporters and answering the question this way allows for a more detailed look at the taken-for-granted process of normalisation in journalism practice. The first paper fits into the newer research into the knowledge-generation and sense-making processes among elite groups of journalists (Usher & Ng, 2020) as they navigate and negotiate a platform which plays a demonstrably outsize role in their professional knowledge production (Chadwick, 2017; McGregor & Molyneux, 2018). Again it underlines the propensity of journalists to coalesce around consensus-seeking (Matusitz & Breen, 2012, p.898) in ways that help shape press coverage of often complicated and complex issues (see also Dunwoody, 1980 and Brüggemann & Engesser, 2014) for research around science-related reporting). Gaining access to, and observing interactions within, such communities of practice has traditionally been quite difficult and there is little in the literature to equal Crouse's classic work from 1973, when he investigated the travelling political journalists in the 1972 presidential election in "The Boys on the Bus".

This is not to say that Twitter can be considered a replacement for an ethnographic approach but more to say that Twitter serves as a proxy for observational studies like this which seek to observe conversations - and conversation communities - that might otherwise stay private and inaccessible to researchers (Usher & Ng, 2020). Using a tightly curated sample of journalists I was able to trace the homophilous networks that political journalists had created between each other, networks that reflect well-established patterns of behaviour offline and which Crouse had reported in his 1973 work *Boys on The Bus*.

This research is important because journalism's role as the authorised interpreter and communicator of information during election campaigns is a pillar of political communication research and this study contributes to the existing literature which has noted journalism silos forming around beats; geographical areas; news organisation and types of news organisation (see Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019; Parmelee et al. 2019; Usher, Holcomb, and Littman 2018) and quite significant silos developing around gender although here the findings are more nuanced and could suggest that gender inequities being magnified by Twitter rather than homophily (Usher et al., 2018). Political journalists are an interesting case study as their status as an elite specialty makes them uniquely sensitive to validation from "those to whom we compare ourselves" (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 428), and the homophily noted in this study can help us understand why journalists prefer to cover topics that appeal to them or their editors or their competitors and how these silos can help lead to the development of echo chambers or filter bubbles and create the conditions for consensus and groupthink (Hanusch & Nölleke 2019; Matusitz & Breen, 2012; Nelson, 2021; Rafter, 2018).

This insular focus can also be considered in the context of normalisation as the journalistic tendency to limit their interactions with their audience can also be considered as a continuation of the same kind of treatment of the audience which saw readers consigned to the letters page as a way of keeping the audience at a distance (Ananny, 2018). The findings from this detailed look at the taken-for-granted process of normalisation in journalism practice shows that journalists are not using Twitter for interactions with their audiences, thus supporting the normalisation hypothesis. It then also shows the overwhelming dominance of other journalists as the targets of interactions. A deeper dive then shows evidence of specialties within specialties, as political journalists converse with other political journalists.

The findings of the study indicate that male voices are overwhelmingly more likely to be amplified on social media, and while the results do not necessarily point to homophily, they do suggest that existing gender inequities are exacerbated by normalization processes. Homophily can be observed among male political journalists in both countries, as they overwhelmingly retweet other male journalists, and heterophily can be observed among female political journalists, who are more likely to retweet individuals outside their gender. The impact of gender on these interactions is unclear, as the study shows a disproportionately high number of male political journalists being retweeted by both genders. However, as Usher et al found in 2018, this may be more indicative of gender inequity than heterophily and warrants further investigation. In sum, my analysis offers evidence that journalism is also re-producing its own internal elite hierarchies and gender bias on Twitter.

Previous research has focused on hashtags to unearth levels of usage or prominence of content and interactions between users and actors (Enli & Simonsen, 2018) and while such studies have helped to pinpoint tweets within certain Twitter discussions (Lewis, Zamith, & Hermida, 2013; Siapera, Hunt & Lynn, 2015) the most prevalent actors in such discussions have tended to be “already established actors” such as media and politicians, suggesting that the power emerging in these online networks now reflects the same power structures as the existing offline networks (Siapera et al, 2018), raising questions about the types of voices that are being “heard” (Couldry, 2010).

Despite the high hopes about the potential for new innovative journalistic norms and practices on sourcing and framing in the networked, ambient news environment, this research shows that journalists tend to ignore the opportunities to amplify marginalised voices and are instead using the novel technology to perform traditional practises such as “gatekeeping”, where “journalists decide what information is to be disseminated to the public and what information is not” with the result that the potential to raise up new voices has largely been lost (Singer 2008, p. 62; Lasorsa et al, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019).

In examining the specific interaction patterns of journalists, particularly around elections, I have shown that pack journalism plays a major role in the hybrid media system with political journalism seen as a significant predictor of homophily. The evidence of greater homophily within the two areas which exhibit the highest degrees of political parallelism, the UK newspaper sector, and the US TV sector (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), is a notable finding. The insular activity among journalists on Twitter suggests that audiences will not be exposed to diverse viewpoints if they follow political journalists - instead they will see filter bubbles which will be even more pronounced in the UK press and US TV.

The study shows that Twitter is not only a vehicle for normalisation but also that it reproduces existing inequities (gender) and hierarchies (political journalists as an elite specialty) and confirms existing research that users with high symbolic capital are more likely to connect with peers of similar symbolic status (Maares et al, 2021) which indicates, as Usher, Holcomb & Littman (2018) put it, that Twitter makes things worse. Evidence of this clique-within-a-clique can be seen in Figure 01 which shows the prominence of political journalists in political journalists' retweets in both sets of journalists. The in-group bias is particularly pronounced in the US, but the UK data should be treated with caution, as the period studied includes the Manchester bombing in 2017 when some political reporters were drafted in to work as general news reporters.

Figure 01: Prominence of political journalists in interaction patterns on Twitter

Political journalists' preferred RT discussion partners

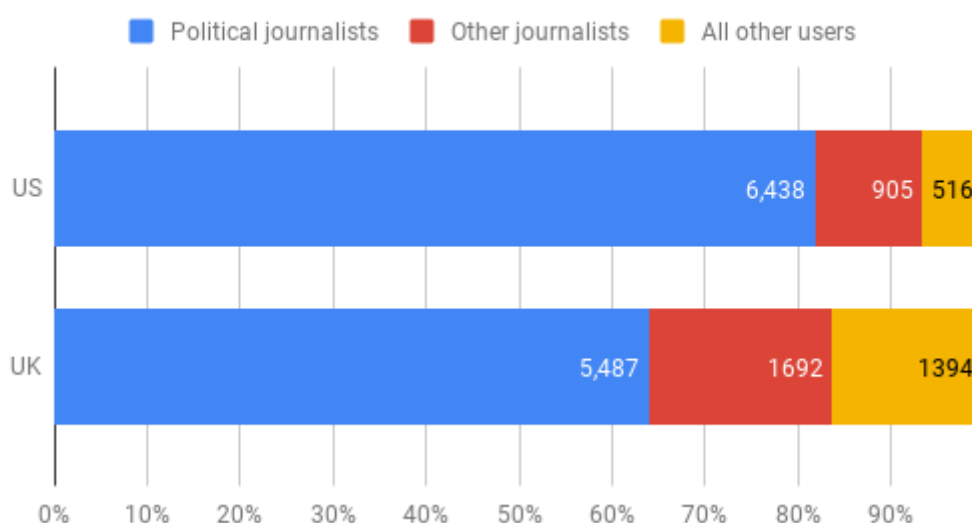


Figure 1: Prominence of journalist-to-journalist interactions

Overall, the findings indicate that the new and emerging ways of making journalism in a hybrid media system have not led journalists to treat their audiences any differently. The traditional practices which journalists use to maintain control of their professional role conception are dominant in their limited interactions with the audience. There is clear evidence of silos-within-silos in political journalism and the findings provide evidence that “pack journalism” routines have crossed over to the hybrid media system as journalists on Twitter are using the affordances of the platform to reinforce existing networks and hierarchies.

THE SECOND SUBMITTED WORK

Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences *Journalism Practice*, 2021 - Taylor & Francis

Social media are now firmly established in journalism and questions about organisational factors that might help shape normalisation are important as they give us a different perspective on the process of normalisation in the newsroom. The findings in this study show that news organisations conceptualise and perceive social media as a vehicle to maintain journalism's professional authority, thus pointing to normalisation. The study identifies the most prevalent institutional logics within leading news organisations in the liberal Western media systems through a qualitative analysis of social media policies to explore how news organisations view their audiences and whether they encourage journalism-source interactions. The study does not make any claims about journalists' practices being linked to their news organisation's policies - indeed the research shows that most journalists pay little conscious attention to them (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014) - but more that news organisation policies work to articulate the organisation's culture and rules in ways that are otherwise learned on the job (Breed, 1955).

Exploring the institutional logics within news organisations shows that journalist-audience interactions are considered part of journalists' digital gatekeeping roles, which reproduce the hierarchy of journalists as professionals in charge of the news with audiences limited to a passive role at some distance from the newsroom, and that any evidence of

“hybrid” normalisation is limited to activities that serve professional logics. The professional logics within news organisations which view journalism as the sole authority in charge of information are seen as prominent in guidance around journalist-audience interactions. Overall newsroom social media policies convey a perception of social media as another arm in their promotional and marketing efforts.

The resulting findings show that the news organisations continue to view their audiences as consumer rather than collaborator but the study also notes the emergence of a hybridised audience-oriented logic which portrays the audience as a potential threat suggesting that news organisations have already begun to respond to the ways in which digital and social media have changed the audience even if those new technologies have not - yet – led to any major changes in their relationship. News organisations view the platforms as primarily promotional and encourage the use of social media only when it serves their commercial and professional goals.

While policies have framed audiences as risks to the institution, and there is mention of some of the dangers associated with use of the platforms, the policies offer little advice on self-protection. The policies simply explore how the risk to the organisation posed by individual use of the platforms can be minimised. Concern for individual safety is outside the scope of what is being done. Journalists are warned about the dangers of social media, but the news organisations offer little advice on self-protection. Another finding which deserves more research amid the inexorable rise in toxic and hostile behaviour on these platforms is towards all journalists, particularly women and people of colour.

THE THIRD SUBMITTED WORK

Potential and pitfalls on Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists.

In G. Gumpert, S. Drucker, *Social Media Laws and Ethics* Vol II. New York, Peter Lang. Forthcoming

Criticism of the functional approach to journalism education, as discussed in Mendelson and Creech (2015), is that it tends to prioritize industry needs over providing students with a thorough understanding of journalistic norms and practices. The third published work develops a model 'best practice' policy, which can be used in tandem with critical pedagogical approaches within the classroom to help students understand key issues in current journalism practice, particularly in relation to the questions around personal and professional practice on social media (Reyes de Cózar et al., 2022). While these findings are prescriptive, they do provide students with a clear sense of the professional use of Twitter, the industry leading social media platform, and can open the door to classroom discussions on the tensions that can and do arise on these public platforms which offer so little protection for users, particularly those who are regarded as more vulnerable. Understanding the concerns within professional news organisations in relation to social media usage can help journalism educators better prepare students for the 21st century workplace, but can also serve as a launching point for discussions about the normative goals of journalism education. The chapter shows that news organisations are primarily concerned about the risks of social media from journalism conduct and activity, and this can be seen across three main areas; how journalists present themselves on social media; what journalists say on social media and what journalists do on social media. A key finding in the study is that news organisations overwhelmingly discourage the use of separate or

private Twitter accounts and that new and student journalists should not pursue a two-account strategy to protect themselves from the associated risks.

Understanding how professional news organisations use platforms like Twitter is key to informing how journalism educators can better prepare students for the 21st century workplace, but this chapter shows that news organisations are more concerned about the *risks* of social media rather than any potential opportunities and this can be seen in three main areas; how journalists present themselves on social media; what journalists say on social media and what journalists do on social media. News organisations are seen to overwhelmingly discourage the use of separate or private Twitter accounts and new and student journalists are advised against keeping two accounts to protect themselves from the associated risks. The concern over risks is seen across a wide range of spheres including, but not limited to the following: Account set-up, use of company logos, disclaimers, and profile details; opinion, commentary or any type of content that could be perceived as support for causes or organisations; sharing, liking, or following, breaking news, sourcing, verification, and retweets. The policies also reflect a growing sense of concern about potentially hostile behaviour from the audience and guidance on how to address such incidents while the more recently updated guidelines are suggesting that journalists should scale back their use of social media in response to the more negative aspects of social media.

Overall, the primary concern conveyed by the guidelines is that new and student journalists should view social media as a key professional, rather than personal tool and that news organisations consider that a journalists' main responsibility on social media is to protect that employer's reputation. Accordingly, this study, which is based on best

practice as articulated in existing policies, helps provide educators with a single point of reference for teaching students about current/existing professional expectations and can help address concerns about student knowledge of professional and personal practice on social media which is often limited at best (Saks et al., 2019) amid the creation of new roles, responsibilities, and skills and patterns of news production, distribution, and consumption inside the hybrid media environment (Carlson, 2017; Jensen et al., 2016; Salaverría & De-Lima-Santos, 2020). The policy documents provide an elegant way to examine newsroom priorities and this study can be used to help couch more critical analysis of social media journalism as discussed in the Contributions and Conclusions section below.

There is a need for more information about journalism practice on social media to be available in journalism classes. This need was first identified in 2015 when the author was asked to introduce a new module at Hofstra University focused on social media theory and practice in journalism. At the time, there were few examples of current best practices in newsrooms to share with students and a lack of formal guidelines from journalism organizations or news outlets. The academic research of the time indicated that some innovation was taking hold, and the author was optimistic about the potential of new media technologies to offer new ways of doing journalism and to enable journalists to engage in conversations with broader communities. As a result, the author was enthusiastic about introducing examples of such practices to students to help them understand the transformative potential of the new hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) and the opportunities it presents for improving journalism and promoting democracy. While this is not sufficient evidence for a research project of this nature, the idea of social media as a normative good originally motivated this project.

6. CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis provides a lens to examine the impact of social media through analysis of both journalists and news media organisations and the lessons we, as educators, can draw from the findings to inform our pedagogy in relation to journalism today. This thesis is important as it provides new insights into the transformation wrought throughout journalism by technology and the implications for journalism education, which continues to wrestle with long-standing questions over whether journalism is a trade to be learned on the job, or a subject to be taught at university (see Folkerts et al, 2013, for an overview). Additionally, this thesis is the first integrated effort to examine the practical and normative goals around social media journalism and considers these in the context of journalism education, as the industry continues to evolve from a mass media legacy system of newspapers, radio and TV to a hybridised legacy, digital and social media system.

In doing so, this thesis has taken a step back from the “change paradigm” to explain more fully some of the “static elements of journalism that get taken for granted” (Peters & Carlson, 2019, p.639) and to use this knowledge to provide scaffolding to help build out a renewed form of journalism pedagogy. The overarching aim of the research was to determine the effect of the hybrid media system on 21st century journalism practice at an organisational and individual level and help provide practical support for educators and at both the level of the organisation and the individual practitioner there is evidence of practices that act to maintain status and privilege. While those practises are enacted in different ways at different levels - the journalist engages in homophilic networks that act to reinforce their membership of a high-status group, as well as shaping their behaviour.

The organisation alternatively sees social media as a tool for promotion and marketing - they negate the affordances offered by the platform for the development of more participatory and dispersed forms of news generation. Turning to education, while the understanding of professional expectations around social media is obviously important for students who need to understand current best practice, to enable them to develop their skills in meeting these standards, to protect themselves - not least from current mistakes later being held against them - it is also critical to learn how to assess lacunae in current standards.

Anecdotes from the author's teaching experience suggest that students can make a variety of mistakes on social media, which can have significant negative consequences for their professional lives. For example, some students may inadvertently share sensitive or confidential information on social media, or they may post unprofessional or inappropriate content that reflects poorly on their character or professionalism. Additionally, students may inadvertently share fake or misleading information on social media, which can damage their credibility as journalists and undermine their reputation. Furthermore, students may engage in online arguments or debates that escalate into public conflicts, which can damage their professional image and reputation. These examples illustrate the need for journalism students to be educated about the potential risks of social media and to be equipped with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate these platforms effectively and responsibly while also remaining critically aware.

The first submitted work shows how political journalists have transferred the legacy media activity of “pack journalism” to Twitter and are more likely to use the platform to create insular groups and echo chambers through which they attend to each other and pay

attention to the information being shared amongst themselves. The results show that Crouse's "cosy and obscure culture of pack journalism" (Hamby, 2013, p.10) and its propensity to promote groupthink has essentially migrated online with higher rates of such insular groups noted among the UK newspaper and US TV cohorts and these online filter bubbles among journalists deserve more attention given the well-documented issues in relation to pack journalism and its connections to creating consensus around news stories (Matusitz & Breen, 2012; Nelson, 2021; Rafter, 2018). More recently, scholars (see Lewis & Molyneux, 2018) have called for renewed research around this question, as Twitter is already seen to reinforce existing networks and hierarchies with power in the online networks closely tracking the same power structures as the powerful networks which previously existed offline (Maarens et al, 2021; Siaperera et al, 2018).

The literature review had suggested the emergence of new "hybrid" routines developing in journalism practice facilitated by social media (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018) but such hybridity was not seen in the political journalists' interactions where any interactions with the audience were limited to the types of "one-off" replies that Parmelee had noted some years earlier. These findings also raise important questions about journalism's unwitting involvement in the spread of misinformation as newer research has linked journalists' traditional fear of being "scooped" with Russian efforts to undermine the 2016 U.S. presidential election as the journalists were lured by Russian agents with "exclusives" about hacked Russian emails with the results that multiple journalists chased the same information and became unwitting agents of disinformation (McClure Haughey, Muralikumar, Wood & Starbird, 2020).

This tendency to chase the same stories and share the same tips may also have contributed to the US press corps' focus on confusing and often conflicting stories about Hillary Clinton's email server and may have also helped shape what Zelizer described as journalism's "massive failure" in the 2016 US election (Zelizer, 2018). This idea of journalism being hijacked by its own norms into promoting mis and dis-information is explored in more detail by McClure et al (2020) and their findings that traditional reporting routines might inadvertently "amplify" mis and disinformation by exposing audiences to primary source misinformation that might otherwise not filter out to the general public (Phillips, 2018); demonstrate the critical importance of a detailed understanding of the forces at work in normalisation. The findings in this research also support calls by Lewis & Molyneux (2018) to investigate more fully the activity of political journalists on social media and the connected problems of pack journalism and filter bubbles among journalism's elite.

The first submitted work also highlights how journalists are persistently talking to and listening to only other journalists despite the availability of many more avenues to listen to and interact with the public and continue to share information amongst themselves rather than using social media to invite their news audiences to contribute to news production processes and the study shows gender inequities persist as male journalists receive greater attention from other journalists online (Luqiu & Liu, 2021; Mourão, 2015; Mourão & Molyneux, 2021). The second submitted work shows that news organisations use their social media policies to promote their journalists' long-standing professional authority and do not encourage their journalists to use social media for newer activities such as interactions with the audience. The results show that news organisations do not encourage or offer guidance on journalist-audience interactions even as they insist on their

journalists' participation on these same platforms. The news organisations are seen to normalise a minimalist model of audience participation by continuing to convey the audience in traditional terms as a passive user or consumer of information.

Through my analysis of the policies it is clear that the institutions' focus is primarily on protecting themselves. The emphasis on organisational priorities in extant social media policies presents itself through a preoccupation with protecting the organisation (and its status/image), to the neglect of meaningful attention around the protection of individual users. While there is evidence of concerns about the self-serving risk to the organisation; fears about employee behaviour and how engaging with the public might harm their brand and status the news organisation guidelines don't materially engage with the risk to online journalists. As there is evidence for the enhanced risks for vulnerable and marginalised users - women, ethnic minorities, members of the LGBT+ community - this omission is likely to contribute to an entrenchment of existing inequalities within the sector. The second work also shows that social media is viewed by news organisations as a marketing or promotional tool for their journalists and much of the concern rests on risks to the institutional brand and reputation, rather than their journalists' personal reputation, despite the awareness of their potentially hostile audiences. The guidance in the social media policies was limited to guidance around journalistic practices to promote the news organisations in the social media policies and suggested a marketing function rather than a journalistic function, even as the policies also served to centre the journalist as the professional in charge of the news.

The third submitted work shows that news organisations' primary concerns are around the potential for risks rather than opportunity and that this derives mainly from fears about possible reputational damage to the news organisation. As noted in this study, the dearth of publicly available policies challenges students seeking to develop their professional skills in this area, and this study offers a resource that should be useful to learners and educators alike. A key finding for educators is that media outlets actively discourage the use of separate or locked accounts on Twitter with the policies warning that such practices will protect neither the journalist nor the news organisation. Understanding professional expectations regarding social media use is an important skill for journalism students, not least due to the persistence of evidence of past online activity. Students need to understand current best practice, to enable them to develop their skills in meeting these standards, to protect themselves from current mistakes later being held against them, and critically assess lacunae in current standards. Many policies, as observed during the data gathering process for this project, either do not exist in written form, or are not publicly available. While the study synthesises currently available policies to generate a 'best practice' set of guidelines, the chapter should be used to help support educators in creating discussion around future critical analysis of the omissions and shortcomings in current policy. For example, there is no guidance on issues such as fostering diversity in social media interactions, whereas a critical analysis of the hybrid media system would suggest that this become a priority. Additionally, the study highlights how many of the guidelines fail to address emerging hybrid media issues such as the tensions around the "publicness" of posts on Twitter in communities where members have asked that journalists "not harvest their posts for stories without permission, hold them up as community representatives without discussion, or potentially expose them to surveillance and harassment" (Freelon, Lopez, Clark & Jackson, 2018), which points to the importance of continued awareness

and discussions in the classroom. And finally, amid continued questions about the issues around professional/personal activity, the third work points to an urgent need for more critical analysis of the hybrid media system in the classroom.

In the conclusion of the thesis, this idea is developed by discussing the implications of the findings for journalism education and the urgent need for more critical analysis of the hybrid media system in the classroom. The results of the study highlight the importance of educating journalism students about the potential risks and opportunities of social media, and the need to equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary to navigate these platforms effectively and responsibly. Furthermore, the findings suggest that journalism educators should provide students with clear guidelines and best practices for using social media in their professional lives, in order to help them avoid potential pitfalls and protect their careers. Given the continued questions and concerns about the relationship between professional and personal activity on social media, there is an urgent need for more critical analysis of the hybrid media system in the classroom, in order to better understand its impact on journalism and to develop strategies for navigating its challenges and opportunities.

Overall, the results of this research add new knowledge to our understanding of the hybrid media's impact on journalism practice. The findings clearly support the idea that normalisation continues to be the main influence within journalism despite the availability of tools and technologies that provide journalism with new and innovative ways to communicate with their audiences. Taken together the three studies in this thesis make a valuable contribution to the knowledge about the state of journalism practice at a time when

the pace of the changes wrought by social media can sometimes make it feel like we are studying the contents of an ocean wave as it passes overhead (Dylko, 2104). The original context for this thesis was the huge explosion in research around journalism and social media, which mainly pointed to perceived positive benefits for the practice of journalism, and a corresponding lack of research into best practice for new and student journalists whose professional understanding of social media is often limited at best. Hindsight of course makes it easier to point out the blind spots in the researchers' belief in "earnest engagement" on third-party social media platforms which had their own profit motives and did not share journalism's goals or values but the assumptions of such good-faith interactions prevailed early-on amid these positive expectations around social media (Hedrick, Karpf & Kreiss, 2018; Hermida, 2015; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018; Vicari, 2017). For example, the early frothy optimism around social media did not anticipate the types of users who would later flock to the platforms posting comments "for the lulz", a distinct type of ambivalent unpleasant humour that is often directed at marginalised groups, as the platforms played host to toxic levels of hostility and abuse against journalists, particularly towards women and people of colour (Lewis & Molyneux, 2018, p. 17; Macomber, 2018; Phillips, 2015; Phillips & Milner, 2017; Spike & Vernon, 2017; Warzel, 2016).

Women journalists have increasingly faced online violence and abuse, including digital security breaches and "doxing" where personal information like their home address or telephone number is revealed. These harms may originate online but expose the journalists to real physical danger offline. As part of a major project by UNESCO in 2022, Al Jazeera's Ghada Oueiss reported facing multiple threats to her safety, including the offer of a US\$50,000 reward for anyone who attempted to kidnap or harm her. Personal information about Serbian journalist Jovana Gligorijević of Vreme was posted in YouTube

comments in 2019 and was only taken down after the breach had been reported to Google more than 30 times. Patricia Devlin, a former journalist at Ireland's *Sunday World* newspaper reported multiple death threats against her and her newborn baby via Facebook from individuals associated with neo-Nazis and paramilitary extremism. All three cases demonstrate the toxic levels of hostility and abuse that journalists may face on social media, as well as the need for social media platforms to take decisive action to protect them from doxing and other digital security breaches. Such breaches can have severe impacts on journalists' mental health and wellbeing (Posetti & Shabbir, 2022), and highlight how important it is for platforms to address them promptly and effectively. As can be seen in these three cases, far from creating more participatory forms of communication, the pernicious nature of social media is serving to re-create more exclusionary spaces where power and privilege (again) play a role in determining who gets to speak and contrasts with the more Habermesian ideal of Twitter as a public sphere although there are similarities in that the same wealthy white males who comprised much of the public sphere which emerged in the 18th century are the same ones accorded power and privilege on today's social media platforms (Robinson, 2017).

Returning to the question posed at the beginning of this thesis, this study set out to assess the effects of new social and digital technologies on journalism practice and in doing so understand the impact of the hybrid media system on journalism. This thesis goes beyond previous work in this area, however, in the manner in which it draws together study of both individual political journalists and journalism organisations, to uncover the manner in which the orientations of both groups serve both to bolster existing status (of reporter and organisational brand, respectively), and consequently to reproduce existing social relations, including social inequalities, at the expense of increased inclusion, diversity of

participation, which the affordances of the new platforms might have supported. When this author started their research, much of the academic literature noted the speed, if not the skilfulness, with which journalists had adopted social media, particularly Twitter (Engesser & Humprecht, 2015; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018).

The swift adoption of Twitter created a rich trail of data for researchers to analyse journalists' digital breadcrumbs and provided a clear view into individual practice at a time of great change in the news industry. In contrast, there was much less insight available into the concerns within news organisations as there was no similar data seam to mine as the news outlets were initially slow to formulate social media policies, which also signals how little value they placed on social media at the time. Taken together, the findings in this thesis suggest that both practitioners and organisations are resisting using technology for innovative purposes and use it instead to maintain their traditional journalism practice and to reinforce their traditional professional authority. It is now possible to state that the impact of the hybrid media system on journalism practice can be seen to have reinforced the process of normalisation in relation to journalism-audience interaction and this can be seen in the marked presence of journalistic homophily on Twitter and the prevalence of professional logics in mainstream news organisations' social media policies in the Western media systems as they discourage the use of social media for innovative purposes such as greater engagement with the audience and are seen to consider journalistic activity on Twitter as very much the news organisation's business, a finding which can assist journalism educators in understanding organisational imperatives regarding use of social media and help inform new communities of practice in the classroom.

7. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis set out to answer crucial questions about the hybrid media system's effect on the nature of journalism practice by taking a step back from the *change* narrative to consider which routines may have continued or persisted in the “normalised” transfer of practice from legacy to hybrid media. This thesis aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how and why the field “is as it is” and to then apply those insights into a framework for journalism educators to help their students understand how to practise journalism in a hybrid media system (Peters & Carlson, 2019, p. 64). These questions were considered in the context of one of the most consistent themes in the literature - the normalisation hypothesis - which holds that new technologies will not necessarily lead to any fundamental changes in the way power is enacted as the power structures will simply transfer online (for examples see Singer, 2005; Lasorsa et al, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). Such power structures are often enacted at a journalism practitioner level through journalists' tendency to form tight-knit insular groups, a process more scholarly known as homophily (see Clancy, 2022 for a recent overview). This concept is well-documented in the literature around older media practises, but was neglected in earlier studies despite well-founded and long-standing concerns about the impacts of such insular practices (see Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019 for discussion on this), and observations of high rates of journalist-to-journalist interactions on social media.

This thesis joins current work in the field (see Hanusch & Nölleke, 2019; Maares et al, 2021; Parmelee et al. 2019; Usher, Holcomb & Littman 2018), which is revisiting the practice of homophily amid consistent findings that Twitter perpetuates and exacerbates existing networks and hierarchies and particularly amplifies the voices of male journalists. Journalism work practices on social media platforms have been the focus of much research over the past decade amid the emergence of innovative technologies which, theoretically at least, enable new participatory interactions between news organisations and their audiences and this thesis shows that political journalists were instead using social media affordances such as retweets and replies to seek validation around facts, news agenda and acceptable opinions from other journalists or otherwise build and maintain social capital with their peers (see Donsbach, 2004, p. 140) and that both men *and* women were much more likely to amplify male voices, which indicates continued issues over women's minority status and gender bias against women in political journalism (see Usher, Holcomb & Littman, 2018, for broader discussion).

The findings of homophilous networks quite clearly indicate major challenges in building diversity in news as such groups are linked to the negative and unethical practice of pack journalism and high levels of uncritical consensus and groupthink among the journalists (Matusitz & Breen 2012) and exploring normalisation in this way shows how such “taken for granted” offline practises are being re-created in the hybrid media system. Such processes are known to be difficult to prevent at an individual level (Vergeer, 2015) and therefore this study ought to be helpful for educators in creating more awareness around engagement on platforms like Twitter and helping students learn how to avoid the types of intra-journalistic activity and pack journalism identified here.

While the first study explored the question of normalisation through analysis of individual practitioners' routines around journalist-audience interactions, the second study explored this question through analysis of news organisation social media policies to understand how news organisations were responding to the opportunities for such interactions against the backdrop of normative studies, which hailed audience engagement as a potential solution to the industry's business woes (for discussion see Nelson, 2021a). Drawing from organisational theory, I used an institutional logics perspective, as this approach is a well-documented way of creating a lens into the main concerns and priorities within organisations and using this theoretical framework allowed me to demonstrate that news organisations continue to conceptualise the news audience in ways that enhance their *professional* logics and maintain the traditional distance between journalist and news audience even as social and digital media technologies continue to weaken journalism's longstanding control over content. Using an institutional logics perspective allows researchers to explore the underlying factors that shape organisational protocols and thereby influence whether organisations will adopt new or innovative practises, as this perspective reveals organisational imperatives that are often hidden (see Bélair-Gagnon et al, 2020; Lischka, 2020).

Thus, the second study looked to news outlets to see if their internal rules or policies continued to conceptualise journalists as professional information authorities or whether the news outlets were developing new logics. It is important to note that this research is not arguing that the policies would necessarily influence their journalists' practice as studies say such influence is minimal (see Boeyink, 1994); but more to understand whether news organisations are changing long-standing practice in response to the emergence of the hybrid media system, or if they are pursuing a process of

normalisation (Robinson, 2010). The policies of news organizations present the social audience as a traditional construct in relation to the professional role of journalists and news-gathering, but also suggest that the audience is being reshaped by social media in ways that merit organizational concern. For example, several news organizations discuss how social media communities have their own etiquette and customs, and how journalists should observe them. The study notes the emergence of newer audience-oriented values, but these are not seen to be located in professional logics, indicating that audience awareness is not considered a priority in professional practice and that while news organisations understand that the news audience *is* being transformed by the hybrid media system their relationship remains rooted in legacy norms and routines. The study highlights that news organizations view the audience as largely passive or possibly problematic, pointing to the need for dedicated training in newsrooms and classrooms around social media audiences and this should be a particular priority in light of the increasing online hostility towards journalists. Ultimately, the key findings of the thesis, which show that journalists tend to stick together on social media and that news organisations see social media as a business and marketing tool, point to the continuation and reconfiguration of traditional power structures online, and highlight the need for such close examination of these "taken-for-granted" practices.

For example, the first study found that journalists tend to form exclusive and insular groups online, leading to the creation of echo chambers or filter bubbles, which shows that it is *journalists*, rather than their news audiences, who are more likely to avoid diverse groups on social media, and indeed newer research shows that typical social media users are actually exposed to a diverse range of information sources online (Bruns, 2019; 2021, p. 35; Pariser, 2011; Sunstein, 2018). Such journalistic in-groups are known to be prone to

groupthink and a propensity to focus on the same issues, and this consensus was visible in the American journalism output around Trump which often prioritized spectacle over substantive policy issues and helped to depict a false equivalence between him and Clinton. In a searing critique of the 2016 election reporting, Zelizer (2018) called on journalists to learn how to listen more actively; treat class and race as more than disruptions, and develop social media accountability. This thesis shows that journalists can start that work now by actively dismantling their comfortable journalism packs and considering the connections between their insular social media silos and their subsequent journalism output (see Fletcher & Nielsen, 2018; Molyneux & Mourao, 2019; Usher et al, 2018; Wihbey, Joseph & Lazer, 2019). This thesis illustrates that journalists have brought problematic legacy practices to social media, and, as stated earlier, these practices may not be robust enough to withstand the pressures of the new hybrid media system. For example, recent studies suggest that disinformation agents may have exploited journalists' pack reporting practices to spread Russian propaganda in the 2016 US election, and may help explain the resulting focus on quite complicated stories like those about Clinton's email server (McClure Haughey, Muralikumar, Wood & Starbird, 2020; Peters & Carlson, 2019, p. 640; Zelizer, 2018).

However, while journalists can be seen to have neglected the potential for journalist-audience interactions, which were initially presumed to be a "net good" of social media, it is important to note that such practises are actively being reconsidered now, even by earlier enthusiasts, due to the rising rates of online harassment of journalists, particularly women, ethnic minorities, members of the LGBTQ+ community and people with disabilities (Lewis, Zamith & Coddington, 2020). The growing body of research into the prevalence of ugly or sinister forms of malicious audience engagement known as "dark

participation” shows unprecedented levels of hostility and harassment are being seen towards journalists online, particularly towards women and people of colour (Chen et al. 2018; Gardiner 2018; Macomber, 2018; Spike & Vernon, 2017; Posetti et al., 2020) amid a growing concern that online interactions may actually be unsafe with Quandt among those sounding the alarm, writing the “whole proposition of grassroots journalism was one-sided from the beginning; it was a democratic and economic utopia that primarily revolved around the journalistic perspective and academic wishful thinking” (Quandt, 2018, p. 37).

Turning to the news media, there is some evidence of organisational concern around potential online abuse towards their journalists, but the formal social media policies generally conceptualise the audience as largely passive and show that professional logics continue to prevail around journalist-audience interactions. The early identification of audience-oriented themes in the guidelines had raised expectations of new institutional logics around their news audiences. However, closer study revealed these new themes conformed to existing professional logics and bracketed both professional and commercial logics in the stated concerns about threats to the individual safety and brand reputation and indicated that news organisations do not consider the audience as a participant or potential collaborator in the professional practice of journalism (Hedman, 2015; Lewis et al., 2014; Nelson, 2021; Yiping et al., 2020). Despite the emergence of these nascent audience logics, the thesis shows that news organisations still regard journalism as a product under their professional control rather than a product that might benefit from community input or reciprocal exchanges with readers or community members or indeed efforts to build trust and strengthen ties with community members (Bélair-Gagnon, Nelson, & Lewis, 2019). Overall, there was no evidence of intent or desire to build community relationships beyond the simple consumption of news or more traditional expectations that limits audience

engagement to letters to the editor, or on-the-spot quotes (Lewis et al, 2014); Jones, 2019; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019).

The study shows that professional logics still play a major role in news organisations and that social media culture is appropriated only when it reinforces journalists' professional role. However, any such efforts at involving the audience in the selection and production of news would clearly challenge the status and legitimacy of journalists and thus this organisational resistance can also be considered in the context of what Nelson (2021) termed the "currency" issue where news organisations will need to see a direct return on investment before changing practice. While the study makes clear that news organisations are not (yet) inviting the audience to actively collaborate, the lack of any clear transactional value for publishers, the hidden costs of journalists' unpaid labour on social media and the concern over online threats may well contribute to the continued prevalence of professional logics in journalism practice. There is also concern around the increasing demonization of the press by populist political leaders and this "mob censorship" complicates the way that journalists think about and act towards their audiences as it opens up space for journalists to be threatened as never before, fundamentally endangering their professional authority and, in some cases, their personal safety (Lewis & Molyneux, 2018; Lewis et al, 2020; Martin & Murrell, 2021; Nelson, 2018; Robinson, 2011; Waisbord, 2020, p. 1030). Meanwhile, while the third study makes it clear that news organisations do encourage journalists to be active on social media there is no commentary in the guidelines and little in the literature about the considerable labour cost to journalists for all this extra work (see Nelson, 2018; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018) and it is interesting to note here that Irish journalism students flagged this as a concern in recent focus groups (Wheatley, Quinn & Fincham, 2022).

Which brings us to a recurring theme throughout this thesis. What are the implications of the convergence of traditional and digital media for the future of journalism education? What now for an education curriculum which has traditionally been guided by the experiences of former journalists who have moved from practice to academia (see Evans, 2014, for discussion) and who may well have left their respective newsrooms before the widespread journalistic adoption of social media? Journalism education has been criticised in the past for failing to mediate the reality of the work by focusing instead on “overridealized notions” which have only served to emphasise the divide between the conflicting orientations of theoretical-academic and practical-professional (see Jaakkola, 2019, for discussion) but the emergence of the hybrid media system and an increased digitisation of the field have resulted in a focus on digital competences which may help push academia ever closer to the industry (Alexander & Giarraffa, 2021; Reyes-de-Cózar et al, 2022). The turn towards a digital and technological emphasis in educational offerings may have helped allay educators’ concerns about journalism’s digital evolution but it has also resulted in a focus on “unacknowledged technological determinisms” within the curriculum (Creech & Mendelson, 2015, p.153) which do much to instil technical mastery of the practice but little to expand students’ understanding of a converged media system which is informed more by industry-centric logic - again putting pressure on academia to simply serve industry interests.

This thesis argues that journalism education should move beyond a narrow technological interpretation of the hybrid media system and instead perhaps critique the longstanding practices made visible within this system, such as the tendencies towards

"pack journalism." By adopting this approach, journalism education can address fundamental principles and values of the profession, rather than just focusing on the technological revolution and its impacts, which may serve industry interests rather than education. This can also serve to promote greater diversity in sourcing and address longstanding issues in the field.

The concerns over an orientation towards industry or more reflexive-based academia are longstanding debates in journalism education and these competing tensions have been present since the first journalism school was founded in 1908 at the University of Missouri, as journalists began to claim professional status. Since then, journalism education has primarily concerned itself with training students for careers in news media environments, particularly newspapers (Deuze, 2007; Mensing, 2010), a position which has consistently provoked conflict as to whether or not journalism is a trade to be learned on the job or a broad subject area to be taught at university, not to mention a general lack of consensus among educators on how and why journalism practice should develop and even less agreement around ways of thinking or practising journalism (Evans, 2014; Folkerts et al, 2013; Holmes et al., 2013).

This conflict was famously highlighted by then president of the American Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) James Carey in 1979 when he appealed to American journalism educators to incorporate critical *analysis* of practice into the practice-based curriculum, arguing that theory should play at least an equal role and that a focus on professional norms and skills served more as a tool to transmit industry ideology rather than helping students situate journalism in the wider society (Carey, 1979). However, while the conflict itself is not new, and may have been

manageable in a newspaper-led curriculum, what is new is that the scale and pace of the industry upheaval has made the role of journalism education increasingly critical precisely because of the increased demands from a real-life hybrid media environment (Folkerts et al, 2013; Maniou, Stark, & Touwen, 2020).

In an era where social and digital technologies shape so much of the mediated environment educators now need to work with multiple logics in order to create a well-rounded curriculum and, as emphasised in these studies, students need to understand the hybrid media environment to navigate the developing standards and ethics around social media. This means teaching students how to find and use reliable sources, how to verify information, how to tell stories that resonate with audiences and how to make sure they connect with more diverse sources and avoid the traps of pack journalism. They must also be more aware of the potential biases that may be inherent in their work and strive to avoid (or recognise the pull of) those occupational filter bubbles and echo chambers. Additionally, they need to be more transparent about their sources and methods and willing to engage in dialogue with those who may disagree with their reporting, as long as the motive is not hostile. Increasingly, students also need guidance on how to protect themselves against online harms, and the findings in the third paper offer guidance in these areas as well as other newer issues around online conduct and activity, private or separate accounts, and the expression of opinion online, as well as evolving norms and ethics related to audience content.

In the past, competences have often been explored through the "experiential learning" (Kolb, 1984) teaching hospital or "newsday" model, where students where students meet once a week for the entire day and work on a news product under the

guidance of teaching staff. A typical “newsday” begins with a story conference and ends with a staff meeting as in a conventional newsroom where students perform very practical journalism skills in an experiential learning curriculum with their learning formed and re-formed through practice and student reflection on the process. However, scholars have argued that this model is outdated and inadequate for addressing the concerns of a hybrid media environment (see Solkin, 2022, for discussion). It is time to consider alternative approaches that better reflect the realities of contemporary journalism. For example, while the newsday focus is on the instrumental demands of a hybrid media newsroom, this thesis has identified multiple concerns around more critical awareness of the implications of the technology in a hybrid media newsroom and the findings around the audience expectations of privacy and sourcing ought to be incorporated into a reimagined newsday curriculum given these widespread issues around the journalists’ imagined audiences (see Nelson, 2021, for a detailed overview). The prevalence of guidance around a potentially hostile audience underscores an increasingly abusive environment on social media for journalists, particularly for women and people of colour and again a reimagined newsday should incorporate more detailed instruction and awareness of such concerns. Additionally, the newsday focus on the “how” rather than the “why” or even the “should”, reinforces the idea that students are merely empty vessels that can be filled with journalism competencies and avoids the type of instruction that might “inspire critical engagement with a way of being in the world, beyond just a way of setting up shop” and fails to even reflect the changes taking place in journalism outside the university (Deuze, 2017, p. 322; Mensing, 2010; Skjerdal & Ngugi, 2007).

Mensing and Ryle (2013) argued that the traditional newsday model reinforces the status quo and hinders students from adopting innovative models of behaviour. They

proposed a more community-centred, identity-infused journalism curriculum to help teach students how to develop broader networks with experts, mentors, collaborators, and peers and also learn how to navigate an environment “structured more by networks than the one-way mass media” (Mensing & Ryle, 2013, p. 30-34). This approach, which envisages community members building social capital that enhances the community members’ wellbeing has gained increased support in recent years (see Martin & Murrell, 2021) and differs significantly different from the experiential learning model as it theorises learning as occurring most effectively within communities where members (students) develop proficiencies in areas like cooperation, problem solving, building trust, understanding and draws from the ideas of learning as participation developed by Lave and Wenger in 1991. The role of the new learner is critical in this model as “individuals work together by employing shared routines and complementary skills, and a location where new participants are socialised into the community” (Husband, 2005, p. 463) and such participation involves learning the skills, knowledge and *values* of the community which results in the acquisition of both new knowledge and a shared identity. In this way the journalist who has a good “nose” for a story is a result both of the shared identity - which is a mystery to outsiders - and the fusion of both discursive and practical consciousness that can occur within such communities (Meltzer & Martik, 2017). Domains, communities, and practises are deemed essential here as in “a *domain* of knowledge, which defines a set of issues; a *community* of people who care about this domain; and the shared *practice* that they are developing to be effective in their domain” (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder, 2002, p.27).

Such communities of practice are already present in student media or college newsrooms and it is in these spaces, rather than the more synthetic simulations of the longstanding newsdays, where educators and students might develop "a seedbed for more

vital forms of journalism" (DiBiase & Adamo, 2017, p. 21). This type of model would offer a markedly different teaching and learning experience to the more straightforward transfer of knowledge that occurs in the traditional newsday and this pivot from an industry-centred model to a community-centred pedagogy could serve as a vital way to re-engage a more productive and vital role for education in the future of journalism as envisaged by Mensing (2010, 2013). In this way educators could then seek to support students' work towards developing critical engagement with the industry and expanding their understanding of communities, while also leaving space for essential guidance and support from educators and professional mentors (Reyes de Cózar et al., 2022).

The challenges for educators are pressing, but the need for such critical engagement and guidance is crucial if students are to effectively navigate the hybrid media system. For example, this thesis partly came about due to my own concerns about the lack of industry "best practice" guidelines for students when I was asked to introduce a new module about social media journalism at Hofstra University in 2015. Like many, I was optimistic about the potential of new media technologies to create opportunities for journalists to engage with wider news audiences, but I also wanted to ensure that students were protected from making career-ending mistakes on these platforms. However, finding examples of best practices and industry guidelines for students proved difficult, as most news outlets simply repeated the BBC's "don't do anything stupid" advice. While this is of course not sufficient evidence for a research project of this nature, the initial lack of concrete guidance motivated my desire to introduce students to examples of effective practices and help them understand the potential of the hybrid media system to facilitate more democratic and improved forms of journalism. Since then, my own experience as a journalism educator leads me to agree with Reyes de Cózar et al., (2022) that clear and straightforward guidelines, such as those

in the third study, are necessary to support student engagement, particularly in relation to the questions around personal and professional practice. However, we must still find a way to integrate more critical pedagogy overall, as a way of helping students understand the role that journalists and journalism can play within those communities and how to avoid following the “taken for granted” aspects of journalism which have been discussed above and that create distance between the journalist and their news audiences.

For this reason, it is important for journalism educators to start by cautioning students about their online activities and helping them develop their critical engagement with norms of behaviour. This will provide them with protection as they navigate the hybrid media system. Furthermore, there is a need for students to continuously reflect on their practice and their relationship to the industry. The current climate for journalists is difficult, and it is essential that they become more critical of their own work and that of their colleagues. To prepare students for the hybrid media system, journalism educators should move beyond silo-based curricula and instead focus on helping students understand how to negotiate and navigate the hybrid media environment. While we may assume that students are aware of the socio-historical context of their practice, the evidence suggests otherwise. A module on concepts such as homophily and the sociology of technology determinism, as well as theories of pack journalism and institutional logics, and the news audience, could help address this gap. By examining the normalization process, students can gain a better understanding of the potential consequences of these technologies for the practice of journalism and contribute to discussions about the role of technology in journalism. As educators, we understand that it is important for students to develop their ability to critically and empathetically engage with the challenges faced by others, such as limited diversity and lack of understanding of the risks faced by people of colour, women, and the LGBTQ+

community. By using more discursive approaches to exploring norms and the tensions that arise, we can support deep student learning and ethical engagement. In this light, social media is not just a tool for journalists, but also a window into the way journalists work and the priorities of news organizations, which can help students understand how those priorities are communicated to journalists.

There are other challenges too. Students still need to know how to navigate these third-party platforms where there are too few mechanisms for protection and too many mechanisms for harm on spaces that are at once essential and external to the newsroom. These issues around safety and professionalism need to be front and centre of classroom discussions around social media journalism especially given the very valid fears about online hostility towards journalists. And in the near distance, there is the looming rise of artificial intelligence which poses particular and specific threats to journalism and practice-focused journalism pedagogy. In sum, it is crucial that students have a critical understanding of the technologies, practices, and power relationships within the sector rather than the more instrumental competences. Millar (2012) suggested expanding the scope of the humanities to incorporate both vocational and theoretical elements and a communities of practice approach has the potential to significantly impact the nature of journalism through education (Solkin, 2022, p. 453). By conceptualizing journalism education and journalism itself in this way, the focus is shifted away from industrial or post-industrial newsrooms (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2015) and towards preparing students for careers in environments that involve community engagement as part of the process, rather than just the final product.

As educators, much of what we teach is informed by our former practice. However, it is challenging to provide guidance to students on the future of journalism when much of the knowledge transfer is still shaped by our understanding of a normative landscape that has changed significantly and a newsroom that no longer exists. Following a "culture of inquiry" (Zelizer, 2004, 2009) that is more closely linked to communities of practice would help students understand how to explore the complexity of subjectivity and structures, rather than simply knowing how to report crises and events (Callison & Young, 2019; Robinson & Culver, 2016; Wenzel & Crittenden, 2021). Such an approach would also create space for discussions about thorny issues such as the norm of objectivity, which is often cited as the rationale for journalists' professional distance from their news audience, but also serves to obscure how journalism legitimises, amplifies, and reinforces certain viewpoints and perceptions, and reflects particular social orders (especially in ways that reinforce white supremacy and masculinity). Advocates of "systems journalism" (Callison & Young, 2019; Robinson & Culver, 2016; Wenzel & Crittenden, 2021) argue that communities would be better served if journalists acknowledged their own participation as citizens and partners and this idea aligns with Mensing's community-centered model and the notion of fostering a more participatory and inclusive approach to news gathering and dissemination (Mensing, 2010; Mensing & Ryle, 2013). Such a model emphasizes the role of the community in shaping the news and places a greater emphasis on engaging with and serving the needs of the local community. This approach can involve a variety of strategies, such as seeking out diverse voices and perspectives, actively engaging with the community through events and workshops, and working to build trust and credibility with the audience. By adopting a community-centred model, journalists and news organizations can work to create a more collaborative and democratic approach to journalism that better reflects the needs and concerns of the community.

Given that the findings from this research highlight the continuing focus on the industry in relation to journalism professionalism and the resulting unwanted practices such as pack journalism, educators should consider incorporating the two approaches described below as a way to bring communities of practice into the classroom and helping students learn how to critically engage with the practice of journalism.

1. *Community-driven approach to journalism professionalization through the Communities of Practice framework:* The Communities of Practice (CoP) framework offers an alternative approach to traditional models of journalism professionalisation, which often view journalists as the primary experts in the field. The CoP framework instead conceives of professionalisation as a collaborative process in which journalists actively engage with their news audience and work with them to co-create and set the terms of reference for potential news stories. This approach not only promotes accountability, responsibility, and excellence within the field of journalism, but it also has the potential to transform the relationship between media organisations and the communities they serve. Universities can play a vital role in supporting this shift by providing opportunities for students to work with community stakeholders through campus media or newspapers, with educators serving as mentors in the background. By adopting a community-centred approach, journalism educators can help prepare their students for careers in which they are able to effectively navigate complex social issues and build meaningful connections with the public.

2. *Networked journalism model which emphasises active engagement with communities:* Instead of relying on traditional models of professional journalism practice, which tend to

reinforce a one-way, journalist-centred approach, educators should consider helping students develop skills for networked journalism where the journalist is visible and actively engaged in the communities they cover. This systems-based approach, which emphasizes the role of journalists in shaping the public agenda through their coverage of particular issues, can help students understand how journalism's agenda-setting power is connected to the norms and routines that are pervasive throughout Western media systems. It can also help them understand how these practices can sometimes have harmful consequences, such as tendencies towards pack journalism and the inability to read the larger political context. Through a networked journalism model, students can learn to be more visible and actively engaged in their communities, developing the skills and knowledge necessary to tackle social and political issues and also creating a more robust sense of connection with their news audiences.

Looking back over this research it is clear that the taken-for-granted journalism practices which journalists and news organisations have “normalised” and transferred to social media need to be re-examined in light of the more pressing challenges of the hybrid media system and the ways in which power resides with those who use social media to “create, tap, and steer information flows to suit their goals and in ways that modify, enable, and disable the power of others, across and between a range of older and newer media” (Chadwick, 2017, p. 290). In as much as journalism education is concerned perhaps we must reach back to James Carey’s address to the AEJMC in 1979 when he said: “We must recognise that we are not merely training people for a profession, or for the current demands of professional practice, but for membership in the public and for a future that transcends both the limitations of contemporary practice and contemporary politics... we must be

concerned to teach, above all, the limitations of journalism as a practice” (Carey, 1979, p. 854).

Perhaps the gaps between occupational and academic learning can be bridged by transforming journalism education into a place where the impact of the practice is discussed as much as the practice itself. After all, in an era where diversity in sourcing becomes even more of an imperative in journalism, a “communities of practice” model might help educators foster cultural competences in empathy, sensitivity, and understanding, as a fluency in communicating with audiences who are not made up of only people like themselves, thus helping journalists read the room more effectively. Given the overlaps between the experiential and situated learning it could be argued that a hybrid version of these could be the best way to help students situate journalism in today’s society and help us, as educators, prepare students for a hybrid media environment that we can’t yet imagine.

For example, while newsrooms expect new and student journalists to be proficient in the professional use of social media, research indicates that journalism students are struggling to acquire the “deep level of digital competence,” needed for 21st century journalism, particularly in relation to best practices around personal and professional use of social media in journalism (Reyes-de-Cózar et al., 2022). The findings in this thesis show that while mainstream news organisations in Western democratic media environments expect their journalists to be active participants on social media, they do not guide them around such participation beyond a prescriptive list of things to do and not do while the first study clearly shows just how much of journalists’ online activity reinforces pack journalism practises. A re-imagined journalism education can fill the gap - providing

students with the tools to engage in ongoing critical reflection of their roles and professional practices and in a changing journalism landscape. This thesis, by exploring some of the forces that shape (and constrain) responses to these changing circumstances, can contribute to developing a pedagogy that is responsive to the needs of the profession and its stakeholders.

Future research questions

This thesis sees a need for renewed scrutiny around social media in journalism and a more critical accounting of the taken-for-granted practices that are identified here, the consensus-seeking approach within elite political journalism circles amid major and significant questions about whether or not journalists are equipped to deal with bad actors in a hybrid media. The public's awareness of issues is still linked to what journalists know and given the key role that journalism continues, despite all its difficulties, to play in political communication, it is important to study the journalism filter bubbles and also to address these questions in terms of the moral panic (Bruns, 2018) around the propensity of citizens to interact in filter bubbles whereas the findings in this study show that it is the journalistic elite, the specialty within a specialty, who are more likely to be in online filter bubbles.

Future research could also explore what journalists are discussing on social media and whose content they see on their feeds in the context of their journalism output. For example, we need to better understand which kinds of colleague's journalists connect with to identify areas of journalism that may particularly suffer from "groupthink" phenomena more than others. Such research would add to the gap in the literature about media power in a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2017) and help journalists understand how their own norms and routines (such as giving "both sides" a hearing) can be compromised by bad actors who steer information to journalists for the sole reason of amplification rather than debate, raising more questions about journalism norms like impartiality which have become much more complex in a hybrid media system.

While this thesis did not specifically set out to address the news audience, the absence of the news audience is consistent throughout and future research could move away from the producer-oriented concerns around the audience (which are evident in the papers) and consider the role of the audience in conceptualising news and informational needs and moreover "to theorise what this means for journalism's role in society and everyday life" (Swart et al, 2022).

Additionally, more and urgent research is needed to help safeguard journalists who are members of marginalised communities, including women, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and Black, Indigenous, and people of colour, who disproportionately experience online and offline attacks.

Addendum

In October 2022, the \$44 billion acquisition of Twitter by Elon Musk generated widespread controversy and sparked concerns about the potential impacts on journalism practice on the platform. Throughout this thesis, I have emphasized the complex and important role of Twitter for journalists and news organizations and its role as a medium for news and information dissemination. However, the series of chaotic events following the acquisition - including attacks on journalists, endorsements of Republicans in the US midterm elections, the reversal of the ban on former US President Donald Trump, the spread of conspiracy theories, the firing of half of Twitter's workforce, and the suspension of accounts belonging to journalists who disagree with Musk's actions - have led many to question the platform's future and explore alternative options. In particular, changes to Twitter's verification system, which has been crucial in helping the public determine the

authenticity or provenance of tweets and is now open to anyone with a credit card, raise significant questions about the platform's continued viability as a reliable source of information. It is uncertain what the next medium for journalism connection will be, and this situation may represent one of McChesney's "critical junctures," providing an opportunity for the journalism industry to create a social media platform that meets the needs of both journalism and the news audience. Despite its flaws, it is clear that Twitter has played a vital role in shaping the landscape of contemporary journalism, and it is important to continue examining and evaluating the platform's role in journalism practice, as well as considering the broader implications of its evolution and future direction.

Limitations

A key strength of this study is the mixed methods approach which combines quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Individually, these approaches can be used to answer different questions, but combining them as I have done here can result in more in-depth findings and argues for more such studies in the future. For example, a qualitative analysis in the first submitted work could incorporate a textual content analysis of the journalists' tweets to examine for tone and content or, following Degen and Olgemöller (2021) it could build on the existing methodology by including articles published by the journalists' respective media outlets. This could allow the researcher to not only identify the topics of interest, but also to better understand the context in which these topics are being discussed. In the second submitted work a quantitative analysis could ask questions about statistical significance of the type of news outlet and prevalence of

professional logics. The study could look at relationships between the type of news outlet, the prevalence of professional logics, and the type of language used. The third submitted work could ask questions about the relationship between the type of news outlet and the type of language used. The study could also look at the relationship between the type of news outlet and the prevalence of professional logics. It is also important to note that while Twitter is by far the most popular social media platform for journalism studies (Jungherr, Schoen, Posegga, & Jürgens, 2016; Mellon & Prosser, 2017; Mitchell & Hitlin, 2013) it is also the most accessible social media platform for data collection (Rogers, 2021) and this may be partially responsible for its popularity in journalism studies and these factors do need to be considered when making generalisations from the findings.

While the results show that US and UK political journalists restrict the range and diversity of voices chosen as discussion partners, there are further limitations to this study. For example, while the journalists generated a sizeable number of tweets the population size itself was kept relatively small to allow for manual coding and analysis. A larger population size could have explored these issues in more detail, but this would have entailed more coders and/or machine analysis. Content analysis would have helped in exploring some of the issues, particularly the cross-national difference observed in replies.

The focus on formal and publicly available social media policy documents means that the sample size is small and may not be representative of all the policies that are currently in place as it is missing policies from major news organisations such as *The Irish Times* and *The Washington Post*. However as noted earlier this should not be considered a significant limitation as all research into Western media organisations so far has drawn

from the same limited pool of data and, as discussed earlier, the literature tells us that news organisations will mimic each other in policy and as such these can be considered representative of the broader western news media environment. However, the focus on mainstream news organisations does exclude smaller local or community news organisations, which may have a different focus to those organisations analysed in this study.

The methodology in the first submitted work has been criticised in the past as users selected from social media are there by intent rather than randomly, which has introduced questions about bias and/or context with in large-data collections (Bruns & Highfield, 2013; Hargittai, 2015; Jungherr, 2016; Majó-Vázquez, Zhao & Nielsen, 2017). But this methodology suits a study which is looking explicitly specific users' patterns of behaviour. Additionally, the laborious manual selection of the user sample prevented the inclusion of TV personalities such as Anderson Cooper who featured in the huge dataset compiled by Lotan et al (2011) as Cooper's work is significantly different and situated in a different context to the day-to-day practice of political reporting which was a key goal of the inquiry. The focus on addressivity markers such as replies and retweets avoided the known issues with doing research on hashtags avoided be weakened by the frequency with which such hashtags can be subsumed or "captured" by strategic actors for their own ends (Siapera et al, 2018).

8: FULL TEXTS OF SUBMITTED WORKS

Submitted papers

Article	Core Research Question(s)	Data Sources	Contribution
I	To what extent can homophily be identified in political journalists' interactions on Twitter during election campaigns and can we identify any shared characteristics such as types of news organisations and gender.	Replies; retweets and mentions from a targeted corpus of political journalists in the US and UK N=57,812.	Identified homophily among political journalists and evidence of continuing gender inequities.
II	Are professional logics most prominent within news organisations in relation to the social media news audience or can we identify the emergence of newer logics?	Content analysis of social media guidelines around engagement between newsrooms and their audiences	Found professional logics most prevalent in news organisations' social media guidelines.
III	What persistent themes can we detect in social media guidelines from mainstream news organisations to help educators guide new and student journalists?	Textual analysis of broad social media guidelines for most prevalent concerns.	Found evidence news organisations consider journalists' social media their business and that student journalists should not use separate or private accounts for work.

Table 4: Submitted papers

Declaration of Authorship

Candidates are required to submit a separate **Declaration of Authorship** form for each co-authored paper submitted for examination as part of a PhD by Publication thesis. Further information is available from the [accompanying guideline document](#).¹

Section 1: Candidate's details	
Candidate's Name	Kelly Fincham
DCU Student Number	52149463
School	Communications
Principal Supervisor	Prof. Jane Suiter
Title of PhD by Publication Thesis	#journalism: Twitter's impact on 21 st century journalism practice
Section 2: Paper details	
Title of co-authored paper included in the thesis under examination	Exploring political journalism homophily on Twitter: A comparative analysis of US and UK elections in 2016 and 2017. <i>Media and Communication</i> , 7(1), 213-224 (2019)
Publication Status	Published
ISSN and link to URL (where available)	https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i1.1765
This paper is one of 3 co-authored papers to be submitted as part of the PhD by publication thesis submitted for examination	
Section 3: Candidate's contribution to the paper	
Provide details below of the nature and extent of your contribution to the paper (include both your intellectual and practical contributions) and your overall contribution in percentage terms:	
I confirm that I am solely responsible for this paper	
Where a paper has joint or multiple authors, list the names of all other authors who contributed to the work (this can be appended in a separate document, where necessary):	

¹ 'Guidelines for candidates, supervisors and examiners on the 'PhD by Publication' format': <https://www.dcu.ie/graduatestudies/A-Z-of-GSO-Policies.shtml>

Section 4: Signature and Validation

I confirm that the following statements are true:

- (a) the information I have provided in this form is correct
- (b) this paper is based on research undertaken during my candidature at DCU

Signature of PhD Candidate: _____

Kelly Finchan

Date: 13/06/2022

I confirm that the information provided by the candidate is correct:

The Duke

Signature of Principal Supervisor: _____

Date: 13/06/2022

In some cases, it may be appropriate for verification to be given by both the principal supervisor and the lead/corresponding author of the work (where the lead/corresponding author of the work is not the candidate or the principal supervisor):

Signature of Lead/Corresponding Author _____ Date _____

Nature of Current
Post/Responsibilities _____

Home
institution _____

Exploring Political Journalism Homophily on Twitter: A Comparative Analysis of US and UK Elections in 2016 and 2017

Fincham, K. (2019). Exploring political journalism homophily on Twitter: A comparative analysis of US and UK elections in 2016 and 2017. *Media and Communication*, 7(1), 213-224.

Keywords: elections; groupthink; homophily; political journalism; Twitter, UK; US

Abstract

The tendency of political journalists to form insular groups or packs, chasing the same angles and quoting the same sources, is a well-documented issue in journalism studies and has long been criticized for its role in groupthink and homogenous news coverage. This groupthink attracted renewed criticism after the unexpected victory of Republican candidate Donald Trump in the 2016 US presidential election as the campaign coverage had indicated a likely win by the Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton. This pattern was repeated in the 2017 UK election when the Conservative party lost their majority after a campaign in which the news coverage had pointed to an overall Tory victory. Such groupthink is often attributed to homophily, the tendency of individuals to interact with those most like them, and while homophily in the legacy media system is well-studied, there is little research around homophily in the hybrid media system, even as social media platforms like Twitter facilitate the development—and analysis—of virtual political journalism packs. This study, which compares Twitter interactions among US and UK political reporters in the 2016 and 2017 national elections, shows that political journalists are overwhelmingly more likely to use Twitter to interact with other journalists, particularly political journalists, and that their offline tendencies to form homogenous networks have transferred online. There are some exceptions around factors such as gender, news

organizations and types of news organization—and important distinctions between types of interactions—but overall the study provides evidence of sustained homophily as journalists continue to normalize Twitter.

1. Introduction

The 2016 election of President Donald Trump in the US sent shock waves through the American political and media establishment. There were questions about journalism practice amid the “surprising election outcome” as the generally homogenous news coverage had long painted Clinton as the inevitable winner (Boydstun & Van Aelst, 2018, p. 672; Watts & Rothschild, 2017). The same questions arose in Britain some months later as the Conservative party lost their ruling majority to the surprise of much of the political media who were described as falling victim to “confirmation bias” in their reporting (Enten & Silver, 2017). Such homogenous reporting is a hallmark of “pack journalism” where political journalists are more likely to aim for unanimity than dissent in their work processes and in doing so build echo chambers or filter bubbles, albeit unwittingly, by quoting from the same sources and focusing on the same issues and profoundly shaping news coverage as a result (Matusitz & Breen, 2012; Mourão, 2015; Usher, Holcomb, & Littman, 2018). Homophily, which describes the tendency of like-minded individuals to “flock together” around shared status or values (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001) can be seen as the cornerstone of such echo chambers as these groups of most-similar individuals build sustained and persistent connections with those who most reflect their views, sharing and re-sharing similar information almost to the point of redundancy (Himmelboim, Sweetser, Tinkham, Cameron, Danelo, & West, 2016). However, while pack

journalism is well studied in the legacy media system, homophily or “virtual pack journalism,” has not received the same attention (Kiernan, 2014) and, perhaps, more importantly, while several studies have explored social media homophily among individuals, there is a lack of research into social media homophily among elite groups such as political journalists, despite journalism’s critical role in setting the news agenda (Wihbey, 2018). This study focuses on Twitter as it is widely considered the most important digital communication technology for journalists and “absolutely integral” to political journalists’ work in the US and UK (Hanusch, 2018; Kreiss & McGregor, 2018, p. 326; Usher et al., 2018). The platform plays a key role in influencing journalists’ news judgment (McGregor & Molyneux, 2018) and is so dominant in political journalism (Parmelee, 2013) that journalists’ interactions there can be expected to affect news coverage and, by extension, the public agenda (Chadwick, 2013).

While the UK and US have been well studied individually in the past, a comparative study is instructive in this context as both countries, two of the largest journalism markets in the world, share enough similarities in their political and media systems to help limit uncontrollable variables (Deuze, 2002; Hallin & Mancini, 2004). This type of “most-similar-systems” design (Przeworski & Teune, 1970) is particularly useful in helping to identify shared characteristics or similar patterns around journalism interactions and can highlight the development, if any, of a nascent political journalism culture on Twitter, particularly around elections. As Hallin and Mancini noted in 2004, there are key differences between the two countries with public service broadcasting seen as much stronger in the UK than the US; and political neutrality stronger in all sectors except the UK newspaper segment; although, as the authors wrote in 2004, there were already clear

signs of change in the US broadcasting segment with the then nine-year-old Fox News TV seen adopting “a distinctive, rightward tilt.” Overall however, there is enough strength in the US and UK political and cultural ties, particularly around professionalism and styles of journalism, to create more similarities than differences, and the resulting comparisons provide a useful lens into drafting a framework of commonalities and contrasts around political journalists’ Twitter activity during election campaigns in two major Western democracies. Election reporting is a special case in journalism studies because political journalists work under specific regulatory environments and are reporting on politicians and parties who are intensely active, and with a public that pays more attention to who and how politics is presented (Van Aelst & De Swert, 2009). While this may be rather narrow it does mean that a focus on this particular period increases the comparability of the results not only within this study but outside of it. Indeed, the study of political news and journalists has traditionally focused on election campaign periods (Semetko, 1996) and research has already shown that increased Twitter activity can be expected in the closing weeks of an election offering a rich data seam of interactions for analysis (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013; Jungherr, 2016; Nuernbergk & Conrad, 2016).

This study, which is the first comparative analysis to specifically explore homophily within political journalists’ Twitter networks during an election campaign, aims to fill the spaces in the literature on political journalists’ activity noted by Broersma and Graham (2016) and Nuernbergk (2016). The analysis specifically focuses on retweets and replies as these “mutual discourse” tweets are considered the most interactive forms of engagement and are thus vital to understanding developing journalism practices on Twitter (Bruns & Burgess, 2012; Parmelee & Deeley, 2017). The over-arching research question is whether

political journalists are using Twitter's potential to make a sustained effort to engage with new and diverse voices or instead using the platform to take cues from each other and generally participate in "water-cooler" conversations and migrate their legacy pack routines online (Kiernan, 2014; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019, p. 261). This question is explored by the analysis of retweets and replies and most-frequently-targeted users to determine evidence of homophily and also the impact of potential factors such as gender, news organization and types of news organization. The study begins with an overview of normalization, homophily, Twitter journalism, retweets and replies, and then explores those interactions from a total of 202 UK and US political journalists through a quantitative analysis of the retweets and replies produced in the run-up to the 2016 and 2017 US and UK national elections before turning to the discussion and conclusion.

2. Literature Review

From the telegraph to typewriters to television to Twitter, successive technological innovations have transformed the norms and practice of journalism (Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012) and each new technology has arrived amid much fanfare about its potential impact on political communication, particularly around election campaigns (Stromer-Galley, 2014). Ultimately however, the expectations and concerns about these potential utopias and dystopias have never been fully realized as the power structures of journalism and politics have instead normalized each new "new media" into their own practice (Singer, 2005). The potential power of digital media in election campaigns was first seen in the US in the 2004 Presidential campaign when it rocketed the relatively unknown candidate Howard Dean into the political and media stratosphere (Stromer-Galley, 2014) but as

Margolis and Resnick had already argued in 2000, any of the digital advantages accruing to early adopters like Dean were soon eclipsed as the political and journalism elite folded these new technologies into existing practices when they recognized, and thereby normalized, the “new” new media (Margolis & Resnick, 2000).

Much of the research into Twitter journalism practice argues that journalists, seen as frequent, if not always skillful, Twitter users (Engesser & Humprecht, 2015) are well down the path of normalization, using Twitter in ways that conform to existing practice rather than using it to change journalism practice (see Lasorsa et al., 2012; Lawrence, Molyneux, Coddington, & Holton, 2014; Lewis, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Nuernbergk, 2016; Parmelee, 2013). This is especially evident in areas such as gatekeeping, where journalists have long controlled whose voices make it through the editorial “gates” (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Singer, 2005), and Twitter gatekeeping can be seen in the “insider talk” and “regurgitation” of information flowing across Twitter (Lawrence et al., 2014; Parmelee, Roman, Beasley, & Perkins, 2019, p. 161) as journalists more frequently engage with other journalists or newsmakers—and even themselves—rather than interest groups, academics or citizens (Carlson, 2017; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). While journalists can, and do, challenge normalization in other areas of journalism practice (see Broersma & Graham 2016; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019), this study’s sole concern is whether political journalists create homogenous packs on Twitter, thus supporting the idea of homophily, and by extension, normalization, even as the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013) theoretically presents alternatives to the pack model with a wider range of interaction partners and voices outside the bubbles. While some studies indicate more negotiation around normalization in newer affordances such as quote tweets or areas such as

monitoring, sourcing, publishing, promoting and branding (Broersma & Graham, 2016; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Tandoc & Vos, 2016), the research overwhelmingly indicates that journalists' interactions are dominated by other journalists and that these homogenous online networks resemble those built by journalists offline (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018).

However, despite the plethora of studies indicating that journalists' Twitter networks are so homogenous as to suggest homophily there has been little research so far specifically into homophily in those interactions even as journalists themselves report low levels of citizen engagement. For example, Gulyas (2017) found journalist/citizen interaction at 23 and 27 percent in the US and UK respectively, and Nuernbergk (2016) saw only rare interactions between German journalists and their Twitter followers, thus suggesting that political journalists still prefer to connect with each other in "journalism-centered bubbles" (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Mourão, 2015; Nuernbergk, 2016, p. 877). Additionally, researchers have noted evidence of bubbles within bubbles (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018) with political journalists seen as more likely to interact with other political journalists (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018); self-segregating by gender (Artwick, 2013; Usher et al., 2018), and focusing on those either inside their own news organization (Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Larsson, Kalsnes, & Christensen, 2017) with Vergeer (2015) reporting that regional reporters were more likely to do this than national journalists. While these studies were broad in nature, Hanusch and Nölleke (2018) specifically considered the potential impact of beat, gender, organizational context and geographic proximity in an extensive inquiry into homophily among Australian reporters and found a high degree of homophily across those four shared characteristics.

Homophily, or the tendency of individuals to form groups with those most similar to themselves (McPherson et al., 2001) was introduced as a concept in the 1950s when Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) proposed that individuals were far more likely to build networks around shared values in areas like religion or sport or around shared status in areas such as race, ethnicity, sex, age, religion, education and occupation (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018; McPherson et al., 2001). As an elite specialty within the wider occupational field of journalism, political journalists are perhaps more sensitive to the homophilous effects of these tight-knit groups as they seek validation from “those to whom we compare ourselves, those whose opinions we attend to, and simply those whom we are aware of and watch for signals about what is happening in our environment” (McPherson et al., 2001, p. 428). The tendency for political reporters to focus on each other was first labelled as “pack journalism” during the 1972 US presidential election when Rolling Stone reporter Tim Crouse noted that the journalists’ intent focus on each other led to a shared groupthink about the day’s most important stories and created a pack dynamic so strong that “almost all the reporters will take the same approach to the story”, even though they were ostensibly competing against each other (Crouse, 1973). As former Newsweek Bureau Chief Karl Fleming said: “Their (the reporters’) abiding interest is making sure that nobody else has got anything that they don’t have—not getting something that nobody else has” (Crouse, 1973).

While Crouse observed the political journalism network and the resulting groupthink from his physical seat on the campaign bus, researchers can now observe virtual political journalism networks from afar through the analysis of publicly-visible Twitter conversations and the use of affordances such as retweets, replies, mentions and followings.

Retweet and mention networks (which include both replies and indirect mentions) are often seen as the strongest interaction markers (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018) and several studies have reported differences in the way journalists use retweets and mentions with more homophily seen in mentions than retweets (Hanusch & Nölleke 2018; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Nuernbergk, 2016). However, indirect mentions can also be used as a “shout out” (Usher et al., 2018) thus diluting their effectiveness as a distinct measure of interactive intent. Retweets, despite multiple Twitter disclaimers to the contrary (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018), are most often viewed as an endorsement of *content* (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013; Russell, Hendricks, Choi, & Stephens, 2015), but they also convey endorsement of the *user* and the link between the original and retweeting sender provides evidence of a pre-existing homophilous network of like-minded people (Bruns & Burgess, 2012; Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018). While some journalists use replies to thread longer posts together and circumvent Twitter’s 280-character count (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019, p. 257), specific replies (as against indirect mentions) are more typically interactive with some research indicating potential heterophily with studies showing “public/citizen” users receiving as high as 48 percent of the journalists’ replies (Brems, Temmerman, Graham, & Broersma, 2017). However, these studies don’t mention if the accounts received more than one reply which would help us consider the nature and value of such interactions, a problem noted by Parmelee and Deeley in 2017, when they queried the use of simple counts arguing that such one-offs were inadequate ways to measure reciprocity. Such reciprocity is often absent in followings (Kioussis, 2002) and, as Ausserhoffer and Maireder reported in 2013, followings are not a reliable metric as they can be paid for or artificially enhanced by computer scripts. Subsequently, this study views the affordances of retweets and replies as more indicative of actual intent, highlighting the user’s value to the journalist (Conover et al., 2011; Molyneux, 2015).

Frequency of interactions is also important. As McPherson et al. (2001) outlined, homophily can be seen in those whose “opinions we attend to” and given the concerns raised by Parmelee and Deeley (2017) around one-off replies, this study measures interactivity by focusing on the political journalists' most-frequent discussion partners in replies and retweets to see which voices the journalists most frequently attend to. This research builds on the developing work into Twitter journalism homophily (see particularly Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018) and is important as it is the first to examine this issue in the context of social media election coverage, specifically on Twitter, and takes the analysis further by looking at media practice in two similar media systems. The importance of studies such as this, which examine these “new” types of interactions on social media, cannot be overstated as the work done by political journalists remains essential to a citizen's ability to understand politics and election campaigns even in a digital and networked age (Harder, Paulussen, & Van Aelst, 2016; Kuhn & Nielsen, 2013).

3. Research Questions

This study explores retweets and replies as two distinct affordances and explores them separately for the presence of homophily by asking the following two research questions:

RQ1: To what extent can homophily be identified in political journalists' retweets on Twitter in an election campaign?

RQ2: To what extent can homophily be identified in political journalists' replies on Twitter in an election campaign?

Drawing from the categories devised in Hanusch and Nölleke's study (2018) the study then considers if organizational context, types of news organization or gender can be seen to play a role in homophily in political journalists' retweets and replies, which leads to these research questions:

RQ3: Do shared characteristics such as news organizations; type of news organizations and gender play a role in homophily in retweets?

RQ4: Do shared characteristics such as news organizations; type of news organizations and gender play a role in homophily in replies?

4. Data and Methods

The research questions are examined by comparative analysis of replies and retweets from a sample of some 202 political journalists working at the national level in the US and the UK. The data for this study were retrieved from a 2015 list of 183 UK Parliamentary Lobby Correspondents with Twitter accounts (Hanusch, 2018) which was filtered to focus on national political reporters and those who tweeted more than once a day. Unlike previous studies (see Lasorsa et al., 2012; Usher et al., 2018; Singer, 2005) this sample excluded commentators and columnists as their work is significantly different to that of political reporters (Rogstad, 2014).

This UK list was then used to create a cross-national comparable sample of US political journalists by using Twitter’s search function to identify people who publicly represented themselves as journalists by searching for keywords (such as “politics”, “political”, “politic”*, “correspondent”, “campaign”, “reporter”, “journalist”, etc.) in the user’s profile and then cross-referencing those names against lists from the US White

Table 1. US and UK news outlets in study.

US News Outlets			
Broadcast	Digital	Print	Wire
ABC	Bloomberg	Boston Globe	AP
CBS	Daily Beast	LA Times	Reuters
CNN	DC Examiner	National Review	
Fox	Fusion	New York Daily News	
NBC	Politico	The New York Times	
NPR	The Hill	USA Today	
	The IJR	Washington Post	
	Vox	Wall Street Journal	
	Wired		
	Yahoo News		
UK News Outlets			
Broadcast	Digital	Print	Wire
BBC	Business Insider	Daily Express	AP
Channel 4	Bloomberg	Daily Mail	PA
ITV	BuzzFeed	Daily Mirror	Reuters
Sky	Huffington Post	Daily Telegraph	
	inews	Evening Standard	
	PA	Financial Times	
	Parly	The Guardian	
	Politico	The Independent	
	Politics.co.uk	The Sun	
	The Independent	The Times	
	The Spoon		
	Total Politics		

House Correspondents Association; the US Congressional Press Galleries; campaign embeds at the TV networks and media lists maintained by the US public relations firm Cision. This resulted in a list of 54 male and 43 female reporters from 26 outlets in the US and 75 male and 30 female reporters from 29 outlets in the UK (see Table 1).

Table 1. US and UK news outlets in study.

The data were collected during the two weeks prior to each national election (October 22 to November 8, 2016 in the US; and May 22 to June 8, 2017 in the UK) and while content analysis is beyond the scope of this study, this period was chosen as it is the time when media coverage of elections can be expected to be intense (Van Aelst & De Swert, 2009). The tweets were collected on the cloud-based Discover Text Twitter archive service which returned 100 percent of the users' tweets. This search resulted in some 26,820 tweets from the US journalists and 30,992 tweets from the UK journalists which were then queried for reply and retweet users. The metadata provided by Discover Text included "retweet-link" and "reply-to-link" which ensured that the intended object of the reply or retweet was accurately retrieved even if the tweet featured one or more @mentions. This data formed four distinct user sets comprising total replies and retweets as follows:

US: 3,333 unique users in 12,562 retweets and 1,595 unique users in 2,919 replies.

UK: 3,556 unique users in 13,747 retweets and 3,104 users in 6,764 replies.

To better answer the questions about sustained interactivity, the data were then queried for the median number of times unique users featured in either a retweet or a reply to exclude any single retweets or replies. The query returned a median of 1 for retweets and replies for both countries' data which showed that at least half the users were of weak or limited value. This early finding supported the decision to focus only on the most prevalent users and to do so, this article adopted Meraz's "power law" (2009) which holds that the top 10 to 20 percent of users will attract the majority of attention, to identify the most-frequently-mentioned users. The unit of analysis was the individual user and the four sets of data were then queried separately to locate the top 10 percent of accounts mentioned.

These data sets were coded manually by the author according to the following categories using information from the user's Twitter profile and following Hanusch and Bruns (2017) the outlets were coded as broadcast (commercial, public, TV and radio), print, wire service, digital or freelance.

User type: political journalist; other journalist; news outlet or other user.

Gender: male or female (where applicable).

News organization: from user's Twitter biography profile.

Type of news organization: broadcast, print, wire or digital.

Later, the senders and users were labelled as same-to-same or same-to-different by gender, news organization and type of news organization. The coding for the mentioned users was primarily drawn from their Twitter biography profiles, where journalists typically identify their occupation and news organization (Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017), and this information was saved as a static record by Discover Text at the same time as the data collection. When the bio information was absent from the downloaded data (as in the case of quote retweets which comprised about 10 percent of the overall data), a careful Google search was implemented for both user and workplace information at the time of the relevant election. This two-pronged archiving method helped build a single static set of data and thus avoided the methodological issues associated with collating data from online profiles which, as Lewis et al. noted in 2013 (p. 45), are inherently malleable. The profile information was coded by the author, while another coder examined a total of 114 profiles of those mentioned in retweets and replies (10 percent) to test the validity of the data. Using Krippendorff's alpha test (Freelon, 2010) for nominal coding, the reliability was rated

excellent with 0.85 for type of journalist; 0.95 for gender; 0.92 for news organization and 0.83 for type of news organization.

To answer RQ1 and RQ2 the article looks at the types of users in the retweets and replies as group-level percentages to identify the main discussion partners. To answer RQ3 and RQ4 the article looks at the political journalists' mean rates of interaction in retweets and replies with the other political journalists identified in the study and compares this data by news organization, type of news organization and gender across the two countries using Cohen's d to measure for effects. The results are presented below.

5. Results

5.1. RQ1: Homophily in Retweets

RQ1 investigated the presence of homophily in retweets in the US and the UK. Taking the US first, the power law showed that the top 10 percent of the unique 3,333 names, or 333 users, were responsible for 63 percent of the retweets or 7,859 of the 12,562 retweets. This pattern was almost identically repeated in the UK. There, the top 10 percent of the 3,556 unique names, or 356 accounts, were responsible for 62 percent of the retweets or 8,573 of the 13,747 retweets. The two sets of the top 10 percent of frequently-named users in retweets (7,859 in the US and 8,573 in the UK) form the retweet network dataset.

As can be seen in Figure 1 political journalists and political news media accounts comprised the largest group of retweets in both countries accounting for a total of 82 percent of the US sample (6,438 out of the 7,859 retweets) and 64 percent of the UK sample

(5,487 of the 8,753 retweets). Altogether, journalists or news organizations comprised the majority of retweeted actors in both countries with 7,343 of the 7,859 retweets (93 percent) in the US and 7,179 of the 8,573 retweets (84 percent) in the UK. Some differences were immediately obvious as the UK political journalists retweeted a much higher percentage of non-journalists with 16 percent against 7 percent in the US.

Figure 1. Political journalists' preferred discussion partners in retweets.

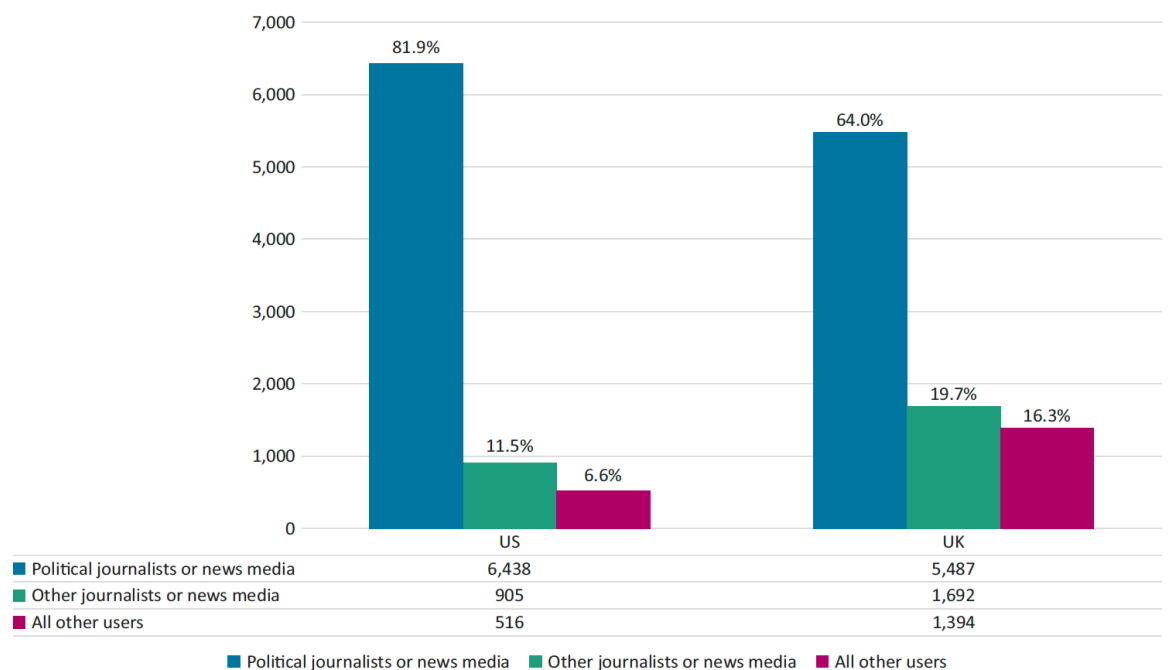


Figure 1. Political journalists' preferred discussion partners in retweets.

The findings point to a large degree of homophily in political journalists' retweet networks in both the US and the UK with a greater focus on US political journalists in the US than the UK.

5.2. RQ2: Homophily in Replies

RQ2 investigated the presence of homophily in replies in the US and the UK. The power law for the US showed that the top 10 percent of the unique 1,595 names, or 159 users, were responsible for 42 percent of the replies, or 1,236 of the 2,919 replies. The power law for the UK showed that the top 10 percent, or 310 users, received 48 percent of the replies, or 3,283 replies of the 6,764 replies. These two sets of the top 10 percent of most frequently-named reply-to users (1,236 in the US and 3,283 in the UK) form the reply network dataset.

The findings show that the UK political journalists used replies far more frequently than the US indicating some differences in overall behavior patterns, but while the use of replies was far higher in the UK, the focus on political journalists is again consistent as can be seen in Figure 2 with both close to 70 percent. Overall, journalists comprised the largest group of users with 1,032 of the 1,236 replies (83.5 percent) in the US and 2,557 of the 3,283 replies (78 percent) in the UK. Unlike the retweet activity, all replies were sent to individual users and were never used to interact with news organizations or branded accounts. Also, both UK and US journalists included a wider range of non-journalist voices in replies than retweets with 22 percent in the UK and 16.5 percent in the US.

Figure 2. Political journalists' preferred discussion partners in replies.

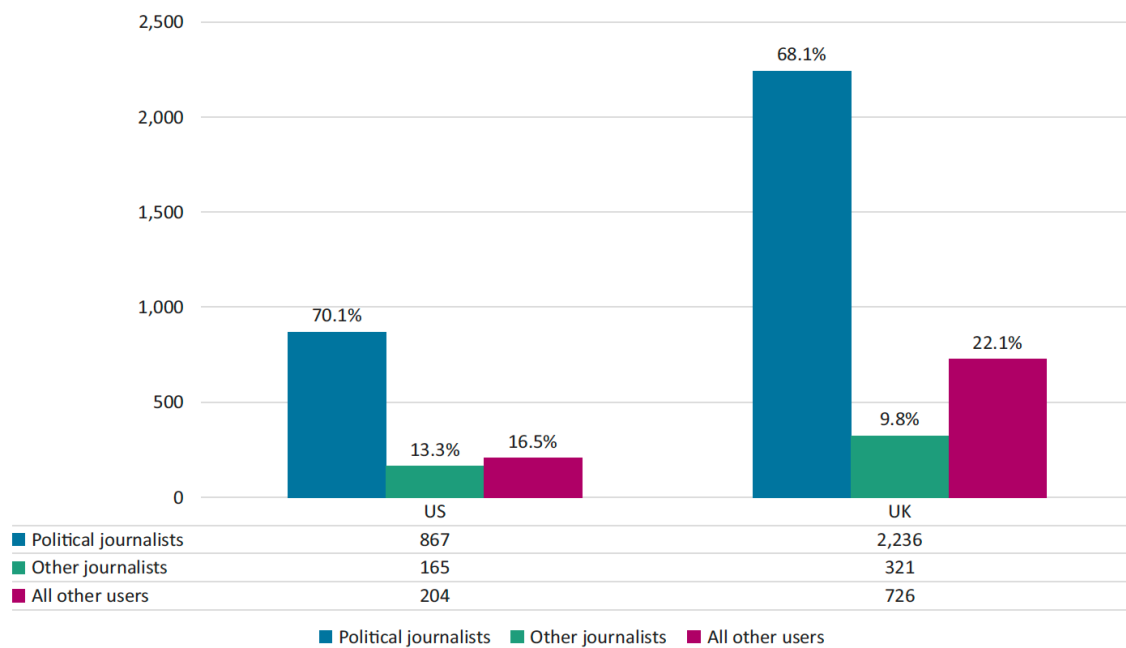


Figure 2. Political journalists’ preferred discussion partners in replies.

The findings point to a far greater usage of the reply function in the UK and a significant degree of homophily in political journalists’ reply networks in both countries. The weaker power law in both countries suggests that the political reporters replied to a far larger number of people—which is indicative of homophily—but given the overall median (1), the findings could also suggest that the majority of replies were probably the one-off comments or thank-yous noted by Parmelee and Deeley (2017).

5.3. RQ3: Shared Characteristics in Retweets

The findings in RQ1 established the presence of homophily among political journalists in retweet networks and this section specifically looks at the interactions identified as political-journalist-to-political-journalist to consider if the criteria of news organization, types of news organization or gender can be seen to play a role. This question

is explored through paired samples t-tests with effect sizes calculated using Cohen's *d* (Hanusch & Nölleke, 2018). In relation to the first criterion of news organization, the results show remarkably consistent patterns of behavior with both the UK and US journalists more likely to retweet outside their organization with the paired sample t-tests showing reasonably similar small-to-medium sized effects as can be seen in Table 2. Looking at types of news organizations, print and broadcast journalists in both countries are more likely to retweet within their own sectors with the results showing quite large effects, specifically in the US broadcast and UK newspaper segments. The results are more mixed in the newer digital sector with US journalists displaying more heterophily and UK journalists more homophily with the effect size small. The results for wire journalists again suggest US heterophily and UK homophily although with large effect size in the US and small effect in the UK. Turning to gender, the results (see Table 2) show that both US and UK male political reporters are far more likely to interact with other male political journalists with a large effect seen in both countries. In comparison, female political journalists are more likely to retweet male political journalists in both the US and the UK with a larger effect seen in the US pointing to homophily in the male networks and heterophily in the female networks. Comparing countries, the sectors most likely to see the most significant homophily are UK newspapers; US broadcasters; US and UK male reporters and UK female political reporters with US wire reporters and UK female journalists likely to see the most significant heterophily.

Table 2. Shared characteristics in retweets.

Table 2. Shared characteristics in retweets.

Characteristics	Retweets									
	US political journalists					UK political journalists				
	<i>N</i>	Same M* (SD)	Other M* (SD)	Sig	Cohen's <i>d</i>	<i>N</i>	Same M* (SD)	Other M* (SD)	Sig	Cohen's <i>d</i>
News organization	6,438	26 (31)	40 (48)	***	0.35	5,487	21 (42)	32 (49)	***	0.24
News organization type										
Print	2,662	39 (45)	37 (45)	***	−0.04	2,112	33 (43)	18 (23)	***	−0.44
Broadcast	2,106	51 (49)	22 (27)	***	−0.73	1,299	20 (27)	16 (35)	***	−0.13
Digital	1,078	23 (30)	28 (39)	***	0.14	2,034	52 (90)	40 (51)	***	−0.16
Wire	592	17 (8)	32 (28)	***	0.73	42	7 (10)	4 (6)	***	−0.36
Overall	6,438	36 (42)	30 (37)	***	−0.15	5,487	31 (53)	21 (36)	***	−0.22
Gender**										
Female	2,243	21 (26)	31 (40)	***	0.30	884	8 (11)	23 (29)	***	0.68
Male	3,789	51 (59)	20 (21)	***	−0.70	4,132	48 (75)	9 (12)	***	−0.73
Overall	6,032	38 (49)	25 (31)	***	−0.32	5,016	37 (66)	13 (20)	***	−0.49

Note: M* (SD) = mean and standard deviations. ** These data include only journalist-to-journalist interactions.

5.4. RQ4: Shared Characteristics in Replies

This section specifically looks at the replies identified as political-journalist-to-political-journalist in RQ2 to consider the impact of the same shared characteristics discussed above. While the findings around retweets in RQ3 were mixed, the evidence on replies is more clear-cut with more homophily than heterophily evident across the shared characteristics in the two countries as can be seen in Table 3. In relation to the first criteria of news organization, the results again showed similar activity by US and UK journalists although this time they were both seen as more likely to reply to colleagues *within* their own organization, with a larger effect size in the US. Looking at types of news organization, the results showed homophily was more likely in nearly all the sectors studied with just US wire reporters showing any evidence of heterophily, although the number of replies was extremely low. While the paired sample t-tests show small to medium-sized effects across types of sector, significant differences could be seen in the US digital, and to a lesser extent,

the US broadcast sectors. In gender, the tendency towards homophily is more obvious than in the retweet networks with both genders seen as more likely to reply to their own gender with a larger effect seen for male reporters in both countries.

Table 3. Shared characteristics in replies.

Table 3. Shared characteristics in replies.

Characteristics	Replies									
	US political journalists					UK political journalists				
	<i>N</i>	Same M* (SD)	Other M* (SD)	Sig	Cohen's <i>d</i>	<i>N</i>	Same M* (SD)	Other M* (SD)	Sig	Cohen's <i>d</i>
News organization**	867	12 (24)	5 (7)	***	−0.40	2,235	16 (38)	11 (19)	***	−0.17
News organization type										
Print	271	9 (16)	3 (4)	***	−0.51	703	12 (17)	7 (12)	***	−0.34
Broadcast	306	17 (34)	2 (3)	***	−0.62	351	15 (40)	3 (3)	***	−0.42
Digital	275	21 (25)	4 (4)	***	−0.95	1,156	40 (65)	12 (16)	***	−0.59
Wire	15	2 (1)	3 (1)	***	1.00	25	3 (5)	3 (4)	***	0.00
Overall	867	14 (24)	3 (3)	***	−0.64	2,235	20 (41)	7 (12)	***	−0.43
Gender**										
Female	154	6 (10)	2 (3)	***	−0.54	469	13 (35)	8 (20)	***	−0.18
Male	713	20 (30)	2 (2)	***	−0.85	1,766	26 (46)	2 (4)	***	−0.74
Overall	867	15 (26)	2 (2)	***	−0.71	2,235	23 (43)	4 (11)	***	−0.61

Note: M* (SD) = mean and standard deviations. ** These data include only journalist-to-journalist interactions.

6. Discussion

The results of this study point to significant homophily throughout political journalists' interaction networks during the US and UK election campaigns, offering key insights into the emergence of common Twitter practices among political journalists in two of the "Liberal Media" countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004); and providing further evidence of the continuing normalization of Twitter in the hybrid media environment. The results show that political journalists in both the US and the UK are significantly more likely to engage with other political journalists during election campaigns and that the extent of such

homophily can be affected by factors like news organization, types of news organization (print; broadcast; digital or wire) and gender. However, while the findings point to overall homophily there are some marked differences between the two countries and between the two types of interactions as discussed below.

To answer the first two research questions, the study shows a pronounced degree of homophily in both countries in retweets and replies with higher rates of homophily in retweets. While the US journalists are more likely to be more homophilous overall, the political reporters in both countries formed distinct journalism-centered bubbles—with political journalists the single largest group—and “other” non-journalism voices significantly marginalized. Taking retweets first, the US political journalists paid more attention to other political reporters than their UK counterparts with 82 percent against 64 percent. However, the political reporters in both countries retweeted very high percentages of journalists overall with 93 percent in the US and 84 percent in the UK. The difference in *types* of journalists and the higher UK retweeting rates of non-journalist accounts (16 percent to 7 percent in the US) could be attributed to the suicide bombing in Manchester during the UK election campaign which caused 23 deaths and led to the 24-hour suspension of the campaign. While content analysis was beyond the scope of this article, examining the content of the retweets would help in determining if the difference around retweeted users could be explained by the effect of this major news story which dominated the news cycles for days in the UK. The findings on replies may also have been impacted by the May 22 suicide attack. The percentage of political-journalist-to-political-journalists replies in both countries were roughly similar (US: 70 percent; UK: 68 percent) which suggests some significant similarities in the cross-national trend, but there were also quite marked

differences: UK reporters sent more than three times the number of replies than the US reporters and the higher number of replies were used to engage with a higher percentage of non-journalists with 22 percent against 16.5 percent in the US. Again, content analysis would be useful in understanding if the differences are linked to a major news story that disrupted the UK election campaign rather than emerging differences in journalism practice in two similar media systems.

The second two research questions explored the degree of homophily in retweets and replies across a set of shared characteristics and found that news organization, types of news organization (print, broadcast, digital or wire) and gender play a role in the homophily observed in both countries. The study shows similar patterns in both countries, particularly around gender, with significant levels of homophily in male political journalists' interactions. While both male and female journalists are more likely to use replies to interact with their own gender; the effects are small to medium-sized for females and more pronounced for males. The impact of gender in retweets is striking with both male and female political journalists in the UK and US more likely to retweet male political journalists than female political journalists. However, given that the amplification most often benefits male political journalists, the gender findings, while initially suggestive of homophily, may in fact be more reflective of the political journalism gender inequities highlighted by Usher et al. in 2018. Indeed, the findings here almost exactly mirror those from Hanusch and Nölleke (2018) whose work on Australian reporters found only mild gender-based heterophily within female retweet networks. The lack of gender diversity among political journalists, particularly in the UK parliamentary press lobby, has been highlighted in recent years (Tobitt, 2018) and these findings suggest that male political

journalists' voices are amplified by Twitter journalism engagement practices in both countries.

Interestingly, the analysis of news organizations showed political journalists in both countries were more likely to retweet political journalists from *outside* their organizations than inside, echoing Vergeer's 2015 finding that Dutch national news journalists were more likely to connect with those outside their own news organizations. While news organization was not seen as a major factor in Twitter homophily, *types* of news organization did emerge as a significant factor, in particular the US broadcast sector and the UK newspaper sector, findings which may point to a linkage between political bias and Twitter homophily as these are the two media sectors generally regarded as more politically biased than other types of news organizations in their respective countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Overall, homophily is clearly visible in the political journalists' sustained Twitter interactions as they repeatedly train their attention on other political journalists in retweets and replies and re-create their legacy pack networks online. While homophily itself does not become more, or less, apparent during election campaigns, these time-frames were chosen to explore the most frequent discussion partners chosen by political journalists during a period when the public is paying more attention to politics and to explore how journalists sort themselves into the kinds of homophilous groups, or filter bubbles, which can amplify the general consensus and shape the types of news that develop (Carlson, 2017). Much is known about homophily in legacy journalism practice but research into similar behavior on Twitter has been slow to emerge, even as studies have frequently pointed to high rates of journalist-to-journalist interactions on Twitter.

The very speed with which journalists have adopted Twitter and integrated it into their work routines may have helped create the kinds of homophilous macro processes revealed in this study, processes which are difficult to detect or prevent at the individual journalist level (Vergeer, 2015). Studies such as this can perhaps help educators and newsrooms alike in creating more education and awareness around engagement and interaction on platforms like Twitter, which offer a myriad of opportunities for journalists to interact with other information sources, and thus avoiding the intra-journalistic activity and pack journalism identified here.

The significant differences in gender warrant more research. It is beyond the scope of this article to determine whether or not the political journalists were deliberately or inadvertently focusing on male political journalists, but these interaction patterns deserve greater inquiry and the findings again speak to the pressing need for increased education around diversity in Twitter interactions.

Finally, while concerns have been raised around the propensity of citizens to receive information via filter bubbles on social media, the results of this study suggest that perhaps more attention should be focused on journalists rather than individuals as a journalist's filter bubble can have a far more powerful effect on the news agenda. This tendency of political journalists to form close-knit networks on Twitter is particularly worthy of scrutiny as political journalists are essential in explaining campaign policies and platforms and helping voters understand the issues under discussion. Moreover, the power to set the agenda remains concentrated with actors who "enjoy power and visibility both on and off Twitter," (Siapera et al, 2018) and this study shows that political journalists, despite the

almost limitless opportunities to do otherwise, continue to confer such power and visibility on other political journalists, particularly male political journalists, as they remain tethered, albeit virtually, to the journalism packs of the legacy media era.

6.1. Limitations

While the results show that US and UK political journalists restrict the range and diversity of voices chosen as discussion partners, there are limitations to this study. For example, while the journalists generated a sizeable number of tweets the population size itself was kept relatively small to allow for manual coding and analysis. A larger population size could have explored these issues in more detail, but this would have entailed more coders and/or machine analysis. Content analysis would have helped in exploring some of the issues, particularly the cross-national difference observed in replies.

Acknowledgments

The author wishes to thank Dr Krishnan Pillaipakkamnatt at Hofstra University and Dr Jane Suiter at Dublin City University for their help and support during this project.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest

References

Artwick, C. G. (2013). News sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, 15(8), 1111-1157. doi:10.1177/1464884913505030

Artwick, C. G. (2013). News sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, 15(8), 1111-1157. doi:10.1177/1464884913505030

Ausserhofer, J., & Maireder, A. (2013). National politics on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(3), 291-314. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.756050

Bentivegna, S., & Marchetti, R. (2018). Journalists at a crossroads: Are traditional norms and practices challenged by Twitter? *Journalism*, 19(2), 270-290. doi:10.1177/1464884917716594

Boydston, A. E., & Van Aelst, P. (2018). New rules for an old game? How the 2016 US election caught the press off guard. *Mass Communication and Society*, 21(6), 671-696. doi:10.1080/15205436.2018.1492727

Brems, C., Temmerman, M., Graham, T., & Broersma, M. (2017). Personal branding on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 5(4), 443-459. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1176534

Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2016). Tipping the balance of power. In A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbø, A. O. Larsson, & C. Christensen (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to social media and politics* (pp. 89-103). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315716299

Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2012). Researching news discussion on Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 13(5/6), 801-814. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2012.664428

Carlson, M. (2017). *Journalistic authority: Legitimizing news in the digital era* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Chadwick, A. (2013). *The hybrid media system: Politics and power* (1st ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Conover, M., Ratkiewicz, J., Francisco, M. R., Goncalves, B., Menczer, F., & Flammini, A. (2011). Political polarization on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the fifth international AAAI conference on weblogs and social media* (pp. 89-96). Barcelona, Spain.

Crouse, T. (1973). *The boys on the bus*. New York, NY: First Ballantine.

Deuze, M. (2002). National news cultures: A comparison of Dutch, German, British, Australian, and US Journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(1), 134-149. doi:10.1177/107769900207900110

Engesser, S., & Humprecht, E. (2015). Frequency or skillfulness. *Journalism Studies*, 16(4), 513-529. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2014.939849

Enli, G. S., & Skogerbø, E. (2013). Personalized campaigns in party-centred politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(5), 757-774. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2013.782330

Enten, H., & Silver, N. (2017). The U.K. election wasn't that much of a shock. *FiveThirtyEight*. Retrieved from <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/uk-election-hung-parliament>

Freelon, D. G. (2010). ReCal: Intercoder reliability calculation as a web service. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 5(1), 20-33.

Gulyas, A. (2017). Hybridity and social media adoption by journalists: An international comparison. *Digital Journalism*, 5(7), 884-902. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1232170

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hanusch, F. (2018). Political journalists' corporate and personal identities on Twitter profile pages: A comparative analysis in four Westminster democracies. *New Media and Society*, 20(4), 1488-1505. doi:10.1177/1461444817698479

Hanusch, F., & Bruns, A. (2017). Journalistic branding on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 5(1), 26-43. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1152161

Hanusch, F., & Nölleke, D. (2018). Journalistic homophily on social media: Exploring journalists' interactions with each other on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 6(7) 1-23. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1436977

Harder, R. A., Paulussen, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2016). Making sense of Twitter buzz. *Digital Journalism*, 4(7), 933-943. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1160790

Himmelboim, I., Sweetser, K. D., Tinkham, S. F., Cameron, K., Danelo, M., & West, K. (2016). Valence-based homophily on Twitter: Network analysis of emotions and political talk in the 2012 presidential election. *New Media and Society*, 18(7), 1382-1400. doi: 10.1177/1461444814555096

Jungherr, A. (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(1), 72-91. doi:10.1080/19331681.2015.1132401

Kiernan, V. (2014). Medical reporters say 'no' to 'pack' journalism. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 35(2), 40-54. doi:10.1177/073953291403500204

Kiousis, S. (2002). Interactivity: A concept explication. *New Media & Society*, 4(3), 355-383. doi:10.1177/146144480200400303

Kreiss, D., & McGregor, S. C. (2018). Technology firms shape political communication: The work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google with campaigns during the 2016 US presidential cycle. *Political Communication*, 35(2), 155-177. doi:10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814

Kuhn, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (Eds.). (2014). *Political journalism in transition: Western Europe in a comparative perspective*. London: IB Tauris.

Larsson, A. O., Kalsnes, B., & Christensen, C. (2017). Elite interaction: Public service broadcasters' use of Twitter during national elections in Norway and Sweden. *Journalism Practice*, 11(9), 1137-1157. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1234943

Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism practice in an emerging communication space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19-36. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825

Lawrence, R. G., Molyneux, L., Coddington, M., & Holton, A. E. (2014). Tweeting conventions: Political journalists' use of Twitter to cover the 2012 presidential campaign. *Journalism Studies*, 15(6), 789-806. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2013.836378

Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. (1954). Friendship as a social process: A substantive and methodological analysis. In M. Berger, T. Abel, & C. H. Page (Eds.), *Freedom and control in modern society* (pp. 18-66). New York, NY: Van Nostrand.

Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(6), 836-866. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.674150

Lewis, S. C., Zamith, R., & Hermida, A. (2013). Content analysis in an era of big data: A hybrid approach to computational and manual methods. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(1), 34-52. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.761702

Margolis, M., & Resnick, D. (2000). *Politics as usual: The cyberspace "revolution"* (1st ed.). London: Sage

Matusitz, J., & Breen, G. M. (2012). An examination of pack journalism as a form of groupthink: A theoretical and qualitative analysis. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22(7), 896-915. doi:10.1080/10911359.2012.707933

McGregor, S. C., & Molyneux, L. (2018). Twitter's influence on news judgment: An experiment among journalists. *Journalism*. doi:10.1177/1464884918802975

McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 415-444. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415

Meraz, S. (2009). Is there an elite hold? Traditional media to social media agenda setting influence in blog networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(3), 682-707. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01458.x

Meraz, S., & Papacharissi, Z. (2013). Networked gatekeeping and networked framing on #Egypt. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 138-166. doi:10.1177/1940161212474472

Molyneux, L. (2015). What journalists retweet: Opinion, humor, and brand development on Twitter. *Journalism*, 16(7), 920-935. doi:10.1177/1464884914550135

Molyneux, L., & Mourão, R. R. (2019). Political journalists' normalization of Twitter: Interaction and new affordances. *Journalism Studies*, 20(2), 248-266. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2017.1370978

Mourão, R. R. (2015). The boys on the timeline: Political journalists' use of Twitter for building interpretive communities. *Journalism*, 16(8), 1107-1123. doi:10.1177/1464884914552268

Nuernbergk, C. (2016). Political journalists' interaction networks. *Journalism Practice*, 10(7), 868-879. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1162669

Nuernbergk, C., & Conrad, J. (2016). Conversations and campaign dynamics in a hybrid media environment: Use of Twitter by members of the German Bundestag. *Social Media + Society*, 2(1). doi:10.1177/2056305116628888

Ottovordemgentschenfelde, S. (2017). 'Organizational, professional, personal': An exploratory study of political journalists and their hybrid brand on Twitter. *Journalism*, 18(1), 64-80. doi:10.1177/1464884916657524

Parmelee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice*, 14(4), 291-305. doi:10.1386/jmpr.14.4.291_1

Parmelee, J. H., & Deeley, D. (2017). Florida political reporters interact rarely online. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 104-118. Doi:10.1177/0739532917698438

Parmelee, J. H., Roman, N., Beasley, B., & Perkins, S. C. (2019). Gender and generational differences in political reporters' interactivity on Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 20(2), 232-247. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364140

Przeworski, A., & Teune, H. (1970). *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Rogstad, I. D. (2014). Political news journalists in social media. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 688-703. doi:10.1080/17512786.2013.865965

Russell, F. M., Hendricks, M. A., Choi, H., & Stephens, E. C. (2015). Who sets the news agenda on Twitter? *Digital Journalism*, 3(6), 925-943. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.995918

Semetko, H. A. (1996). Political balance on television. Campaigns in the United States, Britain, and Germany. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1(1), 51-71. doi:10.1177/1081180X96001001005

Siapera, E., Boudourides, M., Lenis, S., & Suiter, J. (2018). Refugees and network publics on Twitter: Networked framing, affect, and capture. *Social Media and Society*, 4(1). doi:10.1177/2056305118764437

Singer, J. B. (2005). The political j-blogger: 'Normalizing' a new media form to fit old norms and practices. *Journalism*, 6(2), 173-198. doi:10.1177/1464884905051009

Stromer-Galley, J. (2014). *Presidential campaigning in the internet age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199731930.001.0001

Tandoc, E. C., Jr., & Vos, T. P. (2016). The journalist is marketing the news. *Journalism Practice*, 10(8), 950-966. doi:10.1080/17512786.2015.1087811

Tobitt, C. (2018). Top female lobby journalists say 'we need to show it's not an all-boys' club' on International Women's Day. *UK Press Gazette*. Retrieved from <https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/top-female-lobby-journalists-say-we-need-to-show-its-not-an-all-boys-club-on-international-womens-day>

Usher, N., Holcomb, J., & Littman, J. (2018). Twitter makes it worse: Political journalists, gendered echo chambers, and the amplification of gender bias. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 23(3), 324-344. doi:10.1177/1940161218781254

Van Aelst, P., & De Swert, K. (2009). Politics in the news: Do campaigns matter? A comparison of political news during election periods and routine periods in Flanders (Belgium). *Communications*, 34(2), 149-168. doi:10.1515/COMM.2009.011

Vergeer, M. (2015). Peers and sources as social capital in the production of news: Online social networks as communities of journalists. *Social Science Computer Review*, 33(3), 277-297. doi:10.1177/0894439314539128

Watts, D. J., & Rothschild, D. M. (2017). Don't blame the election on fake news. Blame it on the media. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from <https://www.cjr.org/analysis/fake-news-media-election-trump.php>

Wihbey, J. (2018). Which factors influence how news is produced? Research on structural problems in media. *Northeastern University NU Lab*. Retrieved from <https://web.northeastern.edu/nulab/which-factors-influence-how-news-is-produced-research-on-structural-problems-in-media>

Declaration of Authorship

Candidates are required to submit a separate **Declaration of Authorship** form for each co-authored paper submitted for examination as part of a PhD by Publication thesis. Further information is available from the [accompanying guideline document](#).²

Section 1: Candidate's details	
Candidate's Name	Kelly Fincham
DCU Student Number	52149463
School	Communications
Principal Supervisor	Prof. Jane Suiter
Title of PhD by Publication Thesis	#journalism: Twitter's impact on 21 st century journalism practice
Section 2: Paper details	
Title of co-authored paper included in the thesis under examination	Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences, Journalism Practice, 2020 DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2021.1991437
Publication Status	Published
ISSN and link to URL (where available)	10.1080/17512786.2021.1991437
This paper is one of 3 co-authored papers to be submitted as part of the PhD by publication thesis submitted for examination	

² 'Guidelines for candidates, supervisors and examiners on the 'PhD by Publication' format': https://www.dcu.ie/graduatestudies/A_Z-of-GSO-Policies.shtml

Section 3: Candidate's contribution to the paper

Provide details below of the **nature** and **extent of your contribution** to the paper (include both your intellectual and practical contributions) and your overall contribution in **percentage terms**:

I confirm that I am solely responsible for this paper

Where a paper has joint or multiple authors, list the names of all other authors who contributed to the work (this can be appended in a separate document, where necessary):

Section 4: Signature and Validation

I confirm that the following statements are true:

- (a) the information I have provided in this form is correct
- (b) this paper is based on research undertaken during my candidature at DCU

Signature of PhD Candidate: _____



Date: 13/06/2022

I confirm that the information provided by the candidate is correct:



Signature of Principal Supervisor: _____

Date: 13/06/2022

In some cases, it may be appropriate for verification to be given by both the principal supervisor **and** the lead/corresponding author of the work (where the lead/corresponding author of the work is not the candidate or the principal supervisor):

Signature of Lead/Corresponding Author _____ Date _____

Nature of Current Post/Responsibilities _____

Home institution _____

Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences

Fincham, K (2021). Business as Usual: How Journalism's Professional Logics Continue to Shape News Organization Policies Around Social Media Audiences, *Journalism Practice*, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2021.1991437](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1991437)

Keywords: institutional logics; control, audience, engagement

Abstract

This study explores the prevailing institutional logics within Western news outlets to examine the prevalent values and concerns around the social media news audience amid a time of great upheaval in the news industry. Through a qualitative content analysis of social media guidelines from mainstream news outlets the study finds that professional logics continue to dominate news organization goals with the journalists positioned as the professionals in charge of the news and their audiences still limited to largely passive consumer roles at best allowed to comment, like and share only *after* publication. While the findings show that the news organizations view their audiences as consumer rather than collaborator, the study notes the emergence of two audience-oriented values which suggest that news organizations have already begun to respond to the ways in which their audiences are being reshaped by digital and social media even if those new technologies have not – yet – reshaped the organization's relationship with the audience. Overall, the study shows that professional logics continue to inform news organization attitudes in relation to their audiences as organizations continue to privilege the role of the news organization as the professional in charge of the content.

Introduction

Journalism work practices on social media platforms have been the focus of much research over the past decade amid the emergence of innovative technologies which, theoretically at least, enable new participatory interactions between news organizations and their audiences. While studies have consistently shown that journalists themselves do not use social media to engage with their audiences there has been little corresponding work in relation to news organizations' attitudes around journalist/audience interactions. This study uses an institutional logics approach to help build an understanding around organizational priorities towards journalist-audience interactions on social media at a time when the industry is in some decline and such innovation has been positioned by some as a potential solution to the industry's woes (Nelson, 2021a).

The emergence of social media in the mid-to-late 2000s opened up significant opportunities for new participatory interactions between journalists and their audiences, interactions which were physically impossible prior to the arrival of social media. However, research over the past decade has persistently shown that journalists ignore such opportunities to engage with their audiences and instead use social media to converse primarily with other journalists, a pattern of behaviour that is often linked to homophily, where like gathers with like; and normalisation, where new technologies are most often used to reinforce already-existing practices (see Singer, 2005; Fincham, 2019, Hanusch & Nölleke 2019; Mourão, 2015). While research into journalists' practice on social media is relatively well-advanced, due in no small part to journalists' rapid adoption of social media and the public nature of their exchanges, research at the organizational level is

comparatively sparse. The study is an attempt to add to our knowledge of organizational priorities around the news audience by exploring the prevailing institutional logics within news organizations in the liberal Western media systems in relation to participatory work practices. The author does this by carrying out a qualitative content analysis on social media policies, organizational texts which are a well-documented way to interrogate organizational prerogatives and priorities. This is not to say that individual journalists' practices are necessarily linked to their news organization's policies, indeed the research shows that most journalists ignore them (Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014), but more that such policies play a key role in articulating an organization's culture and influence the "way we do things here" in the newsroom (Breed, 1955; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013; Barkho, 2021; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015).

Institutional logics are "socially constructed, historical pattern of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999; 804) and an institutional logics approach offers researchers a way into understanding the oftentimes overlapping and conflicting cultures within organizations (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Previous studies have identified professional, commercial, managerial, and technological logics as the most dominant within journalism and of these four, the professional and commercial are most prominent and are also the most likely to be seen in conflict as news outlets daily negotiate multiple domains to fulfil their obligations to both the market and the public (Lischka, 2020). Accordingly, journalism is well-practiced, if not always skilful, in negotiating commercial and professional logics and has long compartmentalized uneasy

bedfellows like advertising (commercial) and news (professional) in separate offices, if not separate buildings. That same uneasy tension exists in relation to the news audience which while considered commercially valuable is typically kept away from the places where news decisions are made and viewed as a passive consumer of professionally-produced information with professional journalism norms like objectivity often cited as a rationale for the need to maintain a distance between journalist and audience (Ananny, 2014; Deuze et al, 2007; Belair-Gagnon & Revers, 2018; Lischka, 2020; Lowrey, 2018). This study asks if commercial and professional logics continue to inform news organizations' principles regarding the newer social media audiences and to do so, the author used an institutional logics approach in carrying out a qualitative content analysis of social media guidelines from a sample of Western news organizations. While content analysis of editorial policies (see Barkho, 2021) is a standard research technique, analysis of the content of *social media* policies is relatively new as there were few such policies in the early days of Twitter and Facebook as news organizations declined to specifically address social media with The New York Times famously claiming their journalists didn't need any formal direction at all (Davis, 2011). Since then, driven in part by several high-profile social media controversies news organizations including The New York Times have begun to create quite detailed documents (Adornato & Lysak, 2017) and these texts are helpful in shedding light on organizations' concerns around social media news audiences, although availability is somewhat limited as we will see in the Methods section. The main question in this study is to ask if the social media audience is still viewed in terms of professional logics or whether we can identify the emergence of newer logics. To explore this question, this study focuses on policies from mainstream news organizations in the broadly similar media systems of Ireland, Canada the UK and U.S., (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) which while

imperfect and somewhat limited in scope (Ryfe, 2016) are similar enough to help researchers in identifying any developing shared set of logics in respect to news audiences.

This paper ultimately argues that professional logics are still most prominent in news organizations' approach to their social media audiences as the news organizations are consistently situated as the ultimate news authority with the audience generally portrayed as a traditional potential eyewitness or consumer rather than potential participant or collaborator in news work. However, the study also identifies newer audience-oriented values or themes which show that the news organizations do acknowledge that the audience has been changed by the emergence of digital and social media even as the organization's relationship with the audience has not. The literature on news audiences and audience construction is reviewed first along with a discussion around current studies into journalist/audience social media interactions and existing studies of social media policies in Western news organizations before moving on to the theoretical framework of institutional logics. The methodological section is next and then the findings, discussion, and conclusion sections.

Literature review

Audiences and engagement

The audience has long played a subsidiary role in Western news organizations, viewed primarily as passive recipients of the *professional* content produced by the *professional* journalist; an abstract, imaginary concept, "newsmen's fantasies", with any knowledge of the news audience filtered back through market research or audience metrics,

or the erstwhile letters to the editor, rather than direct knowledge or awareness (de Sola Pool & Shulman, 1959, 145; Nelson, 2021a). When surveyed about their imagined audiences journalists reported soliciting feedback from peers or supervisors, not the people who paid for their product, and research has consistently shown that journalists overwhelmingly seek approval and validation from other journalists, rather than the people they say they seek to serve and while readers could sometimes see their own thoughts and ideas in print, those letters still had to be approved by the editorial gatekeepers again privileging the role of the professional journalist (Ananny, 2014; Bossio, 2017; Heinonen, 2011; Heise et al., 2014, Wahl-Jorgensen, 2007; White, 1950). The rise of social media and its networked “always-on” (Hermida, 2010, 298) platforms in the mid to late 2000s created much optimism about the potential for greater journalist/audience engagement and the prospects for pluralization and democratization that could result from agonistic audiences converging online in collaborative and equitable forms of storytelling (Heinonen, 2011; Jenkins, 2006; McCosker, 2014; Pavlik, 2000; Robinson, 2011; Sumpter 2000).

However, the promise of such participatory practices and greater pluralization has largely remained unrealized with journalists adapting “slowly, if at all,” to innovative engagement practices with social media interactions typically observed only in the professional or commercial spheres such as traditional news-gathering or the business of increasing traffic (Borger et al., 2013, 127; Quandt, 2018). Engaged journalism is most frequently understood as “types of participatory culture and online interactivity that go beyond users’ consumption of news” (Belair-Gagnon, Nelson, & Lewis, 2019, 558) but academic studies have repeatedly shown that while journalists have been quick to adopt social media, they are more likely to use it in ways that ward *off* any audience incursions on their role, rather than inviting them in, with audience participation allowed only *after*

the news is produced, echoing Hermida's observation (2011b, 189), that "deep down, most journalists do not view the user as an active participant in the news" and spend "little time thinking about the people they intended to reach" (Lasorsa et al, 2012; Lawrence et al., 2018; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Nelson, 2021b, 16; Vergeer, 2015). While there are notable exceptions to this (see García de Torres & Hermida, 2017, on then-NPR social media editor Andy Carvin and his ground-breaking work in social journalism) the audience is not offered any "meaningful agency" in news selection as journalists hold on to key stages of the news work and view the news audience as something that could detract from their core role of control over content (Hermida, 2011a, 21). Overall, studies show journalists continue to perceive their audience as passive consumers and display a "lingering" and "persistent" resistance to innovation with engagement efforts restricted to post-publication activities such as comments, likes or shares, all of which reinforces the role conception that journalists, "acting in their normative roles, ought to wield gatekeeping control over news content on behalf of society" (Ananny, 2014; Belair-Gagnon, 2020; Harmer & Southern, 2020; Lewis, 2012, 845; Schmidt & Lawrence, 2020, 533).

While the literature around journalists and their audiences is well-developed there is less research around organizational priorities and the social media policies provide a useful lens for this enquiry as they point to concerns that might otherwise be inaccessible. This is a timely enquiry as such policies have only recently started to become available given that news organizations originally asked only that journalists demonstrate "common sense" (Davis, 2011) and emerging research has already explored the wider organizational concerns around social media (see Ananny, 2014; Barkho, 2021; Bloom et al., 2015; Duffy & Knight, 2019; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Lee, 2018; Opgenhaffen & d'Haenens, 2015; Sacco & Bossio, 2017; Vaast & Kaganer, 2013). While not specifically focused on

audience-related norms; Ananny's 2014 inquiry into press autonomy and Duffy and Knight's 2019 work on boundary-setting are of interest here as they both reported that news organizations were maintaining legacy practices in relation to their news audiences. This paper focuses specifically on news audience guidance in the social media policies and asks if the professional logics still prevail in relation to the news audience or if newer or even negotiated logics are developing in response to the new opportunities provided by social media.

Institutional logics

Institutional logics were first introduced by Alford and Friedland (1985) as a way of describing the conflicting and overlapping practices and beliefs within modern Western institutions and has since been used to explore and better understand the inter-relationships between individuals, organizations, and society and how organizations work to determine accepted and acceptable goals (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Scott, 2013; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008). Researchers generally point to four types of institutional logics within journalism; professional, which considers the professional role conception; commercial, which is oriented towards business concerns; managerial, which is concerned with structures, process and operations; and technological, which is oriented towards the use of technology (Lischka, 2020). The professional and commercial logics are considered most dominant in journalism, for reasons of public service and market concerns, and this study focuses only on professional logics as the central question is about the professional role conception of journalism in relation to the news audience.

Professional logics

Professional logics largely situate the journalist as a neutral and objective gatekeeper tasked with maintaining professional control over content, and journalism's role in the collection, production, and dissemination of information can be viewed as objective or activist; interpreter or watchdog; conceptions which place it in the fourth estate ideal where it is considered a vital, if unofficial, part of the public sphere along with the legislative, judiciary, and executive (Lischka, 2020). These are important roles for a profession that lacks the formal credentialling systems of medicine or law and given that journalism derives much of its legitimacy and status from its professional role conception any incursion by outsiders would be expected to create conflict (Ananny, 2014; Lewis, 2012). This paper seeks to establish if professional news logics inform news organizations' attitudes towards the social media audience or if the policies signal newer logics emerging in response to the impact of digital and social technologies. Again, this is not to say that the behaviour of journalists is tied to their organizations' guidance but more that the policies will help identify the prevailing ideologies within the organizations themselves. This paper thus draws from the institutional logics approach to ask the following research question:

Research Question

Are professional logics most prominent within news organizations in relation to the social media news audience or can we identify the emergence of newer logics?

Methodology

Data

To answer this research question, the author collected publicly available social media guidelines from national media organizations in the four countries of the North Atlantic media systems (see Table 1). Borrowing from Ananny's 2014 study the organizations selected for this study had to fit the following three criteria:

1. A major news organization in their respective country
2. Publicly available social media policies
3. Date range between 2009 and 2019 to better reveal patterns or changes over time

To find the policies, the author made enquiries to the relevant news organizations, searched news organization websites, and used Google searches for phrases like "social media policies", "social media guidelines", "journalists" and "journalism, a search which returned a total of 12 sets of guidelines from the four countries; one from Ireland (state broadcaster *RTÉ*); two from Canada (*CBC* and *The Globe and Mail*); four from the UK (*BBC*, *Northern Shell* group; *Reuters*, *SKY News*); and five from the US (*AP*, *BuzzFeed*, *ESPN*, *NPR*, *The New York Times*.) To ensure that other researchers could access the same data, the policies had to be publicly available to be included and while this obviously limited the number of usable policies, as some news organizations do not make their policies public, the author does not consider the sample size a substantial limitation as this

data set is similar in size to those used in other published studies and news organizations are known to mimic each other's organizational routines (Ananny, 2014; Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). The 12 news organizations are all considered industry leaders in their home countries and there is a reasonable amount of diversity in the types of outlet with four state broadcasters; (*RTÉ*, *CBC*, *BBC* and *NPR*); one commercial broadcaster (*SKY News*); one center-right tabloid group (The *Northern Shell* group with the *Daily Star* and *Daily Express*); two center-left broadsheets (*The New York Times* and *The Globe And Mail*); two wire agencies (*Reuters* and *AP*); one sports news site (*ESPN*) and finally, the digital-only *BuzzFeed*. The 12 policies surveyed ranged in size from one-page documents (*The Globe and Mail*) to lengthy detailed guidelines (*NPR*) and were issued between 2009 and 2019.

Table 1: Name and country of mainstream news outlet in alphabetical order along with year of last update and abbreviations when used

Table 1. Name and country of mainstream news outlet in alphabetical order along with year of last update and abbreviations when used.

Associated Press (AP)	US	2013
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)	UK	2015
BuzzFeed (BuzzFeed)	US	2019
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)	Canada	2017
Entertainment and Sports Programming Network (ESPN)	US	2017
The Globe and Mail (Globe and Mail)	Canada	2017
Daily Express and Daily Star (Northern Shell)	UK	2018
National Public Radio (NPR)	US	2019
The New York Times (NYT)	US	2017
Reuters (Reuters)	UK	2018
Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ)	Ireland	2013
SKY News (SKY)	UK	2015

As stated earlier, these countries were chosen as they comprise Hallin and Mancini's Liberal/North Atlantic media system which provides a strong starting point for this type of research as there are enough similarities in these countries' media and political

systems to help explore typical governing principles or logics in Western news organizations.

The study uses Krippendorff's six-question criteria (1980) for sampling:

1. Which data are analyzed? Social media policies from national news organizations
2. How are the data defined? Documents designed to guide journalists on audience interactions on social media
3. From what population are the data drawn? The four countries of the North Atlantic media system: Ireland, Canada, the U.S., and UK.
4. What is the relevant context? Institutional logics in journalism
5. What are the boundaries of the analysis? Publicly available social media guidelines from mainstream news organizations over a 10-year span
6. What is to be measured? Evidence of institutional logics

The guidelines were collected in mid-2020 and the links are available in the appendix.

Analysis

The question about institutional logics is an important one and this paper seeks to answer this through textual analysis of the organizations' formal policies. Following Annany (2014) the study uses a grounded theory "open coding" approach to identify themes and potential categories in the policies rather than imposing categories at the start. Drawing from Strauss and Corbin (1998) the author started with open coding at sentence level on any text that contained language related to audience interactions and then used

axial coding to create a new set of themes that combined categories and finally selected only those which were saturated with textual evidence from at least three different policies to arrive at the overall prevailing logic. The text blocks were required to be at least sentence-size but no bigger than a paragraph and centered on the same theme or, where themes overlapped, separated into individual text blocks (Vaast & Kaganer, 2013). When completed, the open, axial, and selective coding resulted in the categorisation of three distinct themes; audience as traditional construction; audience as new community and audience as potential threat.

The next section discusses the findings which initially suggested newer or negotiated logics but ultimately situated the audience in the professional logics. While the newer audience-oriented themes conveyed a *sense* of newer logics, they instead served to show that news organizations do understand that digital and social media have changed their *audience* even though they have not so far changed the organization's relationship with the audience. Overall, the professional logics are seen as dominant with the audiences portrayed as consumers or potential sources allowed contribute only after the news is published and never invited into the spaces where news is made. The three themes are discussed below.

Findings

Audience as traditional construct

The policies all begin with a statement about encouraging journalists to use social media in ways that further journalism's professional role with social media typically

described as an “important area for news gathering and reporting” (SKY News, 2015); an essential journalism tool for “connecting readers with reporting in a timely manner” (The Globe and Mail, 2017); and a new way of “giving our listeners and readers valuable insights into the day’s news” (NPR, 2019). As can be seen in the excerpts above, the policies locate the social media audiences as the traditionally passive recipient and the journalist as professional news worker and expert. The audience is typically described as “readers, listeners and viewers,” (NYT, 2017); “those who consume our content...” (AP, 2013); people who might be able to share content “to help us do our jobs” (BBC, 2019) or people who want to “post comments on our websites” (Northern Shell, 2018). In this way the policies convey a sense of the audience as a passive consumer; a breaking-news source or a social media user allowed comment only after the professionally produced news is published. Audience interactions are considered primarily as vehicles to “find useful information and newsworthy content and get our journalism to new audiences... gather news and sharing links to published work”, (AP, 2013) and journalists are advised to initiate interactions only in the context of news gathering or breaking news, such as ; “putting out a call for witnesses and other sources” (Northern Shell, 2018); “locating sources...for angles and insights” (Reuters, 2018 or “contacting people who have captured photos or video that AP might want to authenticate and use” (AP, 2013). Overall, journalists are positioned as the expert and “influential voices on social media”, (ESPN, 2017); the professionals “encouraged to answer questions about their areas of coverage” (Northern Shell, 2018) “or subjects in which they have expertise or interest” (BuzzFeed, 2019) and if the audience initiates any interactions the journalists are advised to respond, “time permitting” (AP, 2013). In sum, social media is conveyed as an “important area for newsgathering and reporting” (SKY News, 2015); an essential journalism tool for “connecting readers with reporting in a timely manner” (The Globe and Mail, 2017); and a way of “giving our

listeners and readers valuable insights” (NPR, 2019) with the journalist situated in their traditional role of expert and the audience as the passive recipient.

Audience as new community

While the policies present the social audience as a traditional construct in respect to the professional role of journalists and news-gathering they also suggest that the audience is being reshaped by social media in ways that merit organizational concerns both *for* and *about* the audience. For example, several of the news organizations discuss how social media communities have their own etiquette and customs, and how journalists should observe them as can be seen below. “So, we respect their cultures and treat those we encounter online with the same courtesy and understanding as anyone we deal with in the offline world. We do not impose ourselves on such sites. We are guests and behave as such” (NPR, 2019) and “(We) avoid giving the impression that *RTÉ* is imposing itself on a community of users and its space, operate a ‘when in Rome’ approach and are sensitive to existing user customs and conventions” (*RTÉ*, 2013). Journalists should consider the user’s “intended audience” and “whether vastly increasing that audience reveals an important story — or just shames or embarrasses a random person. We should not automatically or even typically comply with a poster’s original intention — but we should be aware of it” (*BuzzFeed*, 2019). Journalists are advised that much of the audience content on social media “is generally for the benefit of (the poster’s) friends and acquaintances,” (*RTÉ*, 2013) and to consider the social media audience as “ostensibly” rather than intentionally public (*BuzzFeed*, 2019) with a balance needed “between appropriate use of material that

an individual may have unthinkingly put in the public domain and respect for their privacy” (*RTE*, 2013) and particular care suggested around sensitive subjects such as “sexual assault, LGBT issues, and racial bias, (*BuzzFeed*, 2019). The safety of the social media audience is paramount with journalists advised to adopt “a sensitive and thoughtful approach” (*NPR*, 2019) to “never ask members of the public to put themselves in danger” (*Northern Shell*, 2018) and to avoid “multiple approaches to the same person” (*BBC*, 2015). While the policies all reinforce the idea that social media is for news gathering, journalists are advised to treat the social media audience with care and make sure that “we do not use information gathered from our interactions on such sites ... without identifying ourselves to those involved and seeking their permission to be quoted or cited” (*NPR*, 2019); “we should not simply lift quotes, photos or video” (*AP*, 2013) or “publish photographs where the subjects have a reasonable expectation of privacy” (*Northern Shell*, 2018) although BuzzFeed allows that such rules can be broken “in breaking news situations” (*BuzzFeed*, 2019).

Audience as potential threat

While the news organizations acknowledge that “talking to people is crucial to getting the most out of social media” (*BBC*, 2015) and that “most feedback is constructive” (*Northern Shell*, 2018) the guidelines consistently identify journalists as vulnerable to attacks (*NPR*, 2019) and increasingly “the targets of abuse on Twitter and other platforms”. The policies all warn that social media communities are “places where some people’s darker sides emerge” (*NPR*, 2019); with “abusive, bigoted, obscene and/or racist comments”, (*AP*, 2013) and “people who think that rape memes are a good way to respond to a story they don’t like” (*NYT*, 2017). Journalists are advised to model “civil discourse” (*CBC*, 2017); “avoid flame wars” (*Reuters*, 2018); “avoid engaging in arguments” (*SKY*

News, 2015); and “avoid protracted back-and-forth exchanges with angry people that become less constructive with each new round” (*Northern Shell*, 2018). The news organizations list very specific processes to be followed in cases of abuse; “consulting with supervisors” (*CBC*, 2017); “flagging” abusive individuals (*AP*, 2013) or reporting incidents to their line manager (*RTÉ*). Journalists are asked to evaluate whether the tone is threatening or merely unpleasant and tailor their actions accordingly with “blocking” and similar “aggressive” actions to be used only in “cases of real offence, abuse, or spamming” (*BBC*, 2019) and when such actions do not “unduly restrict access to our journalism” (*CBC*, 2017). For example, “If the message is unpleasant but not threatening and is about work you’ve done, try responding with something along these lines – “I appreciate constructive feedback. Can you tell me more about what concerned you?” If the person responds constructively, you’ve got a conversation going. If the person continues to be unpleasant or becomes abusive, do not continue the conversation” (*NPR*, 2019), and “If the criticism is especially aggressive or inconsiderate, it’s probably best to refrain from responding. We also support the right of our journalists to mute or block people on social media who are threatening or abusive. But please avoid muting or blocking people for mere criticism of you or your reporting” (*NYT*, 2017). Given that “issues happen and can escalate quickly online... there is an established process in place for managing potential issues and risks to our brand and reputation” (*CBC*, 2017).

Discussion

An institutional logics approach offers a lens into the main concerns and priorities within news organizations and this theoretical framework has allowed me to demonstrate that the news audience is still considered in ways that enhance professional logics and

highlights the audience's passive role in news gathering even as social and digital media technologies continue to weaken journalism's longstanding control over content. In the first theme, audience as traditional construct, the social media audience is consistently portrayed as a consumer or recipient of the journalists' professional content and offered opportunities to contribute only as a potential news source in breaking news or to comment only *after* publication. Where the policies do address journalist-initiated interactions it is typically to further professional news work such as soliciting quotes or eyewitness content and not newer practices such as potentially soliciting input from the audience on what issues the news organizations should cover. There is no advice on building communities or initiating or developing audience relationships and the advice from AP to respond (time permitting) is more an example of the kind of polite one-off thank-you replies noted by Parmelee and Deeley in 2017 rather than a model of meaningful interaction. The second theme, audience as new community, suggested an institutional awareness of public/private tensions within the audience and thus an awareness of newer participatory practices, but this theme was more rooted in concerns around reputation management, indicating that these newer values reflect brand concerns relating more to the commercial side of the house rather than journalism practice. This theme also highlights an issue which emerges time and time again in newsrooms and classrooms around reasonable expectations of privacy on social media platforms which are only "ostensibly" public (*BuzzFeed*, 2019). The news organizations who address this, and not all do, position journalism as a somewhat intrusive act and that mainstream media attention can result in a far larger audience than the social audience user may intend but again this enhances professional logics as it locates the journalist in the gatekeeping role. The third theme, audience as potential threat, reflects quite real concerns about online hostility towards professional journalists and does show that news organizations have already established quite clear procedures in response to the well-

documented instances of online abuse towards journalists, particularly female and people of colour, even if they are not encouraging newer participatory practices online.

The first finding, audience as traditional construct, confirmed the prevalence and dominance of professional logics within the news organizations in relation to the social media news audience but the second two findings initially suggested the development of newer or more negotiated logics. In “the audience as new community,” the themes reveal organizational awareness of the conflicting tensions around privacy on public platforms but close analysis revealed that the main concern for the news organizations was that the journalist consider their agency to amplify (however unintentionally) the audience’s post which again enhances professional logics. The recommendations to avoid social media “pile-ons”, where multiple journalists contact the same user, signals awareness of the differing ideas of visibility and “publicness” on social media but ultimately privileges organizational concern about brand reputation (Bradshaw, 2019) which again points back to professional logics. Additionally, the guidelines which advised journalists to observe social community norms can also be seen in this context as they again place the journalist in charge of information; “visiting” these communities for reporting and new gathering purposes; rather than seeking to build partnerships or collaboration. The organizational efforts to keep the audience at bay can also be seen in the context - or even “context collapse” as Marwick and boyd (2010) termed it - of the boundary struggles taking place in journalism as news organizations attempt to ward off any further collapse of their professional role (Broersma & Graham, 2016; Domingo et al., 2008; Gans, 1979; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2015). The emergence of social media created some expectations that audiences could take on new roles such as “producers” (half producer, half user) in converged or

hybrid media systems but the findings show that such practices have not so far been adopted by news organizations who instead “exhibit” or perform aspects of participatory social media culture only when it serves news gathering goals – and thus professional logics, (Broersma & Graham, 2016, Bruns, 2018 2; Chadwick, 2017; Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018, 287; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Singer, 2005). Overall, the policies affirm the passive, non-collaborative role of the audience in news gathering, and show that professional logics continue to inform news organization priorities with the journalist situated as expert and the audience viewed as either a passive consumer or potentially hostile user, given space only after the news is published. Journalists are not encouraged to use social media to invite the audience into the spaces where news is decided and there are no recommendations on how best to form relationships with the audience or initiate dialogue even as proximity to the audience is considered a strategic imperative (Nelson, 2018). The findings indicate that professional logics continue to shape news organizations’ relationships with their readers, listeners, and viewers even as their ability to maintain professional control of production and dissemination of information is challenged, if not weakened, daily. However, while the findings make it clear that the news organizations do not encourage audience interactions; there are legitimate and pressing concerns about journalists’ visibility and vulnerability on social spaces where platform owners do little or nothing to protect users from hate speech and abuse. As Lewis and Molyneux pointed out in their 10-year review (2018), the “all but baked-in implicit optimism” that marked the earlier incarnation of social media, particularly Twitter, has been overtaken by the increasingly toxic reality of an environment where many journalists, particularly female and minority, have been harassed off social media, “and any meaningful interactions with the audience on these platforms in their current format may be impossible” (Lewis & Molyneux, 2018).

Conclusion

One of the central themes in the findings relates to the organizational awareness that the news audience has been transformed by the arrival of social and digital media even as professional logics continue to prevail around journalist/audience interactions. The early identification of the audience-oriented themes or values had initially suggested the development of newer or more negotiated audience -related logics but closer analysis revealed these new themes conformed to existing professional logics and bracketed both professional and commercial logics in the stated concerns about threats to the individual safety and brand reputation. There was no evidence of innovation in participatory work practices in the policies with the audience limited to a passive consumer role rather than potential collaborator, consulted only for traditional news reasons such as letters to the editor, or on-the-spot quotes, and excluded from spaces where the news agenda is discussed and decided.

Researchers have suggested that engagement, even in a limited form, should be a key normative goal for news organizations and US news consumers have already signalled approval of journalists using social media to interact with the audience, particularly on substantive matters such as policy issues, yet there is no evidence here of any change in priorities around the audience (Jones, 2019; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Vergeer, 2015). However, any efforts at involving the audience in the selection and production of news and such activities would clearly challenge status and legitimacy of journalists and organizational resistance to such efforts may be linked to what Nelson (2021) termed the “currency” issue where news organizations will need to see a return on investment before changing practice but even still, the study shows that news organizations still regard

journalism as a product under their professional control even though the networked nature of social media and the ensuing quantity, if not quality, of information and potential actors, creates quite significant challenges to that status (Hedman, 2015; Lewis et al., 2014; Nelson, 2021; Yiping et al., 2020). In some ways these questions of control over content mirror the contradiction at the heart of a profession that serves both private and public service goals and that historically reconciled those contradictions by “compartmentalizing” conflicting areas into separate departments but it is unclear how news organizations can compartmentalize their way through maintaining control over content given the “shock to the system” that is digital and social media; the resultant weakened control, and the resultant weakened value of information as a commodity (Lewis et al, 2014; Lischka, 2020; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019; Peer & Ksiazek, 2011, 45).

As stated earlier, this paper makes no claim about the ability of such guidelines to influence the journalists’ behaviour as the effects of such policies are indirect at best (Boeyink, 1994, 894) but it is known that the behaviour of individual journalists often mirrors organizational policies such as the documents studied here. In addition, the well-documented tendency of news outlets to imitate each other on organizational policy indicates that the findings here can be considered representative of the wider structural and organizational attitudes and priorities within news organizations in the liberal Western tradition (Ananny, 2014, 949; Ferrer-Conill & Tandoc Jr., 2018; Nelson, 2018). However, it is important to note that this study is specific to general reporting across major mainstream news organizations, and it is likely that this research would have led to different outcomes in different contexts such as participatory or hyperlocal reportage in smaller news outlets, digital-first outlets, or indeed in other cultural conditions. The study is limited by its focus on publicly available policies, and it also does not address whether journalists

adhere to the guidelines which would require substantial field work and ethnography and was beyond the range of this study.

In closing, the study shows that professional logics still play a major role in news organizations and that social media culture is appropriated when it reinforces journalists' professional role as the people in charge. While the study notes the emergence of newer audience-oriented values, these are not seen to be located in professional logics which suggests that audience awareness is not considered a priority in the professional practice of journalism. While the study makes clear that news organizations are not (yet) inviting the audience to collaborate, the lack of any clear transactional value for publishers, the hidden costs of journalists' unpaid labour on social media and the threats posed by a hostile audience (Nelson, 2018; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018; Robinson, 2011) may well contribute to the continued prevalence of professional logics in journalism practice. While the study highlights that news organizations view the audience as largely passive or possibly problematic, this finding also points to the need for dedicated training in newsrooms and classrooms around social media audiences especially given the very valid fears about increasing online hostility towards journalists.

Appendix

Data

Associated Press. (2013). *Social Media Guidelines for AP Employees*. Retrieved December 2019 from https://www.ap.org/assets/documents/social-media-guidelines_tcm28-9832.pdf

BBC. (2015). *Group Social Media Guidance*. Retrieved December 2019 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/26_03_15_bbc_news_group_social_media_guidance.pdf

BuzzFeed. (2019). BuzzFeed News Standards and Ethics Guide. Retrieved December 29, 2019, from BuzzFeed website: <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/shani/the-buzzfeed-editorial-standards-and-ethics-guide#.ko3gl8lmY>

CBC. (2017). Journalistic Standards and Practices (JSP) - CBC/Radio-Canada. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from Canadian Broadcasting Company website: <https://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/vision/governance/journalistic-standards-and-practices>

ESPN. (2017). Social Media Guidelines. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from <https://www.espnfrontrow.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/NOV-2-RECEIVED-UPDATED-SOCIAL-MEDIA-GUIDELINES-10.221.pdf>

Northern Shell. (2017) Guidelines for UK Star and Express titles. Retrieved October 16, 2020 from <https://www.ipso.co.uk/media/1659/northern-and-shell-annual-statement-2017-for-publication.pdf>

NPR. (2019). NPR Journalism Standards. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from NPR website: <https://www.npr.org/ethics>

Reuters. (2018). Reporting from the Internet and Using Social Media. Handbook of Journalism. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from handbook.reuters.com/?title=Reporting_From_the_Internet_And_Using_Social_Media

RTÉ. (2013). RTÉ Social Media Guidelines. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from <https://static.rasset.ie/documents/about/social-media-guidelines-2013.pdf>

Sky News. (2015). Sky News Editorial Guidelines. Retrieved Sept. 2020 from Sky News https://news.sky.com/docs/sky_news_editorial_guidelines.pdf

The Globe and Mail. (2017). Editorial Code of Conduct. Retrieved 2020 from <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/files/editorial/EditorialCodeOfConduct.pdf>

The New York Times. (2017). The Times Issues Social Media Guidelines for the Newsroom. The New York Times. Retrieved Sept. 29, 2020 from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/13/reader-center/social-media-guidelines.html?>

References

- Adornato, A. C., & Lysak, S. (2017). You Can't Post That! *Electronic News*, 11(2), 80–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243117710279>
- Alford, R. R., & Friedland, R. (1985). *Powers of theory: Capitalism, the state, and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ananny, M. (2014). Networked press freedom and social media: Tracing historical and contemporary forces in press-public relations. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication: JCMC*, 19, 938–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12076>
- Barkho, L. (2021). Editorial policies and news discourse – how Al Jazeera's implicit guidelines shape its coverage of middle east conflicts. *Journalism*, 22(6), 1357–1374.. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919841797>
- Belair-Gagnon, V. & Revers, M. (2018). 13. The Sociology of Journalism: . In T. Vos (Ed.), *Journalism* (pp. 257-280). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501500084-013>
- Belair-Gagnon, V., Nelson, J. L., & Lewis, S. C. (2019). Audience Engagement, Reciprocity, and the Pursuit of Community Connectedness in Public Media Journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 13(5), 558–575. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1542975>
- Bentivegna, S., & Marchetti, R. (2018). Journalists at a crossroads: Are traditional norms and practices challenged by Twitter? *Journalism*, 19(2), 270–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917716594>
- Bloom, T., Cleary, J., & North, M. (2015). Traversing the “Twittersphere” social media policies in international news operations. *Journalism Practice*, 10(3), 343–357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1017408>
- Boeyink, David. (1994). How Effective are Codes of Ethics? A Look at Three Newsrooms. *Journalism Quarterly*, 71(4): 893–904
- Borger, M., van Hoof, A., Costera Meijer, I., & Sanders, J. (2013). Constructing participatory journalism as a scholarly object. *Digital Journalism*, 1(1), 117–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.740267>
- Bossio, D. (2017). Shifting values, new norms. In *Journalism and Social Media: Practitioners, Organisations and Institutions*. (pp. 111–131). Palgrave Macmillan <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65472-0>
- Bradshaw, P. (2019). “This is him here”: Laura Kuenssberg and the ethics of social linking Online Journalism Blog. Retrieved September 30, 2019, from

<https://onlinejournalismblog.com/2019/09/22/this-is-him-here-laura-kuenssberg-and-the-ethics-of-social-linking/>

Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis. *Social Forces*, 33(4), 326–335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2573002>

Broersma, M. and, & Graham, T. (2016). “Tipping the balance of power”. In *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics* (eds. A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbo, A.O. Larsson) (1st ed., pp. 89–103). New York: Routledge.

Bruns, A. (2018). *Gatewatching and news curation: journalism, social media, and the public sphere*. New York: Peter Lang

Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: politics and power* (2nd ed). Oxford University Press.

Davis, N. (2011). The New York Times Social Media Strategy Boils Down To “Don’t Be Stupid”. *Business Insider*. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from Business Insider website: <https://www.businessinsider.com/social-media-strategy-new-york-times-bill-keller-twitter-facebook-bbc-video-2011-5>

de Sola Pool, I., & Shulman, I. (1959). Newsmen’s Fantasies, Audiences, and Newswriting. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23(2), 145–158.

Deuze, M., Bruns, A., & Neuberger, C. (2007). Preparing for an age of participatory news. *Journalism Practice*, 1(3), 322–338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780701504864>

Domingo, D., Quandt, T., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Singer, J. B., & Vujnovic, M. (2008). Participatory journalism practices in the media and beyond. *Journalism Practice*, 2(3), 326–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780802281065>

Duffy, A., & Knight, M. (2019). Don’t be stupid: The role of social media policies in journalistic boundary-setting. *Journalism Studies*, 20(7), 932–951. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1467782>

Ferrer-Conill, R., & Tandoc, E. C. (2018). The Audience-Oriented Editor. *Digital Journalism*, 0811, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1440972>

Fincham, K. 2019. Exploring Political Journalism Homophily on Twitter: A Comparative Analysis of US and UK Elections in 2016 and 2017. *Media and Communication* 7 (1): 213–224.

Friedland, R., & Alford, R. (1991). Bringing society back in: symbols, practices, and institutional contradictions. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. P DiMaggio, W Powell, 232–63.

Gans, H., (1979) *Deciding What's News: a study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, New York: Pantheon.

García de Torres, E., & Hermida, A. (2017). The Social Reporter in Action. *Journalism Practice*, 11(2–3), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1245110>

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hanusch, F., & Nölleke, D. (2019). Journalistic Homophily on Social Media: Exploring journalists' interactions with each other on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 0811, 22–44. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1436977>

Harmer, E., & Southern, R. (2020) Is Digital News Really that Digital? An Analysis of How Online News Sites in the UK use Digital Affordances to Enhance Their Reporting, *Journalism Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2020.1831397](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1831397)

Hedman, U. (2015). J-Tweeters. *Digital Journalism*, 3(2), 279–297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.897833>

Heinonen, A. (2011). “The journalist’s relationship with users: New dimensions to conventional roles.” In *Participatory Journalism* (eds J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic). doi:[10.1002/9781444340747.gloss](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444340747.gloss) 34–55. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Heise, N., Loosen, W., Reimer, J., & Schmidt, J.H. (2014). Including the Audience. *Journalism Studies*, 15(4), 411–430. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2013.831232>

Hermida, Alfred. 2011b. “Mechanisms of participation: How audience options shape the conversation.” In *Participatory Journalism* (eds J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic). doi:[10.1002/9781444340747.gloss](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444340747.gloss) 177–191. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Hermida, Alfred. 2011b. “Fluid Spaces, Fluid Journalism: Lessons in Participatory Journalism.” In *Participatory Journalism* (eds J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic). doi:[10.1002/9781444340747.gloss](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444340747.gloss) 177–191. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell

Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the News. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003640703>

Ihlebaek, K. A., & Larsson, A. O. (2018). Learning by Doing: Perspectives on social media regulations in Norwegian news organizations. *Journalism Studies*, 19(6), 905–920. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1239184>

Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide*. NYU Press

Jones, J. (2019). *Americans Endorse Reporter-Audience Social Media Interaction*. Gallup. Retrieved September 30, 2019, from Gallup website: <https://news.gallup.com/opinion/gallup/266264/americans-endorse-reporter-audience-social-media-interaction.aspx>

Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks. CA. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2288384>

Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825>

Lawrence, R. G., Radcliffe, D., & Schmidt, T. R. (2018). Practicing Engagement: Participatory journalism in the Web 2.0 era. *Journalism Practice*, 12(10), 1220–1240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2017.1391712>

Lee, J. (2018). The Double-Edged Sword: The Effects of Journalists' Social Media Activities on Audience Perceptions of Journalists and Their News Products. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 20(April), 312–329. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12113>

Lewis, S. C., & Molyneux, L. (2018). A Decade of Research on Social Media and Journalism: Assumptions, Blind Spots, and a Way Forward. *Media and Communication*, 6(4), 11. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v6i4.1562>

Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2014). Reciprocal Journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 8(2), 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.859840>

Lewis, S. C. (2012). The Tension Between Professional Control and Open Participation. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(6), 836–866. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.674150>

Lischka, J. A. (2020). Fluid institutional logics in digital journalism. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 17(2), 113–131.

Lowrey, Wilson. "7. Journalism as Institution". *Journalism*, edited by Tim P. Vos, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018, pp. 125–148. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501500084-007>

Marwick, A. E., & boyd, danah. (2010). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately:

Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810365313>

McCosker, A. (2014). Trolling as provocation: YouTube's agonistic publics. *Cybernetics*, 20(2), 201–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856513501413>

Molyneux, L., & Mourão, R. R. (2019). Political Journalists' Normalization of Twitter: Interaction and new affordances. *Journalism Studies*, 9699, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1370978>

Mourão, R. R. (2015). The boys on the timeline: Political journalists' use of Twitter for building interpretive communities. *Journalism*, 16(8), 1107–1123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914552268>

Nelson, J. L. (2018). The Elusive Engagement Metric. *Digital Journalism*, 6(4), 528–544. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1445000>

Nelson, J. L. (2021). The next media regime: The pursuit of 'audience engagement' in journalism. *Journalism*, 22(9), 2350–2367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919862375>

Nelson, J.L. (2021). *Imagined Audiences: How Journalists Perceive and Pursue the Public*. Oxford University Press

Opgenhaffen, M., & d'Haenens, L. (2015). Managing Social Media Use: Whither Social Media Guidelines in News Organizations? *International Journal on Media Management*, 17(4), 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2015.1107570>

Opgenhaffen, M., & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social Media Guidelines for Journalists An investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 726–741. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.869421>

Parmelee, J. H., & Deeley, D. (2017). Florida political reporters interact rarely online. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 104–118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532917698438>

Pavlik, J. (2000). The Impact of Technology on Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 1(2), 229–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700050028226>

Peer, L., & Ksiazek, T. B. (2011). YouTube and the challenge to journalism: new standards for news videos online. *Journalism Studies*, 12(1), 45–63.

Quandt, T. (2018). Dark participation. *Media and Communication*, 6(4), 36–48.

Robinson, S. (2011). "Journalism as Process": The Organizational Implications of Participatory Online News. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 13(3), 137–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/152263791101300302>

Ryfe, D. M. (2016). *Journalism and the Public*. Polity. Cambridge

Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2017). Don't Tweet This! How journalists and media organizations negotiate tensions emerging from the implementation of social media policy in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, 5(2), 177–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1155967>

Schmidt, T. R., & Lawrence, R. G. (2020). Engaged Journalism and News Work: A Sociotechnical Analysis of Organizational Dynamics and Professional Challenges. *Journalism Practice*, 14:5, 518-536. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1731319>

Scott, W. R. (2013). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, interests, and identities*. Sage Publications.

Singer, J. B. (2005). The political j-blogger: "Normalizing" a new media form to fit old norms and practices. *Journalism*, 6(2), 173–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884905051009>

Strauss, A. C., & Corbin, J. M., 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Sumpter, R. S. (2000). Daily newspaper editors' audience construction routines: A case study. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 17(3), 334–346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030009388399>

Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W., & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure, and process*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Thornton, P.H., & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional logics. In *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (eds R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby & K Sahlin), (pp. 99-128). SAGE, <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781849200387.n4>

Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. (1999). Institutional logics and the historical contingency of power in organizations: Executive succession in the higher education publishing industry, 1958-1990. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 801-843. <https://doi.org/10.1086/210361>

Vaast, E., & Kaganer, E. (2013). Social media affordances and governance in the workplace: An examination of organizational policies. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(1), 78–101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12032>

Vergeer, M. (2015). Peers and Sources as Social Capital in the Production of News: Online Social Networks as Communities of Journalists. *Social Science Computer Review*, 33(3), 277–297. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439314539128>

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2007). *Journalists and the Public: Newsroom culture, letters to the editor, and democracy*. Cresskill, NJ, Hampton Press Inc.

Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2015). Resisting epistemologies of user-generated content? Co-optation: Segregation and the Boundaries of Journalism. In: Carlson, M, Lewis, SC (eds) *Boundaries of Journalism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 335–367.

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

Yiping, X., Robinson, S., Zahay, M., & Freelon, D. (2020). The Evolving Journalistic Roles on Social Media: Exploring “Engagement” as Relationship-Building between Journalists and Citizens. *Journalism Practice*, 14(5), 556–573. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1722729>

Declaration of Authorship

Candidates are required to submit a separate **Declaration of Authorship** form for each co-authored paper submitted for examination as part of a PhD by Publication thesis. Further information is available from the [accompanying guideline document](#).³

Section 1: Candidate's details	
Candidate's Name	Kelly Fincham
DCU Student Number	52149463
School	Communications
Principal Supervisor	Prof. Jane Suiter
Title of PhD by Publication Thesis	#journalism: Twitter's impact on 21 st century journalism practice
Section 2: Paper details	
Title of co-authored paper included in the thesis under examination	News organisations and Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists. In G. Gumpert, S. Drucker, <i>Social Media Laws and Ethics</i> Vol II. New York, Peter Lang. Forthcoming
Publication Status	In Press
ISSN and link to URL (where available)	
This paper is one of 3 co-authored papers to be submitted as part of the PhD by publication thesis submitted for examination	
Section 3: Candidate's contribution to the paper	

³ 'Guidelines for candidates, supervisors and examiners on the 'PhD by Publication' format': https://www.dcu.ie/graduatestudies/A_Z-of-GSO-Policies.shtml

Provide details below of the **nature** and **extent of your contribution** to the paper (include both your intellectual and practical contributions) and your overall contribution in **percentage terms**:

I confirm that I am solely responsible for this paper

Where a paper has joint or multiple authors, list the names of all other authors who contributed to the work (this can be appended in a separate document, where necessary):

Section 4: Signature and Validation

I confirm that the following statements are true:

- (a) the information I have provided in this form is correct
- (b) this paper is based on research undertaken during my candidature at DCU

Signature of PhD Candidate: _____

Kelley Finchan

Date: 13/06/2022

I confirm that the information provided by the candidate is correct:

The Duke

Signature of Principal Supervisor: _____

Date: 13/06/2022

In some cases, it may be appropriate for verification to be given by both the principal supervisor **and** the lead/corresponding author of the work (where the lead/corresponding author of the work is not the candidate or the principal supervisor):

Signature of Lead/Corresponding Author _____ Date _____

Nature of Current Post/Responsibilities _____

Home institution _____

News organisations and Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists

News organizations and Twitter: Best practice for new and student journalists.

In G. Gumpert, S. Drucker, *Social Media Laws and Ethics* Vol II. New York, Peter Lang. In Press. 2022

Abstract

Mainstream news organisations in Western democratic media environments increasingly expect their journalists to use social media for a hybrid series of journalism routines, such as traditional newsgathering and sourcing, as well as newer practices such as monitoring social channels and using platforms to extend and amplify the reach of the news organisation's brand. However, while newsrooms expect new and student journalists to be proficient in the professional use of social media, research indicates that journalism students are struggling to acquire the "deep level of digital competence," needed for 21st century journalism, particularly in relation to best practices around personal and professional use of social media in journalism (Reyes-de-Cózar et al., 2022, np). This chapter aims to bridge that gap by providing students with a clear sense of professional use of Twitter, the most dominant social media platform in journalism, through the creation of a framework of best practices drawn from a thematic analysis of publicly available social media guidelines in the main media markets of Western democratic systems. Given the prominent role that social media, particularly Twitter, have assumed in day-to-day journalism practice, it is important for educators to understand the ways in which media organisations are integrating and regulating the use of social media (Sacco & Bossio, 2017) and interrogating such policies is a well-documented way of understanding organisational

ideologies and priorities (Barkho, 2021). Understanding how professional news organisations use Twitter is key to informing how journalism educators can better prepare students for the 21st century workplace and this chapter is intended to be beneficial for students working in a variety of news settings.

The chapter shows that news organisations are primarily focused on preventing reputational damage by journalists across three key areas; how journalists *present themselves* on social media; what journalists *say* on social media and what journalists *do* on social media with recommendations seen across a wide range of spheres including, but not limited to the following: Account set-up, use of company logos, disclaimers and profile details; opinion, commentary or any type of content that could be perceived as support for causes or organisations; sharing, liking or following, breaking news, sourcing, verification and retweets. The policies also reflect a growing sense of concern about potentially hostile behaviour from the audience and guidance on how to escalate such incidents and some suggestions that journalists may need to scale back their use of social media. Overall, the primary concern conveyed by the guidelines is that new and student journalists should view social media as a key professional, not personal tool and that their primary responsibility when employed by a news organisation is to protect that employer's reputation.

The chapter is structured as follows:

- Introduction
- Key ideas and concepts:
 - *Twitter in journalism*
 - *Student journalism*
 - *Hybrid media system*

- *Social media policies*
- Outline of study with method
- Findings
- Discussion
- Selected guidance with 17 tips for educators
- Conclusions

Introduction

In May 2022, the UK Guardian revised its 2018 social media guidelines to include new language which warned journalists that they could face disciplinary action for criticising each other in public after a Twitter row involving writers at the news organisation (Ponsford, 2022). One month later an American political reporter was fired from their position at the Washington Post in the US after another high-profile Twitter argument which drew in multiple Post staffers and saw another reporter suspended (Klein, 2022; Schwartzman & Barr, 2022). These well-publicised Twitter battles highlight the potential pitfalls of social media for *experienced* journalists, not to mention student journalists who are often new to using social media in a professional work environment. There are increasing concerns about the conflict between professional and personal journalism practice on social media, specifically Twitter, and this chapter is aimed at providing educators with a single point of reference for teaching students about current/existing professional expectations around social media journalism. The recommendations are based on best practice as articulated in existing policies and identify the most prevalent and persistent themes within news organisations in relation to their

journalists' social media activity and conduct. Accordingly, this study helps bridge the gap between research and practice by identifying the most prevalent and persistent themes and areas of concern within news organisations and will help in responding to the "urgent need" for more such instruction amid ongoing research findings which show that new and student journalists "lack a clear sense of how best to use [social media] as a tool to further their journalistic endeavours" (Saks, Cruikshank, & Yanity, 2019).

Key ideas and concepts

Twitter in journalism

The social media platform Twitter is an essential part of the news ecosystem, with journalists, news organisations, and audiences accessing and disseminating information in a space that was not originally intended for journalism but where journalism increasingly takes place (Hedman, 2015; Hermida, 2010; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012; Molyneux & Mourão, 2019). The platform was initially set up in 2006 as a short messaging system to share status updates, but by 2008, Twitter had begun to show nascent signs of a more news-centric role, with users seen breaking news about incidents such as the devastating Sichuan earthquake in China and the terrorist attacks in Mumbai (García de Torres & Hermida, 2017). In January 2009, the amateur photographs of Captain Chesley "Sully" Sullenberger III safely landing US Airways Flight 1549 in New York's Hudson River demonstrated that the micro-blogging platform had become a part of the news environment in the US. Indeed, in 2011, the first reports of the US raid on Osama bin Laden's compound emerged through tweets from a user who posted: "Helicopter hovering above Abbottabad at 1AM (is a rare event)" (Hill, 2011). Since then Twitter has grown to become a staple in news work as its

always-on information channel has given journalists a new-found ability to identify trends, monitor peers, share content, verify information and connect with sources with the importance of these activities magnified in breaking news situations (See Heravi, 2016; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2016; Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2015; Bruns & Highfield, 2013; Parmelee, 2013; Harmer & Southern, 2020; Maares, Lind & Greussing, 2021). While Twitter is important for news-related work it also functions as a sort of digital press card for journalists as it can be used for personal and professional branding (Broersma & Graham, 2016) and the profile section provides new and student journalists a singular opportunity for self-presentation and branding (Folker, 2018). While news organisations do not require journalists to be active on Twitter, they generally expect their journalist to have some sort of presence. In sum, Twitter's prominence in older and newer journalism routines puts it close to the centre of current journalism practice (Molyneux & Mourão, 2019).

Student journalism

The ubiquity of Twitter in today's news work poses challenges for journalism educators preparing students for hybrid media newsrooms where proficiency in social media is considered a key skill for new hires (Hepworth, Mensing & Yun, 2018; Wenger, Owens, & Cain, 2018). Research shows that journalism students are generally uncomfortable with the professional use of social media, particularly in relation to the distinction between their personal and professional lives and that "although students use social media frequently, they appear unaware of how to use it in a journalist way" (Saks et al, 2019, p. 300). Even students working in college media outlets use social media to "tick a checkbox" and "lack a clear sense of how best to use [social media] as a tool to further

their journalistic endeavours” (Cozma & Hallaq, 2019). There are increased calls for more emphasis on professional best practices in this area (Cozma & Hallaq, 2019; McLaughlin, Gotlieb & Cummins, 2020), amid growing concern about gaps between classroom and newsroom and fears that journalism education may be lagging behind quite major shifts in the industry (Castañeda & Haggerty, 2019; Cozma & Hallaq, 2019). Additionally, new research shows that new and student journalists need increased training on social media and that professional journalists are reporting “social media fatigue” as they struggle to negotiate their personal and professional identities online (Bossio & Holton, 2018; Martin & Murrell, 2021).

Hybrid media system

Journalism has for decades faced “all kinds of new threats and possibilities” from new technologies (Deuze, 2017, p.10) but the challenges from social media are different to the technologies that came before. The advent of digital and social media in the early to mid-2000s transformed the media system from a one-to-many broadcast style, where access had been controlled by news organisations, to a many-to-many networked model with fewer barriers to access (Hermida, 2010). This has led to a weakening of traditional journalism practices, such as gatekeeping, as journalists can no longer maintain sole control of information (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2015). While Twitter plays a prominent role for journalists (Broersma & Graham, 2016; McGregor & Molyneux, 2020), it is just one element in a new system which is generated by the interaction of different, often competing, forces from the intersection of older and newer media and converging practices from both older and newer digital journalism routines (Chadwick, 2017). With its mixture of technologies, media objects, practices, and meanings, the hybrid media system is related to

the concept of media convergence, which sees convergence as not only a technological phenomenon, but also a social one (Jenkins 2006, p. 2). “Convergence” and “hybridity” are often used interchangeably, and both refer to a complex and dynamic process of integration and interaction between various media technologies. “Hybrid media” also refers to the interaction of different actors: media companies, users, and cultural institutions (Chadwick 2017, p. 5). This interaction is not static, but a complex and dynamic process that blends “linear legacy journalism and a new networked news media” (Beckett & Deuze, 2016), and it is this process which so challenges journalists as they grapple with new intricacies, such as creating authentic voices while keeping within organisational guidelines. This process often causes “context collapse” as the different contexts in which a person operates collapse into one another, thus making it difficult for users to maintain different versions of their identities for different audiences (Marwick and boyd 2010, p. 122). The increasingly complex and nuanced news industry means that journalists must “negotiate multiple audiences by strategically creating posts that portray an authentic, yet broadly engaging, personality” (Bossio, 2017). This process poses challenges for seasoned journalists as well as new and student journalists in learning how to present a personal version of themselves while also attempting to extend their reach or promote their own “brand” (Molyneux & Holton, 2015; Lasorsa, Lewis & Holton, 2012). But with social media proficiency seen as a key skill for newsroom employment, educators must also understand how to address these issues as they help train students to operate in (and get jobs with) existing mainstream news outlets.

Social media policies

One way to learn about social media practice in professional news organisations is through professional newsroom policies, such as their social media guidelines (Barkho, 2021). These guidelines offer researchers a way to analyse the policies and procedures that different media organisations have implemented to integrate and regulate the use of social media in their newsrooms and how these might impact on news production and dissemination overall (Sacco & Bossio, 2017). These documents are typically used by news organisations to articulate organisational concerns, and their language reveals whether the news outlets encourage certain situations, encourage journalists to avoid certain situations, or “simply explains things for them” (Ananny, 2014; Barkho, 2021, p. 5). But even as Twitter was cementing its role as an early-warning wire service in the first years of social media, there were few such documents available as news organisations initially declined to set formal policies and generally encouraged their staffs to experiment (Anderson et al, 2015; Peters & Broersma, 2012; Hermida, 2010). A 2011 review of publicly available social media guidelines from the American Society of Newspaper Editors (now the Newsleaders Association) found most news organisations mirrored the BBC’s “common sense” approach, advising only that reporters “shouldn’t post anything that would embarrass them personally or professionally or their organisation,” (ASNE, 2011). Chris Hamilton, the BBC’s social media editor at the time, distilled the advice to a single phrase: “Don’t be stupid,” an approach preferred by journalists and perhaps best symbolized by the reluctance of The New York Times to set any policy at all. Speaking at the BBC Summit in 2011, then-Times social media editor Liz Heron said the Times preferred to let people

make their own policies. “We basically just tell people to use common sense and don't be stupid,” she said (Davis, 2011; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014).

However, largely prompted by concerns around perceptions of bias and impartiality, news outlets have started to create quite detailed policies (Sacco & Bossio, 2017). The US presidential campaign of 2016 appears to have been something of a watershed moment for news organisations in the US as both legacy and digital media sites abandoned their earlier laissez-faire approach and repeatedly warned staffers against taking “partisan stands” in their election reporting, albeit without issuing formal policies or guidelines (Darcy, 2016). By late 2017, The New York Times would caution all journalists – not just those on government or politics beats – against posting “partisan opinions” on social media, adding that any policy violations would be “noted on performance reviews” (The New York Times, 2017). And by 2020, the BBC had updated its social media policy and admonished journalists to avoid “virtue signalling” their support for campaigns or causes on Twitter with a revised social media policy that bans journalists from using hashtags or retweets to show support for any causes on Twitter (BBC, 2020). It was not just news organisations that changed tack. Echoing the Times’s concerns that journalists from all fields – not just politics – were at risk of being engulfed in potential social conflicts, the sports organisation ESPN revamped its guidelines in November 2017 after TV anchor Jemele Hill was briefly suspended for calling then-President Donald Trump “racist” in a tweet (Morona, 2017). The 2017 guidelines were a study in contrast to ESPN’s original 2011 guidelines, created when ESPN, like most media organisations, was focused more on maintaining control of exclusive content or breaking news than the political context of posts (Brady, 2017) and the development of these formal guidelines has given researchers new opportunities to examine newsroom priorities and ideologies within news organisations.

To date, studies have considered perspectives and priorities around long-standing journalism norms such as objectivity, gatekeeping and transparency (see Adornato & Lysak, 2017; Barkho, 2021; Bloom, Cleary & North, 2015; Duffy & Knight, 2019; Ihlebæk & Larsson, 2018; Lee, 2016; Opgenhaffen & d’Haenens, 2016) and this study builds on this research by drawing on the news organisations’ policies to provide actionable insights for new and student journalists and seek to answer the questions about professional and personal practice.

To do so, this study focuses on publicly available guidelines from leading news organisations in the US, Canada, the UK, and Ireland, in an effort to identify persistent concerns and patterns in Western democracies. These countries were chosen as they share similar characteristics in their media environments and are collectively known as the Liberal or North Atlantic media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Through the thematic analysis of these codes we are able to develop resources to support journalism education and help prepare new and student journalists in current best practice in news organisations.

Outline of study

The next section focuses on the method used to arrive at the analysis and then presents the findings from the analysis. This is followed by a discussion which looks at the importance of these findings and how educators can use them in the classroom. There are three tables to aid understanding. Table 1 shows the news organisations, country, and year of last update; Table 2 shows a sample of open, axial and selective coding; Table 3 shows

the categories and subsidiary themes which resulted from the analysis, and Table 4 lists the most important findings as tips to help new and student journalists.

Method

The guidelines are drawn from 13 mainstream news organisations in the US, Canada, the UK, and Ireland (see Table 1). To be included in this analysis the guidelines had to be posted publicly and these criteria yielded a total of 13 sets of guidelines, five from the US (AP, BuzzFeed, ESPN, NPR, The New York Times); five from the UK (BBC, Daily Express/Daily Star, The Guardian, Reuters, SKY News); two from Canada (CBC and Globe and Mail); and one from Ireland (state broadcaster RTÉ). The overall list covers all possible types of outlets ranging from digital first to TV to newsprint, comprising four state broadcasters (RTÉ, CBC, BBC and NPR); one commercial broadcaster (SKY); three centre-right tabloids (Globe and Mail, Daily Express/Daily Star); two centre-left broadsheets (The Guardian and The New York Times); two wire agencies (Reuters and AP); one sports news site (ESPN) and, finally, the digital-only site BuzzFeed. While the sample size is small it is similar to those used in other studies (Ananny, 2014; Opgenhaffen & Scheerlinck, 2014). The guidelines were reviewed in the summer of 2022 and the links are available at the end of the chapter.

This study uses a three-pronged approach developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998) of open, axial, and selective coding to build a set of codes or categories to analyse the guidelines. This approach is borrowed from grounded theory work and is well suited to such an exploratory analysis, as we can see what themes *emerge* from the text, rather than trying to impose predetermined categories at the start. The “open, axial and selective”

coding entailed close analysis and reading of the text to explore the guidelines and used familiar journalism queries such as what, who, which, how, when, and how long? In this case, the first question for open coding was typically “What activity or phenomenon is being described here? In the axial coding the goal is to identify the main concerns in the open coding category and then in the selective coding the author tries to answer the question of what the research seems to be about (Corbin and Strauss, 2008, p. 14). The open coding returned multiple different variables such as concerns about journalists’ support for causes or organisations; whether to use Twitter to break news; and what journalists should do around corrections on Twitter. An example of this coding can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Sample coding

Original text	Open	Axial	Selective
It is increasingly difficult to draw clear dividing lines between personal and professional personas on social media accounts.	Hard to distinguish personal and professional lines	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Following social media accounts which reflect only one point of view on matters of public policy, politics or controversial subjects may create a similar impression.	Following particular social accounts	Following/ Friending/ Liking	Conduct and activity

Table 1: Sample coding

Research Question This study seeks to answer the following research question: What persistent themes can we detect in the Twitter guidelines from mainstream news organisations to help educators guide student journalists?

Findings

The persistent theme expressed through the guidelines is the news organisations' fear that social media will facilitate activity or conduct that will jeopardise their brand's reputation. Their concerns around social media are concentrated across four distinct areas; what the journalists might *say* on social media; what they might *do* on social media; how they might *present* themselves on social media and what the *audience* might say on social media. In sum, the news organisation guidelines reveal that they largely view all social media activity as being related to their brand and reputation. Using selective coding, the guidelines were broken down into the four categories which will be discussed below:

- Journalists' conduct and activity
- Journalists' accounts and profiles
- Using social media for news work
- Hostile audiences

All the news organisations start off their guidelines with a general statement of intent or purpose and highlight the benefits of social media journalism. Social media is described as “an essential tool for journalists to gather news and share links to published work” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018); “valuable parts of our newsgathering and reporting kits” (NPR, 2019); “a great boon for the practice of journalism, on stories large and small” (Reuters, 2018) and “places where journalists can promote their work, provide real-time updates, harvest and curate information, cultivate sources, engage with readers and experiment with new forms of storytelling and voice” (The New York Times, 2017). However, while the news organisations lead off with the purported opportunities of social

media, they soon move to the risks associated with social media. This concern informs every aspect of the guidelines, from relatively benign activities such as creating a profile and bio on Twitter to other activities such as posting personal opinions in tweets or retweets. Impartiality is a consistent theme in guidance about commentary and opinions and is also visible in guidance around routines such as verification, sourcing, corrections, and breaking news as well as newer practices such as following and liking accounts. The concern about bias permeates every aspect of the guidelines. And while all the news organisations say they encourage their journalists to be active participants on social networks they all include a form of language similar to this AP disclaimer that journalists “should not express personal opinions on controversial issues of the day” (AP, 2022). The thematic analysis identified the following four persistent categories in the guidelines which are listed in Table 2 and discussed below.

Major categories	Associated Concepts
Journalists’ conduct and activity	Opinion/Commentary, Promoting or supporting causes; Professional obligation and/or content; Retweets or otherwise sharing information; Following/Friending/Liking; Conflicts of interest
Accounts and profiles	Personal, Professional or Private Accounts; Disclaimers; Profiles and official logos
News work	Breaking news; Verification; Sourcing; Corrections; Copyright
Audience	User privacy; hostile interactions
Emerging themes	Delete old tweets; take breaks from social

Table 2: The four major categories and the associated concepts

Journalists' conduct and activity

Opinion and commentary

The most prevalent theme across the national contexts and organisations studied is concern about journalists sharing their opinions on Twitter with journalists repeatedly advised that they must “refrain from expressing personal opinions on controversial subjects” (CBC, 2017). From the US, “Don't express personal views on a political or other controversial issue that you could not write for the air or post on NPR” (NPR, 2019); Canada, “While private views expressed through voting or with family and close friends are acceptable, political or partisan views which go beyond your public-facing role should not be expressed in public” (Globe and Mail, 2022); Ireland, “Do not reveal personal feelings or bias on current topics” (RTÉ, 2021); and the UK, “Do not express a view on any policy which is a matter of current political debate... or any other controversial subject” (BBC, 2020). The persistent message is that journalists should avoid expressing any opinions and that such commentary is seen as damaging to the news brand's reputation. “Reporters and editors should refrain from expressing partisan opinions about candidates, policy, and other public issues that BuzzFeed News covers” (BuzzFeed, 2019). Journalists “should not express partisan opinions, promote political views, endorse candidates or anything else that undercuts (our) reputation (The New York Times, 2017); “All employees must be aware that the opinions they express may damage the Company's reputation as a source of news” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2017); “Don't post anything that could bring Sky into disrepute” (Sky, 2015). “Avoid activities that might bring BBC into disrepute” (BBC, 2020). “Do nothing that would undercut your colleagues' work or embroil the company in unwanted controversy” (ESPN, 2017). The CBC also warns journalists that

“any perception of bias would influence decisions editorial leaders make on who can cover certain stories” (CBC, 2017).

Promoting or supporting causes

Journalists have long been warned against public shows of support for political parties or political causes in order to maintain the traditional journalistic norm of objectivity (in which journalists are not supposed to show political preferences) and the newsroom guidelines emphasise this. “Employees should not make any postings that express political views” (AP, 2022); “News staffers are not permitted to donate money or volunteer time for political candidates or campaigns, or to participate in demonstrations” (BuzzFeed, 2019). “Do not support campaigns, (e.g. by using hashtags) no matter how apparently worthy the cause or how much their message appears to be accepted or uncontroversial...Avoid ‘virtue signalling’ – retweets, likes or joining online campaigns to indicate a personal view” (BBC, 2020); “Do not advocate for political or other polarising issues online. This extends to your Facebook page or a personal blog” (NPR, 2019); “Involvement in a political campaign at any level will not be approved. Such things as political contributions, party membership and campaign work are not approved. Check with your manager before signing a petition. While private views expressed through voting or with family and close friends are acceptable, partisan views which go beyond your public-facing role should not be expressed in public. While journalists may express views based on their life experiences, they must not compromise The Globe’s reputation for impartiality. Raising questions is what journalists do, but not allegiance to a party or controversial cause currently in the news” (Globe and Mail, 2022); “Editorial staff should not state political preferences or compromise their impartiality” (RTÉ, 2021); “Writers, reporters, producers and editors

directly involved in "hard" news reporting, investigative or enterprise assignments and related coverage should refrain in any public-facing forum from taking positions on political or social issues, candidates or office holders" (ESPN, 2017); "You should also refrain from registering for partisan events on social media" (The New York Times, 2020).

Professional responsibility

The news organisations consistently advise journalists to always maintain a professional work-related demeanour on Twitter. "If you are associated with GNM then everything you post, like or link to on social media - regardless of the platform - can easily become public and on the record, and may be seen as representing an official GNM position" (Guardian, 2022); "A helpful rule: If you wouldn't say it on live radio or television, reconsider posting it on social media" (CBC, 2017); "You should conduct yourself in social media forums with an eye to how your behaviour or comments might appear if we were called upon to defend them as being appropriate behaviour by a journalist" (NPR, 2019); "As a Sky News journalist you are expected to use social media responsibly, adhering to the principles of fairness, accuracy, impartiality, legality and rigour" (SKY News, 2015). "Understand that at all times you are representing ESPN, and social sites offer the equivalent of a live microphone" (ESPN, 2017); "Although acting in a private capacity, you are still a public representative of RTÉ" (RTÉ, 2021); "Do remember that your personal brand on social media is always secondary to your responsibility to the BBC" (BBC, 2020). "If you are associated with the Guardian or the Observer, either staff or freelance, and you have a large following on a platform, you have a particular responsibility" (GNM, 2022). "Common sense should guide your behaviour on social media, as it should guide your behaviour on all occasions when you are associated

with Sky News” (SKY, 2015). Additionally, news organisations recommend that journalists review their social media presence: “It is impossible to be aware of everything posted on social media, but we will reasonably monitor our social media activity online and exercise good judgement when we post” (CBC, 2017). “The Globe and Mail (2017) says that the issue is whether or not the activity “would tend to promote doubt about The Globe and Mail’s impartiality in terms both of issues and politics” (The Globe and Mail, 2017).

Retweets

Retweets are universally regarded as problematic with organisational concern rooted in the idea that retweets are commonly understood as a sign of approval. “Retweeting can be seen as (an) endorsement of the original tweet” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). “If we are retweeting information, it's because we think it's of value. We know that doing this can make it look like NPR is vouching for what's been said. Keep this in mind: A retweet may be seen as an endorsement, don't assume it's not going to be viewed that way” (NPR, 2019). “Only share or retweet verified information - including images - from trusted sources. If in doubt, it is safer just to retweet official Guardian accounts or those of trusted Guardian colleagues. Do think about what your likes, shares, retweets, use of hashtags and who you follow say about you, your personal prejudices, and opinions” (Guardian, 2022). “You should never re-tweet any content that we would not be prepared to put on any of our platforms” (SKY News, 2015). Many of the news organisations also offer specific instructions on retweets. “We can judiciously retweet opinionated material if we make clear we’re simply reporting it, much as we would quote it in a story” (AP, 2022). “You can retweet opinionated material if you make clear you are simply reporting it, much

as you would quote it in a story. Introductory words help make the distinction” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). “That's why we use the quote tweet" function to say more, add context and make clear that we're pointing to something that's been posted by another person or news outlet” (NPR, 2019). “If someone were to look at your entire social media feed, including links and retweets, would they have doubts about your ability to cover news events in a fair and impartial way?” (The New York Times, 2017). “We advise you not to retweet or quote offensive comments about yourself or others, even if your intention is to show your disapproval - it simply rewards offensive accounts with attention” (Guardian, 2022).

Following / liking

Common activities such as following, liking, and friending are also subject to concerns around impartiality. "Be wary of ‘revealed bias’, whether through likes or re-posting other posts, so that a bias becomes evident, and ‘inferred bias’ where a post is impartial but loose wording allows readers to infer a bias where there is none” (BBC, 2020). “Everything we post or “like” online is to some degree public. And everything we do in public is likely to be associated with The Times” (The New York Times, 2017). “Liking and following accounts may make other users think those accounts are more trustworthy or that you endorse them” (RTÉ, 2021). “Friending and “liking” political candidates or causes may create a perception among people unfamiliar with the protocol of social networks that AP staffers are advocates” (AP, 2022). “Expressions of opinion on social media can take many forms – from straightforward tweets, posts or updates, sharing or liking content, following particular accounts or using campaigning or political hashtags. You should carefully consider every comment before posting” (BBC, 2020). “Be aware that expressing

partisan, party-political or strong opinions on social media can damage the Guardian's reputation for fair and fact-based reporting, and your own reputation as a journalist. The same applies to likes and retweets...always remember that if you are associated with GNM then everything you post, like or link to on social media - regardless of the platform - can easily become public and on the record and may be seen as representing an official GNM position" (Guardian, 2022). While many of the concerns listed relate to impartiality there are also fears about source safety. "We should also remember that by friending or following someone, we may be giving out the identity of a source" (Reuters, 2018). "Staff can follow or friend sources or newsmakers, but when doing so with politicians or political causes, must try to connect with accounts on all sides of a given issue or campaign. Staff members should not repeatedly like or share content with a particular point of view on controversial issues, as it can leave the impression that the staff member also holds that view. The same is true for following social media accounts. For example, staff members should not repeatedly like or share stories about a particular political party" (AP, 2022).

Conflicts of interest

The avoidance of actual or perceived conflict of interest has long been part of journalism's code of ethics, and the news organisations caution against using Twitter to promote any outside work or to make customer service complaints. For example, RTÉ (2013) advises that Twitter "should not be used to promote personal/third-party business interests, without declaration of potential conflicts of interest" (RTÉ, 2021), and the BBC warns that journalists "should not use their BBC status to seek personal gain or pursue personal campaigns" (BBC, 2020). There is also guidance that journalists do not use their employment status to seek special assistance on Twitter. "Reporters and editors should not

use their work-related email accounts, social media accounts, or other BuzzFeed-related platforms to seek customer service assistance. It's fine, however, to tweet in general about issues with, say, the subways or other private or public services, as long as you aren't seeking — or receiving — special treatment" (BuzzFeed, 2019). "We strongly discourage our journalists from making customer service complaints on social media. While you may believe that you have a legitimate gripe, you'll most likely be given special consideration because of your status as a Times reporter or editor" (New York Times, 2017). "AP employees should refrain from using work-related social media accounts to seek customer service assistance. For example, a tweet about how an airline lost an employee's luggage could create a conflict for colleagues that cover that airline." (AP, 2022).

Accounts and profiles

No separate or private accounts

All the news organisations studied agree that "virtually nothing is truly private on the internet" (AP, 2022) and advise journalists to "avoid expressions of opinion on contentious issues, even in supposedly password protected conversations (AP, 2022). "Even if you are posting in what appears to be a 'private' group, or you have locked down your privacy settings on your accounts, do apply the same standards as if you were posting publicly" (BBC, 2020). Personal or separate accounts are not recommended to protect the journalist. "Even in private settings on social media, information can become public" (The Globe and Mail, 2017) and "it's all too easy for someone to copy material out of restricted pages and redirect it elsewhere for wider viewing" (AP, 2022). "Though social media account settings can imply privacy, nothing we say or post on social media or the internet can be considered truly private" (CBC, 2017). "There is always a possibility of something

being made public” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). “All social media activity by our journalists comes under these guidelines. Everything we post or comment on in social media is public. And everything we do in public is associated with ESPN” (ESPN, 2017). “Staff should be aware that anything published via social media - even private postings - can become public and associated with The Globe and Mail. No political opinions on social media, even private social media” (The Globe and Mail, 2017). “Always remember that if you are associated with GNM then everything you post, like or link to on social media - regardless of the platform - can easily become public and on the record and may be seen as representing an official GNM position, even if that is not your intention” (Guardian, 2022). “Finally, we acknowledge that nothing on the Web is truly private. Even on purely recreational or cultural sites and even if what we're doing is personal and not identified as coming from someone at NPR, we understand that what we say and do could still reflect on NPR” (NPR, 2019). The Irish broadcaster says it “reserves the right to instruct RTÉ staff and contractors to remove content from hybrid personal and/or personal social media accounts which brings RTÉ into disrepute” (RTÉ, 2021). The UK broadcaster Sky (2015) directs staffers to set up a separate account “If you regularly use social media to comment on areas of interest outside work or chat to your friends use a separate private account to do so” (Sky, 2015) but is the only news organisation to do so. Sky also writes: “Do not say anything on social media which may bring Sky News into disrepute” (Sky, 2015). Finally, The New York Times writes: “While you may think that your Facebook page, Twitter feed, Instagram, Snapchat or other social media accounts are private zones, separate from your role at The Times, in fact everything we post or “like” online is to some degree public. And everything we do in public is likely to be associated with The Times” (The New York Times, 2017). “Would you feel comfortable with someone surfacing your content and sharing it widely?” (AP, 2022).

Disclaimers

The news organisations generally require that journalists post disclaimers such as “Retweets are not endorsements” or “all views are my own” in their Twitter profiles. “You should make clear that any views expressed are personal, and not those of the BBC” (BBC, 2020). However, while all the news organisations studied request disclaimers, they also say they are “no insurance against negative media or other publicity” (BBC, 2020) nor, indeed, legal action, as employers can be held “vicariously liable for acts of its employees” (RTÉ, 2021). “While good in theory, disclaimers such as “All opinions expressed here are my own” can lull one into a false sense of security and do not negate the expectations of behaviour laid out in the Code of Conduct” (CBC, 2020). “Many people who see your tweets and retweets will never look at your Twitter bio” (AP, 2022). The new BBC guidelines say disclaimers offer no protection at all as “there is no difference between how a personal and an ‘official’ account is perceived on social media” (BBC, 2020). Despite this, news organisations continue to recommend the use of disclaimers with the understanding that “humorous or arch phrasing of the disclaimer is not appropriate” (RTÉ, 2021).

Profiles and logos

The news organisations largely recommend that journalists identify their employer in their bio but not use any official branding or logos and also include a disclaimer about the content on the page. “In our Twitter and Facebook profiles, for example, we should identify ourselves as Reuters journalists and declare that we speak for ourselves, not for Thomson Reuters” (Reuters, 2018). “You should identify yourself as an RTÉ employee or

contractor in the profile/biography” (RTÉ, 2021). “AP journalists are encouraged to maintain accounts on social networks and must identify themselves in their profiles as being with AP if they use the accounts for work in any way” (AP, 2022). The use of official branding or logos is discouraged unless the account is an official brand account. “CBC/Radio-Canada brands, logos, and trademarks, including services and programs, cannot be associated with personal accounts” (CBC, 2020). “You must not use the Company's logos without express permission from your editor or line manager” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018) You should use a personal image and not the RTÉ logo” (RTÉ, 2021). “If you’re editorial staff, it doesn't make any difference whether or not you identify yourself as someone who works for the BBC. It’s fine to say where you work in bios and ‘About’ sections. It’s good to talk about what you do. But the handle, name or main title of your activity shouldn’t include ‘BBC’, to avoid giving the impression what you’re doing is somehow part of official BBC output (unless it is - see below). You should make clear that any views expressed are personal, and not those of the BBC” (BBC, 2020).

News work

Breaking news

The advice around breaking news on Twitter is largely “Don’t!” although some organisations are more rigid than others. ESPN is very specific on this issue and advises that ESPN’s own sites should be the priority. “Do not break news on social platforms. We want to serve fans in the social sphere, but the first priority is ESPN news and information effort” (ESPN, 2017). The network says journalists can share information that has already been reported, but that Twitter should not be the first place they report the news. Journalists

are guided to not share “unverified rumours or gossip”, or information that could damage ESPN’s reputation. The Daily Express and Daily Star are more nuanced, asking that “the company *have the opportunity* to publish exclusive text, photo and video material before it appears on social networks” (Daily Express and Daily Star, 2018). The New York Times and the BBC ask for exclusivity but acknowledge it may not always be feasible and that accuracy always comes first. “We generally want to publish exclusives on our own platforms first, not on social media, but there may be instances when it makes sense to post first on social media (The New York Times, 2017). “When you have news to break you should normally alert the appropriate newsdesk first” (BBC, 2020).

Verification

The guidelines recommend that all content should be considered suspicious with journalists told to “bring a healthy scepticism to images you encounter, starting from the assumption that all such images or video are not authentic” (NPR, 2019). “In considering whether to use photos and video that are being posted online by individuals, do your best to verify their accuracy and when in doubt, do not publish them. Images can be manipulated. Old video can be reposted and made to appear as if it's new. Photos or video taken in one part of the world can be repackaged and portrayed as being from somewhere else. Again, when in doubt, leave them out” (NPR, 2019). Journalists are advised to carefully examine user accounts before using them as sources. “In the case of Twitter, look at the number of tweets sent by the relevant account. Examining the number of tweets and their content will give a good idea regarding the veracity of the account” (RTE, 2021). “Use particular caution if you find a social networking account that appears to belong to a person who is central to a story, especially if you can't get confirmation from that person.

Fake accounts are rampant in the social media world and can appear online within minutes of a new name appearing in the news” (Daily Express and Daily Star, 2018). Verification of copyright is equally prominent in the guidelines, with outlets guiding journalists through questions such as these from NPR: “When was it posted? Do the images or video match what has been distributed by professionals (wire services, news networks, etc.)? Is it original work or copies of what others have done? Does this person have the legal right to distribute the work and has he made the materials available for others to use?” (NPR, 2019). Overall, journalists are advised to check out online sources in the same way as they would vet offline sources, “particularly people who are central to the story or famous” (AP, 2022).

Sourcing

Journalists are encouraged to use social media for sourcing with provisos mostly relating to source safety. “Staffers should take a sensitive and thoughtful approach when using social networks to pursue information or user-generated content from people in dangerous situations or from those who have suffered a significant personal loss” (AP, 2022). “They should never ask members of the public to put themselves in danger, and in fact should remind them to stay safe when conditions are hazardous. Reporters should use their journalistic instincts to determine whether inquiring through social media is appropriate at all given the source's difficult circumstances and should consult with their editor in making this decision” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). “Social media can be a helpful source in a breaking news situation but always consider people’s safety first. Before making contact with eyewitnesses on social media, consider their state of mind if they have been involved in a distressing incident” (Guardian, 2022). “Multiple approaches by BBC News to the same person should be avoided” (BBC, 2020). “Properly used, social

networking sites can be valuable parts of our newsgathering and reporting kits because they can speed research and quickly extend a reporter's contacts" (NPR, 2019).

Corrections

Journalists are advised to delete erroneous tweets and send another tweet to explain why. "Delete posts with errors to prevent them spreading further and make another post explaining what has happened" (Guardian, 2022). "If you tweeted an error or something inappropriate and wish to delete the tweet, be sure to quickly acknowledge the deletion in a subsequent tweet" (New York Times, 2020). "On some distributed platforms, editing content is not an option, in which case content may be deleted and, in some cases, edited and reposted, with an explanation on that platform in either case" (BuzzFeed, 2019). "NPR recommends taking a screenshot of the erroneous tweet before deletion and then attaching that screenshot to the corrected tweet. "We're aiming to be transparent, but we also don't want a tweet with a serious mistake to keep circulating. By making a screenshot and attaching it to the follow-up tweet with the right information, we are acknowledging the error without hiding it" (NPR, 2019). In all cases the news organisations encourage transparency around the error: "If you know you've got something wrong, do correct it quickly and openly" (BBC, 2022). AP offers specific examples of how to do this: "Correction: U.S. Embassy in Nigeria says bombings could happen this week at luxury hotels in Abuja (previously we incorrectly said Lagos)" (AP, 2022). Despite this advice, the news organisations also warn that deleting tweets does not guarantee the tweet is out of circulation as it may have been screenshotted or still be visible on other platforms. "Tweets of ours that have been retweeted or reposted elsewhere will still remain publicly visible" (AP, 2022). "Deletion only removes the tweet from Twitter.com and perhaps some other

Twitter clients. Tweets that have been re-tweeted or reposted elsewhere will still remain publicly visible” (Daily Express/Daily Star)

Copyright

“When using social media, the laws of privacy, libel, copyright and contempt apply” (Guardian, 2022). “Video and stills on the web aren’t ‘in the public domain’ and free for us to use. Alongside or as part of checking for authenticity, permission to use must be sought. Bear in mind the copyright holder probably won’t be the person shown in the content and may not be the person who took it, or distributed it” (BBC, 2020). “To include photos, videos or other multimedia content from social networks in our news report, we must determine who controls the copyright to the material and get permission from that person or organization to use it” (AP, 2022). “Be aware that using video under the ‘fair dealing’ copyright exception has specific conditions attached, including the timeliness and newsworthiness of the content, the need to make efforts to gain permission, and to credit. Seek advice if you’re unsure. Fair dealing can’t apply to still images” (BBC, 2020). “You must not post or reproduce a substantial part of someone else’s work without their permission, even if that work is freely available. This includes photographs. You will be infringing their copyright if you do so. If you do want to reproduce somebody else’s work in its entirety, please do so by hyperlink. If in doubt, always consult the legal department” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). “Material on websites may not necessarily produce content that complies with Irish law relating to defamation, privacy or contempt. Check the terms and conditions of the relevant social media platform, for example Facebook, uploaded content remains the property of the person uploading it (RTE, 2021).

Transparency

The news organisations urge transparency when journalists use Twitter for newsgathering. “Transparency is key. Editorial colleagues should always identify themselves as journalists when seeking information on social media for a story. Make sure you declare any personal interests and be clear about your affiliations” (Guardian, 2022). “If in their personal lives NPR journalists join online forums and social media sites, they may follow the conventions of those outlets and use screen names that do not identify who they are. But we do not use information gathered from our interactions on such sites in our reports for NPR without identifying ourselves to those involved and seeking their permission to be quoted or cited. If we get ideas for stories, we treat the information just as we would anything we see in the "real world" — as a starting point that needs to be followed by open, honest reporting (NPR, 2019). “AP employees must identify themselves in their profiles as being with the AP if they use the accounts for work in any way” (AP, 2022).

Hostile audiences

As the American public service broadcaster NPR writes: “While NPR journalists generally enjoy their interactions with the public on social media, they have also been the targets of abuse on Twitter and other platforms. Social media can be wonderful places to spread our journalism and hear from the public. But it's become increasingly clear that social media communities are also places where some people's darker sides emerge” (NPR, 2019). This aspect of social media is addressed in the guidelines studied where the news organisations largely advise defensive strategies as shown below. “Women in particular are experiencing incidents of online harassment or abuse; in a recent UNESCO survey, nearly

three quarters of female respondents said they have experienced online violence in connection with their work in the field of journalism. Journalists and all GNM staff should know how to protect themselves and how the company can support them if they are the target of online harassment or abuse” (Guardian, 2022). “If you are the victim of online abuse (intemperate messages that may be personally critical and crudely expressed), it is best to ignore such messages. If however you receive a message, post or tweet that you consider a grave personal threat, you must report to your line manager” (RTE, 2021). “The guiding principles when such abuse comes in are "don't feed the trolls" and "don't respond in kind. (NPR, 2019). “CBC endeavours to engage with Canadians, especially on digital platforms. We promote civil discourse. When that is not being observed, our employees may consult with their supervisor about discontinuing interactions with certain individuals. When possible, we do so without unduly restricting access to our journalism” (CBC, 2019). “We support employees’ right to block or mute accounts which are abusive, offensive, discourteous, threatening, or provocative. It is quick and easy to lock your account, block problematic followers, and to take a break from social media, as well as further information about effective management of online conversations. If you feel at all threatened or overwhelmed by other users on social media, we have information and support in place to help you. If you are the subject of continued or co-ordinated attacks, please take a break from social media and talk to your editor or manager. We strongly recommend you take a break from social media when you’re not working” (Guardian, 2022). “If the criticism is especially aggressive or inconsiderate, it’s probably best to refrain from responding. We also support the right of our journalists to mute or block people on social media who are threatening or abusive. But please avoid muting or blocking people for mere criticism of you or your reporting” (New York Times, 2020). “You may also want to use Twitter’s conversation settings which provide advice on how to block and mute replies” (Guardian,

2022). “Talking to people is crucial to getting the most out of social media. Be polite. If you experience rudeness or criticism, beware reacting aggressively, including by ‘blocking’ and equivalent actions, which should be saved for cases of real offence, abuse, or spamming (BBC, 2022). “It is best to avoid protracted back-and-forth exchanges with angry people that become less constructive with each new round. Abusive, bigoted, obscene and/or racist comments should be flagged to allow the legal department to deal with those individuals” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2019). “Staffers should not, as a matter of course, respond to personal attacks on social media. If a person repeatedly attacks an employee or issues threats, the employee should engage resources to combat online harassment” (AP, 2022). “There are many bad-faith actors on social media platforms. It is usually best not to engage. We advise you not to retweet or quote offensive comments about yourself or others, even if your intention is to show your disapproval - it simply rewards offensive accounts with attention. If in doubt, don’t respond” (Guardian, 2022).

Emerging themes

The analysis identified three emerging themes in the social media guidelines in relation to a) audience expectations of privacy; b) journalists’ ability to disconnect from social media, and c) journalists’ Twitter history. While these themes were not persistent throughout the guidelines they were identified in the newer guidelines and as such deserve further research as they indicate an evolving attitude to the impact of social media on journalism. For example, BuzzFeed and RTÉ journalists both advise that their audiences should not be treated as public by virtue of their participation on a public platform. “We should be aware and respectful of the fact that many ostensibly public Twitter users consider themselves part of distinct communities” (BuzzFeed, 2019). “Much of the

material posted on Twitter is generally for the benefit of friends and acquaintances, and a balance needs to be struck between appropriate use of material that an individual may have unthinkingly put in the public domain and respect for their privacy even if they have become part of a news story” (RTÉ, 2021). “We should be attentive to the intended audience for a social media post, and whether vastly increasing that audience reveals an important story — or just shames or embarrasses a random person” (BuzzFeed, 2019). AP and The Guardian both address the option for journalists to stay off social media. “GNM does not require you to tweet or post on any social media platform. Most staff can do their jobs extremely well using social media either occasionally, such as to share Guardian and Observer stories; for monitoring (‘listen-only’ mode); newsgathering/finding sources; or not at all. You are not expected to have a presence or a following on social media” (The Guardian, 2022). “Employees who don’t need to engage with social media as part of their job have the option of not using the medium if they so choose. No AP employee is required to post content on social media. For example, some journalists may need to maintain a Twitter account to follow sources and stay on top of breaking news, but it is perfectly acceptable for that person to never tweet if they choose” (AP, 2022). And finally, The Guardian expressly advises that journalists regularly delete their tweets and offers refunds for a paid-for service to do so. “We strongly encourage staff to regularly delete historical tweets and other social posts. We recommend using the Tweetdelete service to do this. The cost of this can be expensed” (Guardian, 2022).

Discussion

The most prevalent theme which emerged from the analysis reflects a pressing question in the classroom: the ongoing discussion around private or separate accounts on

social media. The results of this study show clearly that news organisations strongly discourage the use of such second accounts. Private accounts and private messages and any type of so-called private area on social media should be used with caution as they are neither safe nor secure with the overriding presumption that even *private* messages can be seen by anyone. As multiple journalists have learned - and the guidelines emphasise - it does not matter what level of privacy you *think* you have there is “always a possibility of something being made public” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). The concerns about impartiality are viewed as a commercial issue rather than a normative journalism goal but Twitter has created new minefields for unwary new or student journalists which a handful of news organisations address. In the classroom, educators should help students understand that professional journalists face these same challenges in the “intersection of professional and personal roles and identities” (CBC, 2017). Former Washington Post editor Raju Narisetti learned this the hard way when a 2009 tweet on his private account, which had just 90 followers at the time, was screenshotted and shared resulting in his employer making an apology to readers over the perceived lack of impartiality in the editorial offices (Alexander, 2009). If a veteran editor at The Washington Post can make that kind of mistake it’s best to advise students against the false security of a separate or private account. As NPR writes: “You should conduct yourself in social media forums with an eye to how your behaviour or comments might appear if we were called upon to defend them as being appropriate behaviour by a journalist” (NPR, 2019).

The concern about journalistic activity extends to multiple areas as was seen in the analysis particularly in the areas of commentary or opinion and support for causes or organisations and also potential conflicts of interest. The best advice for students would be to err always on the side of caution and to avoid supporting issues or campaigns no matter

how uncontroversial or acceptable they may seem - for example the BBC expressly bans journalists from using hashtags or retweets on Twitter to indicate support for any causes. Students are also advised to avoid commentary or editorialising on controversial or political issues and to also ensure that they connect with accounts by following, friending, or liking accounts on all sides of given issues to avoid the promotion of doubt about impartiality in terms both of issues and politics. Students are also advised to post disclaimers on their Twitter bio even with the knowledge that they do not provide insurance against negative media or other publicity and that they might never be seen unless a user specifically looks at their Twitter bio. Students are also advised to conduct periodic audits of their accounts to ensure that there are no discernible patterns of bias in their activity on Twitter. While the Guardian is the only news organisation to recommend regular deletion of older tweets this is good practice for students. The guidelines also point to evolving conflicts of interest for journalists who use Twitter to make customer service complaints as they may receive preferential treatment due to their status as journalists.

In news work, students are advised that journalists should refrain from using Twitter to post breaking news. Sources should be treated with care and sensitivity when making approaches to them via social media with the BBC highlighting that care should be taken to avoid the problem of piling-on when too many people make too many approaches to the same source. Verification is seen through both the lens of “information pollution” (Blankenship & Graham, 2020) as journalists are often expected to play the first line of defence in determining mis and dis-information on social media and also through copyright issues in verifying ownership of content sourced on Twitter. In corrections, while the news organisations encourage the deletion of erroneous tweets, this practice challenges the

journalistic norm of transparency and provides grounds for discussion in the classroom as journalism continues to evolve within a hybrid media system.

The prevalence of guidance around a potentially hostile audience underscores an increasingly abusive environment on social media for journalists, particularly for women and people of colour. Journalists are largely advised to avoid engaging with the source of the abuse. “The guiding principles when such abuse comes in are “don't feed the trolls”; “don't respond in kind and avoid the kinds of “back-and-forth exchanges with angry people that become less constructive with each new round” (NPR, 2019; Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018). Journalists are advised to immediately flag “threatening behaviour” (The New York Times, 2017) and “abusive, bigoted, obscene and/or racist comments,” (Daily Express/Daily Star, 2018) to their security departments. When “discontinuing interactions” with individuals is unavoidable, the CBC writes, “when possible, we do so without unduly restricting access to our journalism,” (CBC, 2017), a sentiment echoed at The New York Times, which asks journalists to avoid blocking people for “mere criticism of you or your reporting.” Overall, the single biggest piece of advice from the news organisations is that journalists should not engage with any hostile accounts. The seriousness with which this issue is viewed is underscored by the appearance of new guidance that journalists should lock their accounts and take breaks from social media, and perhaps refrain from participating on social media completely.

The three emerging themes a) audience expectations of privacy; b) journalists' ability to disconnect from social media, and c) journalists' Twitter histories are worthy of further research and could also form the basis for new conversations in the classroom as they may indicate the beginning of a new critical period in social media journalism. The

question about using content from social media users comes up repeatedly in the classroom as students query why users would even ask for privacy when posting content in public forums and social media has made this issue of imagined audiences more complex (see Nelson 2021 for a detailed overview). The suggestion that journalists can - and perhaps should - take temporary and even permanent breaks from Twitter seems to suggest that news organisations are taking their journalists' safety seriously and may perhaps lead to a reckoning around hostile interactions on social media. And finally, the guidance from The Guardian that journalists regularly delete their Twitter history is a way to reassure students that yes, they can delete their Twitter history and start with a new account again in college.

The following 17 tips have been distilled from the analysis and are suggested as a useful starting point for further discussion in the classroom and newsroom as the professional and personal worlds of journalism continue to converge.

Twitter best practice: 17 tips for new and student journalists
1. Journalists are <i>expected</i> to be present on Twitter
2. (But also) Journalists are <i>not required</i> to be present on Twitter
3. Do not engage with hostile actors
4. Private or separate accounts are discouraged
5. Opinions and/or commentary is discouraged
6. Activism and/or advocacy is discouraged
7. Disclaimers are encouraged but with the proviso that they aren't fully protective
8. Retweets should include context to avoid the appearance of endorsement or approval
9. Follow/friend/like accounts and/or content from all sides of contentious issues to avoid appearance of bias

10. Be transparent - identify yourself as a journalist in your Twitter bio
11. Do not use social media content from people without asking their permission
12. Do not amplify content from users before checking their intent - they might have intended to share only with "their" community
13. If you've tweeted an error; screenshot the original before deleting it and then post an amended tweet showing the error as a screenshot
14. Do not break news on Twitter
15. Do not use Twitter to seek special attention from customer service
16. Audit your Twitter account regularly and/or set up automatic tweet deletion
17. Verify everything for veracity and copyright before you post or repost/retweet

Conclusion

The rationale for this study was to provide a framework for Twitter best practice for new and student journalists based on professional advice from publicly available guidelines available in similar Western media markets. The analysis is obviously limited by the number of publicly available policies found and analysed, but the organisations included here are leaders in their respective countries and provide a reasonable overview of current trends in major international newsrooms. The analysis shows that news organisations do expect their journalists to use Twitter, even as the news outlets are seen to express quite serious concerns about the activity. Those concerns are mainly rooted in the risk to the employers' reputation through actual or perceived impartial behaviour but there are also growing concerns about the risks to journalists' safety on the platform. Journalists are expected to juggle multiple audiences on Twitter and attempt to safely navigate social media's blurred landscapes while still fulfilling their journalistic roles. Throughout the guidelines, newsrooms are seen to be grappling with the same thorny questions as educators

around issues such as activism and advocacy; separate or private accounts; personal opinions; following and liking, and the emerging issues around imagined audiences. And while the inherent difficulties of what Marwick and boyd (2010) termed “context collapse” is most evident in the guidance around conflicts of interest and sourcing, it is the fears around impartial behaviour which dominate the guidelines. While concerns about bias are not new in journalism, Twitter (and other social media platforms) has created acres of new minefields for journalists. A poorly worded or hasty quick take on Twitter can quickly cause the kind of damage that can ruin journalists’ reputations. While students could be considered inexperienced or unwary, experience has not provided much protection—as veteran journalists former Washington Post editor Raju Narisetti and former ESPN anchor Jemele Hill have found out the hard way (see Morton, 2009; Everbach, 2018)

The developing consensus around accounts - one single account per platform - indicates an acceptance, albeit reluctant, that nothing can be considered truly private on the web and underscores a sense of ambivalence as the news organisations attempt to leverage the benefits of Twitter while minimising their potential exposure. For example, the news outlets favour using Twitter for personal and professional activity and ask their journalists to identify themselves and list their employer in their bios and profiles, but they are reluctant to allow the use of newsroom branding in the account or profile. This ambivalence can also be seen in the advice around disclaimers with newsrooms requiring language such as “retweets are not endorsements” and “all views are my own” while admitting that such statements will protect neither journalist nor news organisation. This ambiguity is evident throughout the guidelines as news organisations require participation while warning against potential threats. The problems for the organisational reputation are a constant refrain and can be seen in straightforward warnings against sharing opinions, political leanings, or any

personal commentary. There is also more complex guidance around actions such as retweets, with most organisations following the AP in requiring that retweets include editorial context to avoid the perception of bias. The concerns about the perception of bias - and the knock-on effect on the company's reputation - can again be seen in advice around accounts as journalists are directed to follow or like "all sides" of contentious or political issues. As noted in the introduction, newsrooms were initially more concerned about keeping their "scoops" within their own newsrooms and while this is still an issue, most newsrooms acknowledge that keeping news exclusive may not always be feasible, and such concerns have given way to the much larger fears about potential threats to the companies' reputation. For the most part, issues around the perception of bias - and the knock-on effect on the company's reputation - dominate the guidelines but the increasing awareness of hostility towards journalists also points to a greater awareness that individuals are also at risk on Twitter. As the preamble from NPR puts it: "social media can be wonderful places to spread our journalism and hear from the public. But it's become increasingly clear that social media communities are also places where some people's darker sides emerge."

References

- Adornato, A. C., & Lysak, S. (2017). You Can't Post That! *Electronic News*, 11(2), 80–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243117710279>
- Ananny, M. (2014). Networked press freedom and social media: Tracing historical and contemporary forces in press-public relations. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication: JCMC*, 19, 938–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12076>
- Anderson, C. W., Bell, E., & Shirky, C. (2015). Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present. *Geopolitics, History and International Relations*, 7(2), 32.
- ASNE (2011) Best Practises for Social Media Journalism https://members.newsleaders.org/Files/pdf/10_Best_Practices_for_Social_Media.pdf

- Barkho, L. (2021). Editorial policies and news discourse – how Al Jazeera’s implicit guidelines shape its coverage of middle east conflicts. *Journalism*, 22(6):1357-1374. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919841797>
- Beckett, C., & Deuze, M. (2016). On the Role of Emotion in the Future of Journalism. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116662395>
- Blankenship & Graham (2020) “How misinformation spreads on Twitter”, Brookings Institute (<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/07/06/how-misinformation-spreads-on-twitter/> Accessed 02/05/2021 (White paper).
- Bloom, T., Cleary, J., & North, M. (2016). Traversing the “Twittersphere” social media policies in international news operations. *Journalism Practice*, 10(3), 343–357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1017408>
- Bossio, D., & Holton, A.E. (2018) The identity dilemma: Identity drivers and social media fatigue among journalists, *Popular Communication*, 16:4, 248-262, DOI: [10.1080/15405702.2018.1535658](https://doi.org/10.1080/15405702.2018.1535658)
- Bossio, D. (2017). Shifting values, new norms. In *Journalism and Social Media: Practitioners, Organisations and Institutions*. (pp. 111–131). Palgrave Macmillan <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65472-0>
- Brady, J. (2017, November 2,) ESPN's new social guidelines show right instincts ESPN https://www.espn.com/blog/ombudsman/post/_id/896/espns-new-social-guidelines-show-right-instincts
- Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2016). Tipping the balance of power. In A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbø, A. O. Larsson, & C. Christensen (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to social media and politics* (pp. 89-103). New York, NY: Routledge. [doi:10.4324/9781315716299](https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315716299)
- Bruns, A., & Highfield, T. (2013). Political Networks on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(5), 667–691. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.782328>
- Castañeda, L., & Haggerty, R. (2019). Undergraduate Students Prefer Learning Text and Broadcast Skills Sequentially Versus Concurrently, But Assessments of Their Final Projects Are Mixed. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(4), 468–484. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695819851395>
- Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: politics and power* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Cozma, R., & Hallaq, T. (2019). Digital Natives as Budding Journalists: College TV Stations’ Uses of Twitter. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(3), 306–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695818805899>

- Darcy, O. (July, 2016) BuzzFeed Editor Ben Smith sends memo reminding staff to refrain from bias on social media *Yahoo News* <https://uk.finance.yahoo.com/news/buzzfeed-editor-ben-smith-sends-012318445.html?>
- Davis, N. (2011). The New York Times Social Media Strategy Boils Down To “Don’t Be Stupid”. *Business Insider*. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from Business Insider website: <https://www.businessinsider.com/social-media-strategy-new-york-times-bill-keller-twitter-facebook-bbc-video-2011-5>
- Deuze, M., (2017) “Understanding Journalism as Newswork: How It Changes, and How It Remains the Same”, *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 5(2), p.4-24. doi: <https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.61>
- Duffy, A., & Knight, M. (2019). Don’t be stupid: The role of social media policies in journalistic boundary-setting. *Journalism Studies*, 20(7), 932–951. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1467782>
- Everbach, T. (2018). “I Realized It Was About Them ... Not Me”: Women Sports Journalists and Harassment. In: Vickery, J., Everbach, T. (eds) *Mediating Misogyny*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72917-6_7
- García de Torres, E., & Hermida, A. (2017). The Social Reporter in Action: An analysis of the practice and discourse of Andy Carvin. *Journalism Practice*, 11(2–3), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1245110>
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanusch, F. (2018). Political journalists’ corporate and personal identities on Twitter profile pages: A comparative analysis in four Westminster democracies. *New Media and Society*, 20(4), 1488–1505. doi:10.1177/1461444817698479
- Harmer, E., & Southern, R. (2020). Is Digital News *Really* that Digital? An Analysis of How Online News Sites in the UK use Digital Affordances to Enhance Their Reporting. *Journalism Studies*, 0(0), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1831397>
- Hedman, U. (2015). J-Tweeters. *Digital Journalism*, 3(2), 279–297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.897833>
- Hepworth, K., Mensing, D., & Yun, G. W. (2018). Journalism Professors’ Information-Seeking Behaviors: Finding Online Tools for Teaching. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 73(3), 255–270. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817718425>

- Heravi, B., & Harrower, N. (2016). Twitter journalism in Ireland: sourcing and trust in the age of social media. *Information, Communication & Society*, 4462(June). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1187649>
- Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the News. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003640703>
- Hill, A. (2011, May 02) “Osama bin Laden Killed*how a live blogger captured the raid”, *The Guardian*, [/www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/02/osama-bin-laden-live-blogger](http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/02/osama-bin-laden-live-blogger)
- Ihlebak, K. A., & Larsson, A. O. (2018). Learning by Doing: Perspectives on social media regulations in Norwegian news organisations. *Journalism Studies*, 19(6), 905–920. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1239184>
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide*. NYU Press
- Klein, C., (June 2022) “Clusterf--k”: Inside The Washington Post’s Social Media Meltdown, Vanity Fair vanityfair.com/news/2022/06/inside-the-washington-posts-social-media-meltdown
- Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825>
- Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825>
- Lee, J. (2016). Opportunity or risk? How news organisations frame social media in their guidelines for journalists. *The Communication Review*, 19(2), 106–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2016.1161328>
- Maares P., Lind F., Greussing E., (2021) Showing off Your Social Capital: Homophily of Professional Reputation and Gender in Journalistic Networks on Twitter, *Digital Journalism*, 9:4, 500-517, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2020.1835513](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1835513)
- Martin, F., & Murrell, C. (2021) Negotiating the Conversation: How Journalists Learn to Interact with Audiences Online, *Journalism Practice*, 15:6, 839-859, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2021.1907211](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1907211)
- Marwick, A. E., & boyd, danah. (2010). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810365313>

- McGregor S. C, Molyneux L. (2020). Twitter's influence on news judgment: An experiment among journalists. *Journalism*, 21(5):597-613. doi:[10.1177/1464884918802975](https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918802975)
- McLaughlin, B., Gotlieb, M. R., & Cummins, R. G. (2020). 2018 Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 75(1), 131–143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695819900724>
- Molyneux, L., & Holton, A. E. (2015). Branding (health) journalism: Perceptions, practices, and emerging norms. *Digital Journalism*, 3(2), 225–242.
- Molyneux, L., & Mourão, R. R. (2019). Political Journalists' Normalisation of Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 20(2), 248–266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1370978>
- Morona, J. (November, 2017) ESPN revises social media policy in wake of Jemele Hill controversy *AP* <https://apnews.com/article/7284c75a5f2943ce86db394a3963f923>
- Morton, J. (2009). Staying neutral: journalists should not reveal their political views, Twitter or no Twitter. *American Journalism Review*, 31(5), 60. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A215247343/AONE?u=anon~e46c6c9b&sid=googleScholar&xid=1b449659>
- Nelson, J.L. (2021). *Imagined Audiences: How Journalists Perceive and Pursue the Public*. Oxford University Press
- Opgenhaffen, M., & d'Haenens, L. (2015). Managing Social Media Use: Whither Social Media Guidelines in News Organisations? *International Journal on Media Management*, 17(4), 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2015.1107570>
- Opgenhaffen, M., & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social Media Guidelines for Journalists An investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 726–741. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.869421>
- Opgenhaffen, M., & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social Media Guidelines for Journalists An investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 726–741. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.869421>
- Ottovordemgentschenfelde, S. (2017). 'Organizational, professional, personal': An exploratory study of political journalists and their hybrid brand on Twitter. *Journalism*, 18(1), 64-80. doi:[10.1177/1464884916657524](https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916657524)
- Parmelee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice*, 14(4), 291-305. doi:[10.1386/jmpr.14.4.291_1](https://doi.org/10.1386/jmpr.14.4.291_1)

- Peters, C., & Broersma, M.J. (Eds.). (2012). *Rethinking Journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203102688>
- Ponsford, D., (May 2022) Guardian tells staff not to publicly slate each other on social media, *Press Gazette*, <https://pressgazette.co.uk/guardian-social-media-guidelines-owen-jones/>
- Reyes-de-Cózar, S., Pérez-Escolar, M., & Navazo-Ostúa, P. (2022). Digital competencies for new journalistic work in media outlets: A systematic review. *Media and Communication*, 10(1), 27-42.
- Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2017). Don't Tweet This! How journalists and media organizations negotiate tensions emerging from the implementation of social media policy in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, 5(2), 177–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1155967>
- Saks, J., Cruikshank, S. A., & Yanity, M. (2019). U.S. College Student Media and Twitter: Are Student Media Following Best Practices? *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(3), 290–305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695818797202>
- Schwartzman, P., & Barr, J., (Jun 2022) Felicia Sonmez terminated by The Washington Post after Twitter dispute Washington Post <https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2022/06/09/felicia-sonmez-washington-post/>
- Skogerbø, E., & Krumsvik, A. H. (2015). Newspapers, Facebook and Twitter. *Journalism Practice*, 2786 (January), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2014.950471>
- Strauss, A. C., & Corbin, J. M, 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Wenger, D. H., Owens, L. C., & Cain, J. (2018). Help Wanted: Realigning Journalism Education to Meet the Needs of Top U.S. News Companies. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 73(1), 18–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817745464>

Appendix

Social Media Guidelines Data

- ASNE. (2011). *10 Best Practices for Social Media*. Retrieved May 2022
https://members.newsleaders.org/Files/pdf/10_Best_Practices_for_Social_Media.pdf
- BBC. (2020). *Guidance: Individual Use of Social Media*. Retrieved May 2022
<https://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidance/individual-use-of-social-media/>
- BuzzFeed. (2019). *The BuzzFeed News Standards and Ethics Guide*. Retrieved May 2022.
<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/shani/the-buzzfeed-editorial-standards-and-ethics-guide#.ko3gl8lmY>
- CBC. (2017). Journalistic Standards and Practices (JSP) - CBC/Radio-Canada. Retrieved May 2022, from Canadian Broadcasting Company website: <https://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/vision/governance/journalistic-standards-and-practices>
- Daily Express/Daily Star. (2017) *Guidelines for UK Star and Express*. Retrieved May 2022
<https://www.ipso.co.uk/media/1659/northern-and-shell-annual-statement-2017-for-publication.pdf>
- ESPN. (2017). *Social Media Guidelines*. Retrieved May 2022
<https://www.espnfrontrow.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/NOV-2-RECEIVED-UPDATED-SOCIAL-MEDIA-GUIDELINES-10.221.pdf>
- Globe and Mail. (2017). Editorial Code of Conduct. Retrieved May 2022, from
<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/files/editorial/EditorialCodeOfConduct.pdf>
- Guardian, UK (2022) *GNM social media guidelines*. Retrieved May 2022
https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2022/05/10/GNM_social_media_guidelines.pdf
- New York Times. (2017). *Social Media Guidelines for the Newsroom*. The New York Times. Retrieved May 2022.
<https://www.nytimes.com/editorial-standards/social-media-guidelines.html>
- NPR. (2019). *NPR Journalism Standards*. Retrieved May 2022, from NPR website:
<https://www.npr.org/ethics>

- Reuters. (2018). *Reporting from the Internet and Using Social Media*. Handbook of Journalism. Retrieved May 2022 handbook.reuters.com/?title=Reporting_From_the_Internet_And_Using_Social_Media
- RTÉ. (2021). *RTÉ Social Media Guidelines*. Retrieved May 2022 <https://about.rte.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/RTÉ-Social-Media-Guidelines-2021.pdf>
- Sky News. (2015). *Sky News Editorial Guidelines*. Retrieved May 2022. https://news.sky.com/docs/sky_news_editorial_guidelines.pdf

9: REFERENCES & DATA

SOCIAL MEDIA POLICIES

- Associated Press. (2013). *Social Media Guidelines for AP Employees*. Retrieved December 2019 from https://www.ap.org/assets/documents/social-media-guidelines_tcm28-9832.pdf
- Associated Press. (2022). *Social Media Guidelines for AP Employees*. Retrieved May 2022 from https://www.ap.org/assets/documents/2022_social-media-guidelines.pdf
- ASNE. (2011). *10 Best Practices for Social Media*. Retrieved May 2022 https://members.newsleaders.org/Files/pdf/10_Best_Practices_for_Social_Media.pdf
- BBC. (2015). *Group Social Media Guidance*. Retrieved December 2019 from http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/26_03_15_bbc_news_group_social_media_guidance.pdf
- BBC. (2020). *Guidance: Individual Use of Social Media*. Retrieved May 2022 from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/guidance/individual-use-of-social-media/>

BuzzFeed. (2019). The BuzzFeed News Standards and Ethics Guide. Retrieved December 29, 2019, from BuzzFeed website:

<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/shani/the-buzzfeed-editorial-standards-and-ethics-guide#.ko3gl8lmY>

CBC. (2017). Journalistic Standards and Practices (JSP) - CBC/Radio-Canada. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from Canadian Broadcasting Company website:

<https://cbc.radio-canada.ca/en/vision/governance/journalistic-standards-and-practices>

ESPN. (2017). Social Media Guidelines. Retrieved May 2022,

<https://www.espnfrontrow.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/NOV-2-RECEIVED-UPDATED-SOCIAL-MEDIA-GUIDELINES-10.221.pdf>

Globe and Mail. (2017). Editorial Code of Conduct. Retrieved Sept. 29, 2019, from

<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/files/editorial/EditorialCodeOfConduct.pdf>

Guardian, UK (2022) *GNM social media guidelines*. Retrieved May 2022

https://uploads.guim.co.uk/2022/05/10/GNM_social_media_guidelines.pdf

New York Times. (2017). *Social Media Guidelines for the Newsroom*. The New York Times. Retrieved May 2022.

<https://www.nytimes.com/editorial-standards/social-media-guidelines.html>

Northern Shell. (2017) Guidelines for UK Star and Express titles. Retrieved October 16,

2020 from <https://www.ipso.co.uk/media/1659/northern-and-shell-annual-statement-2017-for-publication.pdf>

NPR. (2019). NPR Journalism Standards. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from NPR website: <https://www.npr.org/ethics>

Reuters. (2018). Reporting from the Internet and Using Social Media. Handbook of Journalism. Retrieved 2022, from handbook.reuters.com/?title=Reporting_From_the_Internet_And_Using_Social_Media

RTÉ. (2013). RTÉ Social Media Guidelines. Retrieved September 29, 2019, from

<https://static.rasset.ie/documents/about/social-media-guidelines-2013.pdf>

RTÉ. (2021). RTÉ Social Media Guidelines. Retrieved May 2022 <https://about.rte.ie/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/RTÉ-Social-Media-Guidelines-2021.pdf>

Sky News. (2015). Sky News Editorial Guidelines. Retrieved Sept. 29, 2019, from Sky News https://news.sky.com/docs/sky_news_editorial_guidelines.pdf

REFERENCES

- Adornato, A. C., & Lysak, S. (2017). You Can't Post That! *Electronic News*, 11(2), 80–99. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243117710279>
- Adornato, A. C., & Frisch, A. (2022). Social Media Policies in U.S. Television Newsrooms: Changes over Time. *Electronic News*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/19312431221098731>
- Ahva, L. (2017). How is participation practised by “in-betweeners” of journalism? *Journalism Practice*, 11(2/3), 142–159.
- Alexander, J., & Giarraffa, P. (2021). Use of experiential learning in higher education today. In *Career Ready Education Through Experiential Learning* (pp. 59-67). IGI Global
- Alford, R. R., & Friedland, R. (1985). *Powers of theory: Capitalism, the state, and democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives: A Journal of the American Economic Association*, 31(2), 211–236.
- Alonzo, J.S. (2006). Restoring the Ideal Marketplace: How Recognizing Bloggers as Journalists Can Save the Press. *New York University Journal of Legislation and Public Policy*, 751 - 755.
- Alvesson, M., Hallett, T., & Spicer, A. (2019). Uninhibited institutionalisms. *Journal of Management Inquiry*, 51, 105649261882277.
- Ananny, M., & Finn, M. (2020). Anticipatory news infrastructures: Seeing journalism's expectations of future publics in its sociotechnical systems. *New Media & Society*, 22(9), 1600–1618. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820914873>
- Ananny, M. (2014). Networked press freedom and social media: Tracing historical and contemporary forces in press-public relations. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication: JCMC*, 19, 938–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12076>

- Ananny, M. (2018). *Networked press freedom: Creating infrastructures for a public right to hear*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Anderson, C. (2011). Between creative and quantified audiences: Web metrics and changing patterns of newswork in local US newsrooms. *Journalism*, 12(5), 550–566. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911402451>
- Anderson, C. W., Bell, E., & Shirky, C. (2015). Post-industrial journalism: Adapting to the present. *Geopolitics, History and International Relations*, 7(2), 32.
- Andrews, Paul (2003) 'Is Blogging Journalism?', *Nieman Reports* 57(3): 63–4.
- Arceneaux, N., & Schmitz Weiss, A. (2010). Seems stupid until you try it: Press coverage of Twitter, 2006-9. *New media & society*, 12(8), 1262-1279.
- Artwick, C. G. (2014). News sourcing and gender on Twitter. *Journalism*, 15(8), 1111-1157. doi:10.1177/1464884913505030
- Ausserhofer, J., & Maireder, A. (2013). National politics on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(3), 291-314. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.756050
- Bane, K. C. (2017). Tweeting the agenda: How print and alternative web-only news organisations use Twitter as a source. *Journalism Practice*. <https://doi.org/x10.1080/17512786.2017.1413587>
- Banjac, S., & Hanusch, F. (2022). A question of perspective: Exploring audiences' views of journalistic boundaries. *New Media & Society*, 24(3), 705–723. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820963795>
- Barbour, J. B., & Lammers, J. C. (2015). Measuring professional identity: A review of the literature and a multilevel confirmatory factor analysis of professional identity constructs. *Journal of Professions and Organisation*, 2(1), 38-60.
- Barkho, L. (2021). Editorial policies and news discourse – how Al Jazeera's implicit guidelines shape its coverage of middle east conflicts. *Journalism*, 2021;22(6):1357-1374. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919841797>
- Barnard, S. R. (2016). 'Tweet or be sacked': Twitter and the new elements of journalistic practice. *Journalism*, 17(2), 190–207. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914553079>
- Baym, N. K. (2015). *Personal connections in the digital age*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Beckers, K., & Harder, R. A. (2016). "Twitter just exploded": Social media as alternative vox pop. *Digital Journalism*, 4(7), 910–920.
- Beckett, C., & Deuze, M. (2016). On the Role of Emotion in the Future of Journalism. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116662395>
- Beckett, C. (2011). *SuperMedia: Saving journalism so it can save the world*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bekafigo, M. A., & McBride, A. (2013). Who Tweets About Politics?: Political Participation of Twitter Users During the 2011 Gubernatorial Elections. *Social*

- Science Computer Review*, 31(5), 625–643.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439313490405>
- Bélair-Gagnon, V., Lewis, S.C., Agur, C. (2020) Failure to Launch: Competing Institutional Logics, Intrapreneurship, and the Case of Chatbots, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 25 (4) 291–306,
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jcmc/zmaa008>
- Bélair-Gagnon, V., Nelson, J. L., & Lewis, S. C. (2019). Audience Engagement, Reciprocity, and the Pursuit of Community Connectedness in Public Media Journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 13(5), 558–575.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1542975>
- Bélair-Gagnon, V. (2013). Revisiting impartiality: Social media and journalism at the BBC. *Symbolic Interaction*, 36(4), 478–492.
- Bélair-Gagnon, V. (2015). *Social media at BBC News: The re-making of crisis reporting*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Bélair-Gagnon, V. & Revers, M. (2018). The Sociology of Journalism: In T. Vos (Ed.), *Journalism* (pp. 257-280). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501500084-013>
- Bell, E., & Owen, T. (2017). *The platform press: How Silicon Valley reengineered journalism*. New York, NY: Tow Center for Digital Journalism. (White Paper). Retrieved from <https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/catalog/ac:15dv41ns27>
- Bene, M. (2021). Who reaps the benefits? A cross-country investigation of the absolute and relative normalization and equalization theses in the 2019 European Parliament elections. *New Media & Society*.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448211019688>
- Benson, R., Neff, T., & Hessérus, M. (2018). Media Ownership and Public Service News: How Strong Are Institutional Logics? *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 23(3), 275–298. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161218782740>
- Bentivegna, S., & Marchetti, R. (2018). Journalists at a crossroads: Are traditional norms and practices challenged by Twitter? *Journalism*, 19(2), 270–290.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917716594>
- Bijker, W. E. (1987). The social construction of Bakelite: Toward a theory of invention (pp. 159-187). Cambridge, MA: MIT press.
- Blankenship & Graham (2020) “How misinformation spreads on Twitter”, Brookings Institute (<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2020/07/06/how-misinformation-spreads-on-twitter/>) Accessed 02/05/2021 (White paper).
- Blassnig, S., & Esser, F. (2022). The “Audience Logic” in Digital Journalism: An Exploration of Shifting News Logics Across Media Types and Time. *Journalism Studies*, 23(1), 48-69.

- Bloom, T., Cleary, J., & North, M. (2016). Traversing the “Twittersphere” social media policies in international news operations. *Journalism Practice*, 10(3), 343–357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1017408>
- Blumer, H (1954) What is Wrong with Social Theory. *American Sociological Review* 18 (1954): 3-10.
- Boczkowski, P. J., & Papacharissi, Z. (Eds.). (2018). *Trump and the media*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Boeyink, David. (1994). How Effective are Codes of Ethics? A Look at Three Newsrooms. *Journalism Quarterly*, 71(4): 893–904. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909407100413>
- Bor, S. E. (2014). Teaching Social Media Journalism: Challenges and Opportunities for Future Curriculum Design. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 69(3), 243–255. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695814531767>
- Borden, Sandra (2007). *Journalism as Practice: MacIntyre, Virtue Ethics and the Press*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing
- Borger, M., van Hoof, A., Costera Meijer, I., & Sanders, J. (2013). Constructing participatory journalism as a scholarly object. *Digital Journalism*, 1(1), 117–134. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2012.740267>
- Bossio, D., & Holton, A.E. (2018) The identity dilemma: Identity drivers and social media fatigue among journalists, *Popular Communication*, 16:4, 248-262, DOI: 10.1080/15405702.2018.1535658
- Bossio, D. (2017). Shifting values, new norms. In *Journalism and Social Media: Practitioners, Organisations and Institutions*. (pp. 111–131). Palgrave Macmillan <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65472-0>
- Bourdieu, P. (1979). Symbolic power. *Critique of anthropology*, 4(13-14), 77-85.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998) *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- boyd, D.M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210–230.
- boyd D.M (2011) Social network sites as networked publics: Affordances, dynamics, and implications. In: Z Papacharissi (Ed.), *A networked self: identity, community, and culture on social network sites*, New York: Routledge, pp. 39–58.
- Boydston, A. E., & Van Aelst, P. (2018). New rules for an old game? How the 2016 US election caught the press off guard. *Mass Communication and Society*, 21(6), 671-696. doi:10.1080/15205436.2018.1492727
- Boyle, K., & Zuegner, C. (2012). News Staffs Use Twitter to Interact with Readers. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 33(4), 6–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/073953291203300402>

- Bowman, S., & Willis, C. (2003). *We media. How audiences are shaping the future of news and information*, 66. American Press Institute
- Bradshaw, P. (2019, September 22). "This is him here": Laura Kuenssberg and the ethics of social linking | Online Journalism Blog. ["This is him here": Laura Kuenssberg and the ethics of social linking | Online Journalism Blog](#)
- Brady, J. (2017, November 2,) ESPN's new social guidelines show right instincts ESPN https://www.espn.com/blog/ombudsman/post/_/id/896/espns-new-social-guidelines-show-right-instincts
- Brandtzaeg, P. B., Lüders, M., Spangenberg, J., Rath- Wiggins, L., & F lstad, A. (2016). Emerging journalistic verification practices concerning social media. *Journalism Practice*, 10(3), 323–342.
- Breed, W. (1955). Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis. *Social Forces*, 33(4), 326–335. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2573002>
- Brems, C., Temmerman, M., Graham, T., & Broersma, M. (2017). Personal branding on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 5(4), 443–459. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1176534
- Broersma, M, Eldridge, SA (2019) Journalism and social media: redistribution of power? *Media and Communication* 7(1): 193–197.
- Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2012). Social media as beat: Tweets as a news source during the 2010 British and Dutch elections. *Journalism Practice*, 6(3), 403–419.
- Broersma, M., & Graham, T. (2016). Tipping the balance of power. In A. Bruns, G. Enli, E. Skogerbø, A. O. Larsson, & C. Christensen (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to social media and politics* (pp. 89-103). New York, NY: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9781315716299
- Broersma, M., & Singer, J. B. (2021). Caught between innovation and tradition: young journalists as normative change agents in the journalistic field. *Journalism Practice*, 15(6), 821-838.
- Bruns, A., & Burgess, J. (2012). Researching news discussion on Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 13(5/6), 801-814. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2012.664428
- Bruns, A., & Highfield, T. (2013). Political Networks on Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(5), 667–691. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.782328>
- Bruns, A., & Nuernbergk, C. (2019). Political journalists and their social media audiences: new power relations. *Media and Communication*, 7(1), 198-212. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i1.1759>
- Bruns, A. (2018). *Gatewatching and news curation: journalism, social media, and the public sphere*. New York: Peter Lang
- Bruns, A. (2021). Echo chambers? Filter bubbles? The misleading metaphors that obscure the real problem. In *Hate Speech and Polarization in Participatory Society* (pp. 33-48). Routledge.

- Bucher, T. & Helmond, A. (2017). The Affordances of Social Media Platforms. In Jean Burgess, Thomas Poell, and Alice Marwick (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media*, London and New York: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Callison, C., & Young, M. L. (2019). *Reckoning: Journalism's limits and possibilities*. Oxford University Press.
- Canter, L. (2015). Personalised tweeting: The emerging practices of journalists on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 3(6), 888-907.
- Carey, J. W. (1979). A plea for the university traditions. *Communication education*, 28(4), 282-293.
- Carey, J. W., & Quirk, J. J. (1970). The Mythos of the Electronic Revolution. *The American Scholar*, 39(3), 395-424. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41210251>
- Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (2018). News and the networked self: Performativity, platforms, and journalistic epistemologies. In Z. Papacharissi (Ed.), *A networked self and platforms, stories, connections* (pp. 29-42). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Carlson, M., & Lewis, S. C. (Eds.). (2015). *Boundaries of journalism: Professionalism, practices and participation*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Carlson, M., Robinson, S., Lewis, S. C., & Berkowitz, D. A. (2018). Journalism studies and its core commitments: The making of a communication field. *The Journal of Communication*, 68(1), 6-25.
- Carlson, M. (2017). *Journalistic authority: Legitimizing news in the digital era* (1st ed.). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Carlsson, U., & Poyhtari, R. (Eds.). (2017). *The assault on journalism: Building knowledge to protect freedom of expression*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom.
- Carr, C. T., & Hayes, R. A. (2015). Social media: Defining, developing, and divining. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 23(1), 46-65.
- Carrera, P. (2012). Journalism and Social Media: How Spanish journalist are using Twitter. *Estudios Sobre El Mensaje Periodístico*, 18(1), 31-53. <http://www.slideshare.net/victori98pt/how-spanish-journalistsare-%5Cnusing-twitter>
- Castañeda, L., & Haggerty, R. (2019). Undergraduate Students Prefer Learning Text and Broadcast Skills Sequentially Versus Concurrently, But Assessments of Their Final Projects Are Mixed. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(4), 468-484. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695819851395>
- Castells, M. (2009). *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. I* (2nd ed.). Malden, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell. [ISBN 978-0-631-22140-1](#).
- Castells, M. (2001). *The Internet galaxy: Reflections on the Internet, business, and society*. Oxford University Press.

- Cervi, L., Simelio, N., & Tejedor Calvo, S. (2021) Analysis of Journalism and Communication Studies in Europe's Top Ranked Universities: Competencies, Aims and Courses, *Journalism Practice*, 15:7, 1033-1053, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2020.1762505](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1762505)
- Chadwick, A.; Vaccari, C; Kaiser, J. (2021): The amplification of exaggerated and false news on social media: the roles of platform use, motivations, affect, and ideology. *American Behavioral Scientist*.
- Chadwick, A. (2017). *The hybrid media system: politics and power* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Chen, G. M., Pain, P., Chen, V. Y., Mekelburg, M., Springer, N., & Troger, F. (2018). "You really have to have a thick skin": A cross-cultural perspective on how online harassment influences female journalists. *Journalism*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1464884918768500>
- Chen, G. M., & Pain, P.. 2016. *Journalists and Online Comments. Engaging News Project*. University of Texas. (White paper) <https://mediaengagement.org/research/journalists-and-online-comments/>.
- Chyi, H. I., & Chadha, M. (2012). News on new devices: Is multi-platform news consumption a reality? *Journalism Practice*, 6(4), 431–449.
- Chyi, H. I., & Yang, M. J. (2009). Is online news an inferior good? Examining the economic nature of online news among users. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 86(3), 594–612.
- Clark, M. D. (2014). To tweet our own cause: A mixed methods study of the online phenomenon "Black Twitter" (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation). University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA.
- Coddington, M., Lewis, S.C., & Bélair-Gagnon, V. (2021) The Imagined Audience for News: Where Does a Journalist's Perception of the Audience Come From?, *Journalism Studies*, 22:8, 1028-1046, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2021.1914709](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1914709)
- Coddington, M., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2018). Measuring and evaluating reciprocal journalism as a concept. *Journalism Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1493948>
- Coddington, M., Molyneux, L., & Lawrence, R. G. (2014). Fact checking the campaign: How political reporters use Twitter to set the record straight (or not). *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 19(4), 391–409.
- Coddington, M. (2018). Seeing Through the User's Eyes: The Role of Journalists' Audience Perceptions in Their Use of Technology. *Electronic News*, 12(4), 235–250. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243118767730>
- Colleoni, E., Rozza, A., & Arvidsson, A. (2014). Echo chamber or public sphere? Predicting political orientation and measuring political homophily in Twitter using big data. *Journal of communication*, 64(2), 317-332.

- Confessore, N., Dance, G. J. X., Harris, R., & Hansen, M. (2018, January 27). The follower factory. The New York Times. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/01/27/technology/social-media-bots.html>
- Conover, M., Ratkiewicz, J., Francisco, M. R., Goncalves, B., Menczer, F., & Flammini, A. (2011). Political polarization on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the fifth international AAAI conference on weblogs and social media* (pp. 89-96). Barcelona, Spain.
- Conway, B. A., Kenski, K., & Wang, D. (2015). The rise of Twitter in the political campaign: Searching for intermedia agenda-setting effects in the presidential primary. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication: JCMC*, 20(4), 363–380.
- Cook, T. E. 2005. *Governing with the News. The News Media as a Political Institution*, 2nd edition. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press
- Corbin, J. and Strauss, A. (2008) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Sage, Thousand Oaks
- Corrado, A., Firestone, C. M., Aspen Institute Program on Communications and Society., & American Bar Association. (1996). *Elections in cyberspace: Toward a new era in American politics*. Washington, D.C: Aspen Institute.
- Costera Meijer, I.; Rogers, R.; Westlund, O.; Witschge, T., / Díaz-Noci, J.; Serrano-Telleria, A, (eds.). *Researching the news in the hybrid media system: An expert panel report*. Barcelona: DigiDoc Research Group (Pompeu Fabra University), DigiDoc Reports, 2021
- Couldry, N. (2012). *Media, Society, World: Social Theory and Digital Media Practice*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Couldry & Hepp (2007). “Comparing Media Cultures” in *The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research* (eds F. Esser, T. Hanitzsch) 249-262 Routledge
- Cozma, R., & Chen, Kuan-Ju (2013) What’s in a tweet? *Journalism Practice*, 7:1, 33-46, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2012.683340](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2012.683340)
- Cozma, R., & Hallaq, T. (2019). Digital Natives as Budding Journalists: College TV Stations’ Uses of Twitter. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(3), 306–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695818805899>
- Creech, B., & Mendelson, A. L. (2015). Imagining the journalist of the future: Technological visions of journalism education and newswork. *The Communication Review*, 18(2), 142–165.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. London: Sage Publications.
- Crilley, R., & Gillespie, M. (2019). What to do about social media? Politics, populism and journalism. *Journalism*, 20(1), 173–176. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918807344>

- Crockett, M. J. (2017). Moral outrage in the digital age. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1(11), 769–771.
- Crouse, T. (1973). *The boys on the bus*. New York, NY: First Ballantine.
- Culloty, E., Suiter, J. (2019). Journalism Norms and the Absence of Media Populism in the Irish General Election 2016. In: S. Salgado, (eds) *Mediated Campaigns and Populism in Europe. Political Campaigning and Communication*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-98563-3_3
- Damasceno, C. S. (2021). Multiliteracies for Combating Information Disorder and Fostering Civic Dialogue. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305120984444>
- Darcy, O. (July, 2016) BuzzFeed Editor Ben Smith sends memo reminding staff to refrain from bias on social media *Yahoo News* <https://uk.finance.yahoo.com/news/buzzfeed-editor-ben-smith-sends-012318445.html?>
- Davis, N. (2011). The New York Times Social Media Strategy Boils Down To “Don’t Be Stupid”. *Business Insider*. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from Business Insider website: <https://www.businessinsider.com/social-media-strategy-new-york-times-bill-keller-twitter-facebook-bbc-video-2011-5>
- Degen, M. & Olgemöller, M. (2021) German Political Journalists and the Normalization of Twitter, *Journalism Studies*, 22:10, 1317-1338, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2021.1952472](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1952472)
- de Sola Pool, I., & Shulman, I. (1959). Newsmen’s Fantasies, Audiences, and Newswriting. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23(2), 145–158.
- Deuze, M., (2017) “Understanding Journalism as Newswork: How It Changes, and How It Remains the Same”, *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture* 5(2), p.4-24. doi: <https://doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.61>
- Deuze, M., & Marjoribanks, T. (2009). Newswork. *Journalism*, 10(5), 555–561. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884909106532>
- Deuze, M. (2007). Convergence culture in the creative industries. *International journal of cultural studies*, 10(2), 243-263.
- Deuze, M. (2011). Media life. *Media, culture & society*, 33(1), 137-148.
- Deuze, M., & Fortunati, L. (2011). Journalism without journalists: On the power shift from journalists to employers and audiences. News online: Transformations and continuities, 164-177.
- Deuze, M., Bruns, A., & Neuberger, C. (2007). Preparing for an age of participatory news. *Journalism Practice*, 1(3), 322–338. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780701504864>
- Deuze, M. (2002). National news cultures: A comparison of Dutch, German, British, Australian, and US Journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(1), 134-149. doi:10.1177/107769900207900110

- Deuze, M. (2005). What is journalism?: Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, 6(4), 442–464. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884905056815>
- Deuze, M. (2003). The web and its journalism: considering the consequences of different types of newsmedia online. *New media & society*, 5(2), 203–230.
- Deuze, M., & Witschge, T. (2018). Beyond journalism: Theorizing the transformation of journalism. *Journalism*, 19(2), 165–181. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916688550>
- Diakopoulos, N., De Choudhury, M., & Naaman, M. (2012). Finding and assessing social media information sources in the context of journalism. In Proceedings of the SIGCHI conference on human factors in computing systems (pp. 2451–2460). New York, NY: ACM.
- DiBiase, A., & Adamo, G. (2017). *College Media: Learning in Action*. Peter Lang
- DiMaggio, P.J., & Powell, W. (1991) “1983: The iron cage revisited” institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields”, *American Sociological Review*, 48 147-60
- Djerf-Pierre, M., Ghersetti, M., & Hedman, U. (2016). Appropriating Social Media. *Digital Journalism*, 0(0), 1–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1152557>
- Domingo, D., Quandt, T., Heinonen, A., Paulussen, S., Singer, J. B., & Vujnovic, M. (2008). Participatory journalism practices in the media and beyond. *Journalism Practice*, 2(3), 326–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780802281065>
- Domingo, D. (2007, May). The myth of interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: an ethnographical approach. In *ICA 2007 Conference* (pp. 24–28).
- Domingo, D. (2008). Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: dealing with an uncomfortable myth, *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, Volume 13, Issue 3, 1 April 2008, Pages 680–704, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.00415.x>
- Dubois, E., & Blank, G. (2018). The echo chamber is overstated: The moderating effect of political interest and diverse media. *Information, Communication and Society*, 21(5), 729–745.
- Duffy, A., & Knight, M. (2019). Don’t be stupid: The role of social media policies in journalistic boundary-setting. *Journalism Studies*, 20(7), 932–951. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2018.1467782>
- Duffy, B. E., & Wissinger, E. (2017). Mythologies of creative work in the social media age: Fun, free, and “just being me”. *International Journal of Communication Systems*, 11, 4652–4671.
- Dylko, I. (2014). Using technological attributes to study online media: The case of user-generated content. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(4), 501–521.

- Eady, G., Nagler, J., Guess, A., Zilinsky, J., & Tucker, J. A. (2019). How Many People Live in Political Bubbles on Social Media? Evidence From Linked Survey and Twitter Data. *SAGE Open*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019832705>
- Edgerly, S. (2022) Audience Sensemaking: A Mapping Approach, *Digital Journalism*, 10:1, 165-187, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2021.1931388](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1931388)
- Edmonds, R., Guskin, E., Rosenstiel, T., & Mitchell, A. (2012). Newspapers: Building digital revenues proves painfully slow. (White paper) Retrieved from <http://stateofthemedia.org/2012/newspapers-building-digital-revenues-proves-painfully-slow>
- Ekdale, B., Tully, M., Harmsen, S., & Singer, J. B. (2015). Newswork within a culture of job insecurity: Producing news amidst organizational and industry uncertainty. *Journalism Practice*, 9(3), 383-398.
- Ekström, M., Patrona, M., & Thornborrow, J. (2020) The normalization of the populist radical right in news interviews: a study of journalistic reporting on the Swedish democrats, *Social Semiotics*, 30:4, 466-484, DOI: [10.1080/10350330.2020.1762984](https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2020.1762984)
- Eldridge, S. (2019). Where Do We Draw the Line? Interlopers, (Ant)agonists, and an Unbounded Journalistic Field. *Media and Communication*. 7. 8. [10.17645/mac.v7i4.2295](https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v7i4.2295).
- Eldridge, S. A. (2016). The digital journalist: The journalistic field, boundaries, and disquieting change. In *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies* (pp. 44-54). Routledge.
- Engesser, S., & Humprecht, E. (2015). Frequency or Skillfulness. *Journalism Studies*, 16(4), 513–529. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2014.939849>
- Enli, G.S., & Simonsen, C.A., (2018) ‘Social media logic’ meets professional norms: Twitter hashtags usage by journalists and politicians, *Information, Communication & Society*, 21:8, 1081-1096, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301515](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1301515)
- Enli, G. S., & Skogerbø, E. (2013). Personalized campaigns in party-centred politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 16(5), 757-774. [doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2013.782330](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.782330)
- Enten, H., & Silver, N. (2017). The U.K. election wasn’t that much of a shock. *FiveThirtyEight*. Retrieved from <https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/uk-election-hung-parliament>
- Esser, F. (2014). Methodological challenges in comparative communication research: Advancing cross-national research in times of globalization. In *Comparing political communication across time and space* (pp. 15-30). Palgrave Macmillan, London.
- Evans, R. (2014). Can universities make good journalists?. *Journalism Education*, 3(1), 66-87.

- Everbach, T. (2018). "I Realized It Was About Them ... Not Me": Women Sports Journalists and Harassment. In: Vickery, J., Everbach, T. (eds) *Mediating Misogyny*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-72917-6_7
- Farhi, P. (2009). The Twitter explosion: *American Journalism Review*, 31(3), 26-32.
- Feldstein, M. (2007). Dummies and ventriloquists: Models of how sources set the investigative agenda. *Journalism*, 8(5), 499-509.
- Ferrer-Conill, R., & Tandoc, E. C. (2018). The Audience-Oriented Editor. *Digital Journalism*, 0811, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1440972>
- Fenton, N. (2010). Drowning or waving? New media, journalism and democracy. *New media, old news: Journalism & democracy in the digital age*, 3-16.
- Fenton, N. (2014). Defending whose democracy?. *NORDICOM Review: Nordic Research on Media and Communication*, 35, S31-S31.
- Filak, V. (2014). Sender-receiver, receiver-sender: A uses-and-gratifications study of student journalists' use of social media. *College Media Review*. <http://cmreview.org/research-student-journalists-use-of-student-media/>
- Fincham, K. 2019. Exploring Political Journalism Homophily on Twitter: A Comparative Analysis of US and UK Elections in 2016 and 2017. *Media and Communication* 7 (1): 213-224.
- Finneman, T., Thomas, R. J., & Jenkins, J. (2019). "I Always Watched Eyewitness News Just to See Your Beautiful Smile": Ethical Implications of U.S. Women TV Anchors' Personal Branding on Social Media. *Journal of Media Ethics: Exploring Questions of Media Morality*, 34(3), 146-159. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23736992.2019.1638260>
- Fisher, C., Culloty, E., Young Lee, J., & Park, S. (2019) Regaining Control Citizens who follow politicians on social media and their perceptions of journalism, *Digital Journalism*, 7:2, 230-250, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2018.1519375](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1519375)
- Fletcher, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (2018). Are people incidentally exposed to news on social media? A comparative analysis. *New Media & Society*, 20(7), 2450-2468.
- Folkerts, J., Maxwell, J., & Lemann, N. (2013). *Educating Journalists: A New Plea for the University Tradition*. New York: Columbia Journalism School. [https.bit.ly/32QCGiU](https://bit.ly/32QCGiU).
- Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977*. Vintage.
- Foucault, M. (2007). *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78*. Springer.
- Frederick, E. L., Burch, L. M., & Blaszk, M. (2015). A shift in set: Examining the presence of agenda setting on Twitter during the 2012 London Olympics. *Communication & Sport*, 3(3), 312-333.

- Freelon, D., Lopez, L., Clark, M.D., & Jackson, S.J. (2018). *How Black Twitter and Other Social Media Communities Interact with Mainstream News*. Miami, FL: Knight Foundation.
- Freelon, D. G. (2010). ReCal: Intercoder reliability calculation as a web service. *International Journal of Internet Science*, 5(1), 20-33.
- Friedland, R., & Alford, R. (1991). Bringing society back in: symbols, practices, and institutional contradictions. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*, ed. P DiMaggio, W Powell, 232-63.
- Frish, Y., & Greenbaum, D. (2017). Is social media a cesspool of misinformation? Clearing a path for patient-friendly safe spaces online. *The American Journal of Bioethics*: 17(3), 19–21.
- Fuchs, C. (2017). *Social media: A critical introduction* (Vol. 2). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Gayo-Avello, D. (2013). A meta-analysis of state-of-the-art electoral prediction from Twitter data. *Social Science Computer Review*, 31(6), 649–79.
- Gans, H., (1979) *Deciding What's News: a study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek and Time*, New York: Pantheon.
- García de Torres, E., & Hermida, A. (2017). The Social Reporter in Action: An analysis of the practice and discourse of Andy Carvin. *Journalism Practice*, 11(2–3), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1245110>
- Garman, A. (2005). Teaching journalism to produce “interpretive communities” rather than just “professionals”. *Ecquid Novi*, 26(2), 199-211.
- Gibson, J. J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Gibson, R. K., & McAllister, I. (2015). Normalising or equalising party competition? Assessing the impact of the web on election campaigning. *Political studies*, 63(3), 529-547.
- Gieryn, T. F. (1983). Boundary-work and the demarcation of science from non-science: Strains and interests in professional ideologies of scientists. *American Sociological Review*, 781-795.
- Gillespie, T. (2018). *Custodians of the Internet: Platforms, content moderation, and the hidden decisions that shape social media*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Gillmor, D. (2004). We the media: The rise of citizen journalists. *National Civic Review*, 93(3), 58-63.
- Gitelman, L. (2006). *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.

- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Graham, T., Broersma, M., Hazelhoff, K., & Van't Haar, G. (2013). Between broadcasting political messages and interacting with voters: The use of Twitter during the 2010 UK general election campaign. *Information, communication & society*, 16(5), 692-716.
- Greenwood, R., Oliver, C., Suddaby, R., & Sahlin, K. (2008). *Organizational institutionalism*. Los Angeles (Sage)
- Greenwood, R., Suddaby, R., & Hinings, C. R. (2002). Theorizing change: The role of professional associations in the transformation of institutionalized fields. *Academy of management journal*, 45(1), 58-80.
- Groshek, J., & Tandoc, E. (2017). The affordance effect: Gatekeeping and (non) reciprocal journalism on Twitter. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 66, 201-210.
- Gulyas, A. (2017). Hybridity and social media adoption by journalists: An international comparison. *Digital Journalism*, 5(7), 884-902. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1232170
- Gümüşay, A. A., Claus, L., & Amis, J. (2020). Engaging with Grand Challenges: An Institutional Logics Perspective. *Organization Theory*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2631787720960487>
- Haas, T. (2005) From “Public Journalism” to the “Public's Journalism”? Rhetoric and reality in the discourse on weblogs, *Journalism Studies*, 6:3, 387-396, DOI: [10.1080/14616700500132073](https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700500132073)
- Habermas, J. (1989, 1962). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. MIT press.
- Haidt, J., & Bail, C. (2022). *Social media and political dysfunction: A collaborative review*. Unpublished manuscript, New York University.
- Haig, M. (2017, September 6). I used to think social media was a force for good. Now the evidence says I was wrong. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/06/social-media-good-evidence-platforms-insecuritieshealth>
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamby, P. (2013). *Did Twitter kill the boys on the bus? Searching for a better way to cover a campaign*. Joan Shorenstein Center of the Press Politics and Public Policy. (White paper). <http://shorensteincenter.org/d80-hamby>
- Hanusch, F., & Bruns, A. (2017). Journalistic branding on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 5(1), 26–43. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1152161
- Hanusch, F., & Nölleke, D. (2019). Journalistic homophily on social media: Exploring journalists' interactions with each other on Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 6(7) 1-23. doi:10.1080/21670811.2018.1436977

- Hanusch, F. (2018). Political journalists' corporate and personal identities on Twitter profile pages: A comparative analysis in four Westminster democracies. *New Media and Society*, 20(4), 1488-1505. doi:10.1177/1461444817698479
- Harder, R. A., Paulussen, S., & Van Aelst, P. (2016). Making sense of Twitter buzz. *Digital Journalism*, 4(7), 933-943. doi:10.1080/21670811.2016.1160790
- Harder, R. A., Sevenans, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2017). Intermedia Agenda Setting in the Social Media Age: How Traditional Players Dominate the News Agenda in Election Times. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 22(3), 275-293. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161217704969>
- Hargittai, E. (2015). Is bigger always better? Potential biases of big data derived from social network sites. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 659(1), 63-76.
- Harmer, E., & Southern, R. (2020). Is Digital News *Really* that Digital? An Analysis of How Online News Sites in the UK use Digital Affordances to Enhance Their Reporting. *Journalism Studies*, 0(0), 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1831397>
- Hedman, U., & Djerf-Pierre, M. (2013). The Social Journalist. *Digital Journalism*, 1(January 2014), 368-385. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2013.776804>
- Hedman, U. (2015). J-Tweeters. *Digital Journalism*, 3(2), 279-297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.897833>
- Hedrick, A., Karpf, D., & Kreiss, D. (2018). The earnest Internet vs. the ambivalent Internet. *International Journal of Communication*, 12(8), 1057-1064.
- Heinonen, A. (2011). The journalist's relationship with users: New dimensions to conventional roles. In J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic(eds.) *Participatory Journalism* doi:10.1002/9781444340747.gloss 34-55. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell
- Heise, N., Loosen, W., Reimer, J., & Schmidt, J.H. (2014). Including the Audience. *Journalism Studies*, 15(4), 411-430. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2013.831232>
- Henderson, M., Henderson, M. J., & Romeo, G. (Eds.). (2015). *Teaching and digital technologies: Big issues and critical questions*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hepp, A., & Loosen, W. (2021). Pioneer journalism: Conceptualizing the role of pioneer journalists and pioneer communities in the organizational re-figuration of journalism. *Journalism*, 22(3), 577-595. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919829277>
- Hepp, A. (2022) "Agency, social relations, and order: Media sociology's shift into the digital" *Communications*, <https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2020-0079>
- Hepworth, K., Mensing, D., & Yun, G. W. (2018). Journalism Professors' Information-Seeking Behaviors: Finding Online Tools for Teaching. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 73(3), 255-270. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817718425>

- Heravi, B., & Harrower, N. (2016). Twitter journalism in Ireland: sourcing and trust in the age of social media. *Information, Communication & Society*, 4462(June). <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1187649>
- Hermida, A. (2010). Twittering the News. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003640703>
- Hermida, A. (2013). #Journalism. *Digital Journalism*, 1(January 2014), 295–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2013.808456>
- Hermida, A. (2017). Twitter, breaking the news and hybridity in journalism. In B. Franklin & S. A. Eldridge (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to digital journalism studies* (pp. 407–416). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hermida, A. 2011a. “Mechanisms of participation: How audience options shape the conversation.” In *Participatory Journalism* (eds J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic). doi:[10.1002/9781444340747.gloss](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444340747.gloss) . Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell
- Hermida, Alfred. 2011b. Fluid Spaces, Fluid Journalism: Lessons in Participatory Journalism. In J. B. Singer, A. Hermida, D. Domingo, A. Heinonen, S. Paulussen, T. Quandt, Z. Reich and M. Vujnovic (eds) *Participatory Journalism*. doi:[10.1002/9781444340747.gloss](https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444340747.gloss). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell
- Hermida, A., Lewis, S. C., & Zamith, R. (2014). Sourcing the Arab Spring: A case study of Andy Carvin's sources on Twitter during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 19(3), 479-499.
- Herrera, S., & Requejo, J. L. (2012). 10 good practices for news organizations using Twitter. *Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies*, 1(1), 79-95.
- Hill, A. (2011, May 02) “Osama bin Laden Killed*how a live blogger captured the raid”, *The Guardian*, /www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/02/osama-bin-laden-live-blogger,
- Hiltunen, I. (2021) External Interference in a Hybrid Media Environment, *Journalism Practice*, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2021.1905539](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1905539)
- Himmelboim, I., Sweetser, K. D., Tinkham, S. F., Cameron, K., Danelo, M., & West, K. (2016). Valence-based homophily on Twitter: Network analysis of emotions and political talk in the 2012 presidential election. *New Media and Society*, 18(7), 1382-1400. doi: [10.1177/1461444814555096](https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814555096)
- Hirst, M & Treadwell, G. (2011) Blogs bother me, *Journalism Practice*, 5:4, 446-461, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2011.555367](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2011.555367)
- Holton, A. E., & Lewis, S. C. (2011). Journalists, social media, and the use of humor on Twitter. *The Electronic Journal of Communication* 21(1/2). Retrieved from <http://www.cios.org/EJCPUBLIC/021/1/021121.html>
- Holton, A. E., & Molyneux, L. (2017). Identity lost? The personal impact of brand journalism. *Journalism*, 18(2), 195–210.

- Holton, A.E., Bélair-Gagnon, V., Bossio, D., & Molyneux, L. (2021) “Not Their Fault, but Their Problem”: Organizational Responses to the Online Harassment of Journalists, *Journalism Practice*, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2021.1946417](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1946417)
- Holmes, T. (Ed.). (2013). Mapping the Magazine: *Comparative studies in magazine journalism*. Routledge.
- Hujanen, J. (2016). Participation and the blurring values of journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 17(7), 871-880.
- Humayun, M. F., & Ferrucci, P. (2022). Understanding Social Media in Journalism Practice: A Typology. *Digital Journalism*, 1-24.
- Husband, C. (2005). Minority ethnic media as communities of practice: Professionalism and identity politics in interaction. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31(3), 461-479.
- Ihlebak, K. A., & Larsson, A. O. (2018). Learning by Doing: Perspectives on social media regulations in Norwegian news organisations. *Journalism Studies*, 19(6), 905–920. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1239184>
- Jarvis, J. (2006). Networked journalism. *Buzzmachine*. The Buzz Machine.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence Culture Where Old and New Media Collide*. NYU Press
- Jones, J. (2019). *Americans Endorse Reporter-Audience Social Media Interaction*. Gallup. Retrieved September 30, 2019, from Gallup website: <https://news.gallup.com/opinion/gallup/266264/americans-endorse-reporter-audience-social-media-interaction.aspx>
- Jones, T. M. (2008). [Review of the book Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics, by D.C. Hallin & P. Mancini]. *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(1), 128-131
- Jost, P., & Koehler, C. (2021). Who shapes the news? Analyzing journalists’ and organizational interests as competing influences on biased coverage. *Journalism*, 22(2), 484–500. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918788270>
- Ju, A., Jeong, S. H., & Chyi, H. I. (2014). Will social media save newspapers? *Journalism Practice*, 8(1), 1–17.
- Jungherr, A., Schoen, H., Posegga, O., & Jürgens, P. (2016). Digital trace data in the study of public opinion: An indicator of attention toward politics rather than political support. *Social Science Computer Review*, 35(3), 336–356.
- Jungherr, A. (2014). The Logic of Political Coverage on Twitter: Temporal Dynamics and Content. *Journal of Communication*, 64(2), 239–259. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12087>
- Jungherr, A. (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 13(1), 72-91. doi:10.1080/19331681.2015.1132401

- Karlsson, M., Bergström, A., Clerwall, C., & Fast, K. (2015). Participatory journalism—the (r) evolution that wasn't. Content and user behavior in Sweden 2007–2013. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 20(3), 295-311.
- Keij, L., & van Kranenburg, H. (2022). How organizational leadership and boundary spanners drive the transformation process of a local news media organization. *Journalism*, 14648849221105721.
- Keohane, R. O. & Nye, J. S. (1989). Power and interdependence. *Survival Global Politics and Strategy* Volume 15, 1973 - Issue 4
- Kiernan, V. (2014). Medical reporters say ‘no’ to ‘pack’ journalism. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 35(2), 40-54. doi:10.1177/073953291403500204
- Kiesow, D., Zhou, S., & Guo, L. (2021) Affordances for Sense-Making: Exploring Their Availability for Users of Online News Sites, *Digital Journalism*, DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2021.19893
- Kiousis, S. (2002). Interactivity: A concept explication. *New Media & Society*, 4(3), 355-383. doi:10.1177/146144480200400303
- Kirchhoff, S. (2022) Journalism Education's Response to the Challenges of Digital Transformation: A Dispositive Analysis of Journalism Training and Education Programs, *Journalism Studies*, 23:1, 108-130, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2021.2004555
- Klein, C. (2022) “Clusterf--k”: Inside The Washington Post's Social Media Meltdown, *Vanity Fair*, [vanityfair.com/news/2022/06/inside-the-washington-posts-social-media-meltdown](https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2022/06/inside-the-washington-posts-social-media-meltdown)
- Kling, R. (1996). Social Relationships in Electronic Forums: Hangouts, Salons, Workplaces, and Communities
- Klinger, U. (2013). Mastering the art of social media: Swiss parties, the 2011 national election and digital challenges. *Information, communication & society*, 16(5), 717-736.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). The process of experiential learning. *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*, 20-38.
- Kollias, A., & Kountouri, F. (2020). Tweets That Matter: Reconsidering Journalistic Sourcing and Framing Processes in the Context of the #Grexit Debate. *Journalism and Media*, 1(1), 122–144. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/journalmedia1010009>
- Kosterich, A. (2021). Reengineering journalism: Product manager as news industry institutional entrepreneur. *Digital Journalism*, 1-30.
- Kreiss, D. (2016). Seizing the moment: The presidential campaigns' use of Twitter during the 2012 electoral cycle. *New Media & Society*, 18(8), 1473–1490. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814562445>

- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks. CA. Sage. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2288384>
- Krüger, F. (2022). *Disrupted media - disrupted academy: Rethinking African J-schools*. Shorenshtein Center.
- Krzyżanowski, M. (2020) Normalization and the discursive construction of “new” norms and “new” normality: discourse in the paradoxes of populism and neoliberalism, *Social Semiotics*, 30:4, 431-448, DOI: [10.1080/10350330.2020.1766193](https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2020.1766193)
- Kuhn, R., & Nielsen, R. K. (Eds.). (2014). *Political journalism in transition: Western Europe in a comparative perspective*. London: IB Tauris.
- Laaksonen, S., & Villi, M. (2022). Editorial: New Forms of Media Work and Its Organizational and Institutional Conditions. *Media and Communication*, 10(1), 1-4. doi:<https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i1.5172>
- Laaksonen, S. M., & Villi, M. (2022). New Forms of Media Work and Its Organizational and Institutional Conditions. *Media and Communication*, 10(1).
- Langer, A. I., & Gruber, J. B. (2021). Political agenda setting in the hybrid media system: Why legacy media still matter a great deal. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 26(2), 313-340.
- Laor, T. (2022). Twitter as a clique: journalists' patterns of Twitter use in Israel. *Online Information Review*, Vol. 46 No. 1, pp. 40-58. <https://doi.org/10.1108/OIR-07-2020-0324>
- Larrondo Ureta, A., & Peña Fernández, S. (2018). Keeping pace with journalism training in the age of social media and convergence: How worthwhile is it to teach online skills? *Journalism*, 19(6), 877–891. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917743174>
- Larson, M. S. (1977). *The rise of professionalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Larsson, A. O., Kalsnes, B., & Christensen, C. (2017). Elite interaction: Public service broadcasters’ use of Twitter during national elections in Norway and Sweden. *Journalism Practice*, 11(9), 1137-1157. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1234943
- Larsson, A. O. (2016). Online, all the time? A quantitative assessment of the permanent campaign on Facebook. *New Media and Society*, 18(2), 274–292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444814538798>
- Lasorsa, D. (2012). Transparency and other journalistic norms on Twitter: The role of gender. *Journalism Studies*, 13(3), 402-417.
- Lasorsa, D. L., Lewis, S. C., & Holton, A. E. (2012). Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Space. *Journalism Studies*, 13(1), 19–36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2011.571825>
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge university press.

- Lawrence, R. G., Molyneux, L., Coddington, M., & Holton, A. E. (2014). Tweeting conventions: Political journalists' use of Twitter to cover the 2012 presidential campaign. *Journalism Studies*, 15(6), 789-806. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2013.836378
- Lawrence, R. G., Radcliffe, D., & Schmidt, T. R. (2017). Practicing engagement: Participatory journalism in the Web 2.0 era. *Journalism Practice*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2017.1391712>
- Lawrence, R. G. (2015). Campaign news in the time of Twitter. In V. A. Farrar-Myers & J. S. Vaughn (Eds.), *Controlling the message: New media in American political campaigns* (pp. 93–112). New York, NY: NYU Press.
- Lazarsfeld, P. F., & Merton, R. (1954). Friendship as a social process: A substantive and methodological analysis. In M. Berger, T. Abel, & C. H. Page (Eds.), *Freedom and control in modern society* (pp. 18-66). New York, NY: Van Nostrand.
- Lee, J. (2016). Opportunity or risk? How news organisations frame social media in their guidelines for journalists. *The Communication Review*, 19(2), 106–127. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2016.1161328>
- Lee, J. (2018). The Double-Edged Sword: The Effects of Journalists' Social Media Activities on Audience Perceptions of Journalists and Their News Products. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 20(April), 312–329. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12113>
- Lewis, S. C., & Molyneux, L. (2018). A Decade of Research on Social Media and Journalism: Assumptions, Blind Spots, and a Way Forward. *Media and Communication*, 6(4), 11. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v6i4.1562>
- Lewis, S. C., & Usher, N. (2013). Open source and journalism: Toward new frameworks for imagining news innovation. *Media Culture & Society*, 35(5), 602–619.
- Lewis, S.C., & Westlund, O. (2015) Actors, Actants, Audiences, and Activities in Cross-Media News Work, *Digital Journalism*, 3:1, 19-37
- Lewis, S. C., Holton, A. E., & Coddington, M. (2014). Reciprocal Journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 8(2), 229–241. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.859840>
- Lewis, S. C., Zamith, R., & Hermida, A. (2013). Content analysis in an era of big data: A hybrid approach to computational and manual methods. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 57(1), 34-52. doi:10.1080/08838151.2012.76170
- Lewis, S. C. (2012). The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(6), 836-866. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2012.674150
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2017). *Qualitative communication research methods*. Sage publications.
- Lischka, J. A. (2020). Fluid institutional logics in digital journalism. *Journal of Media Business Studies*, 17(2), 113-131.

- Loader, B. D., & Mercea, D. (2011). Networking democracy? Social media innovations and participatory politics. *Information, communication & society*, 14(6), 757-769
- Lotan, G., Graeff, E., Ananny, M., Gaffney, D., Pearce, I., & boyd, d. (2011). The Arab Spring| The Revolutions Were Tweeted: Information Flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. *International Journal Of Communication*, 5, 31. Retrieved from <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/1246/643>
- Lounsbury, M. (2007). A tale of two cities: Competing logics and practice variation in the professionalizing of mutual funds. *Academy of management journal*, 50(2), 289-307.
- Lowrey, Wilson. (2018) Journalism as Institution. In Tim P. Vos (Ed.) *Journalism* Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018, pp. 125-148. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501500084-007>
- Lowrey, W. (2012). Journalism innovation and the ecology of news production: Institutional tendencies. *Journalism & communication monographs*, 14(4), 214-287.
- Luqiu, L. R., & Lu, S. (2021). Bounded or Boundless: A Case Study of Foreign Correspondents' Use of Twitter During the 2019 Hong Kong Protests. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305121990637>
- Maares P., Lind F., Greussing E., (2021) Showing off Your Social Capital: Homophily of Professional Reputation and Gender in Journalistic Networks on Twitter, *Digital Journalism*, 9:4, 500-517, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2020.1835513](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1835513)
- Mabweazara, H. M. (2011). Between the newsroom and the pub: The mobile phone in the dynamics of everyday mainstream journalism practice in Zimbabwe. *Journalism*, 12(6), 692–707. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911405468>
- MacDonald, K.M. (1995) *The Sociology of the Professions*. London. Sage
- Macomber, L. (2018). A new manual for writers and journalists experiencing harassment online. *Columbia Journalism Review*. www.cjr.org/analysis/online-harassment-manual.php
- Majó-Vázquez, S., & Nielsen, R. (2019). The digital-born and legacy news media on twitter during the French Presidential elections. In Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Maniou, T. A., Stark, A., & Touwen, C. J. (2020). Journalism training beyond journalism schools. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 75(1), 33-39.
- Marchetti, R., & Ceccobelli, D. (2016) Twitter and Television in a Hybrid Media System, *Journalism Practice*, 10:5, 626-644, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2015.1040051](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2015.1040051)
- Marcuse, H. (1964). The closing of the universe of discourse. *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*.
- Margolis, M, Resnick, D, Tu, C. (1996) Campaigning on the Internet: parties and candidates on the World Wide Web in the 1996 primary season. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 2(1): 59–78.

- Margolis, M., & Resnick, D. (2000). *Politics as usual: The cyberspace “revolution”* (1st ed.). London: Sage
- Martin, F., & Murrell, C. (2021) Negotiating the Conversation: How Journalists Learn to Interact with Audiences Online, *Journalism Practice*, 15:6, 839-859, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2021.1907211](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1907211)
- Marwick, A., & Lewis, R. (2017). Media manipulation and disinformation online. New York, NY. (White paper) Data & Society Research Institute. Retrieved from <https://datasociety.net/output/media-manipulation-and-disinfo-online>
- Marwick, A. E., & boyd, danah. (2010). I tweet honestly, I tweet passionately: Twitter users, context collapse, and the imagined audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444810365313>
- Massanari, A. (2015). #Gamergate and the fapping: How Reddit’s algorithm, governance, and culture support toxic technocultures. *New Media & Society*, 19(3), 329–346.
- Matusitz, J., & Breen, G. M. (2012). An examination of pack journalism as a form of groupthink: A theoretical and qualitative analysis. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22(7), 896-915. doi:10.1080/10911359.2012.707933
- Matusitz, J & Breen, G. M. (2012) An Examination of Pack Journalism as a Form of Groupthink: A Theoretical and Qualitative Analysis, *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 22:7, 896-915, DOI: [10.1080/10911359.2012.707933](https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2012.707933)
- May, C., & Finch, T. (2009). Implementing, Embedding, and Integrating Practices: An Outline of Normalization Process Theory. *Sociology*, 43(3), 535–554. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038509103208>
- McChesney, R. W. (2007). *Communication revolution: Critical junctures and the future of media*. New Press.
- McClure Haughey, M., Muralikumar, M.D., Wood, C.A., & Starbird, K. (2020). On the Misinformation Beat: Understanding the Work of Investigative Journalists Reporting on Problematic Information Online. *Proc. ACM Human Computer Interactions*. 4, CSCW2, Article 133 (October 2020), 22 pages. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3415204>
- McClure Haughey, M., Muralikumar, M. D., Wood, C. A., & Starbird, K. (2020). On the misinformation beat: Understanding the work of investigative journalists reporting on problematic information online. *Proceedings of the ACM on Human-Computer Interaction*, 4(CSCW2), 1-22. <https://doi.org/10.1145/3415204>
- McClure Haughey, M., Povolo, M., & Starbird, K. (2022, April). Bridging Contextual and Methodological Gaps on the “Misinformation Beat”: Insights from Journalist-Researcher Collaborations at Speed. In *CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems* (pp. 1-15). <https://doi.org/10.1145/3491102.3517503>
- McCosker, A. (2014). Trolling as provocation: YouTube’s agonistic publics. *Convergence*, 20(2), 201–217. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856513501413>

- McGregor, S. C., Mourão, R. R., & Molyneux, L. (2017). Twitter as a tool for and object of political and electoral activity: Considering electoral context and variance among actors. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 14(2), 154–167.
- McGregor S. C, Molyneux L. (2020). Twitter's influence on news judgment: An experiment among journalists. *Journalism*, 21(5):597-613. doi:[10.1177/1464884918802975](https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918802975)
- McLaughlin, B., Gotlieb, M. R., & Cummins, R. G. (2020). 2018 Survey of Journalism & Mass Communication Enrollments. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 75(1), 131–143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695819900724>
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27(1), 415-444. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.415
- Meier, K., & Reimer, J. (2011). Transparenz im Journalismus. *Publizistik*, 56(2), 133-155.
- Mellon, J., & Prosser, C. (2017). Twitter and Facebook are not representative of the general population: Political attitudes and demographics of British social media users. *Research and Politics*, 4(3).
- Meltzer, K., & Martik, E. (2017). Journalists as Communities of Practice: Advancing a Theoretical Framework for Understanding Journalism. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 41(3), 207–226. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0196859917706158>
- Mensing, D. (2010) Rethinking [Again] The Future Of Journalism Education, *Journalism Studies*, 11:4, 511-523, DOI: 10.1080/14616701003638376
- Mensing, D., & Ryfe, D. (2013). Blueprint for change: From the teaching hospital to the entrepreneurial model of journalism education. In *ISOJ The Official Research Journal of the International Symposium on Online Journalism* (Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 26-44).
- Meraz, S., & Papacharissi, Z. (2013). Networked gatekeeping and networked framing on #Egypt. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18(2), 138-166. doi:10.1177/1940161212474472
- Meraz, S. (2009). Is there an elite hold? Traditional media to social media agenda setting influence in blog networks. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(3), 682-707. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01458.x
- Mitchell, A., & Hitlin, P. (2013, March 4). Twitter reaction to events often at odds with overall public opinion. Pew Research Center. (White paper). Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/2013/03/04/twitter-reaction-toevents-often-at-odds-with-overall-public-opinion>
- Mitchell, A., Rosenstiel, T., & Christian, L. (2012). What Facebook and Twitter mean for news. Pew Research Center. (White paper). Retrieved from <http://www.journalism.org/2012/03/19/what-facebook-and-twitter-mean-fornews>

- Mitchelstein, E., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2009). Between tradition and change: A review of recent research on online news production. *Journalism*, 10(5), 562-586.
- Miller, T. (2012). Strategy for American humanities: Blow them up and start again. *Times Higher Education*, 8.
- Miller, K. C., & Nelson, J. L. (2022). "Dark Participation" Without Representation: A Structural Approach to Journalism's Social Media Crisis. *Social Media+ Society*, 8(4), 20563051221129156.
- Molyneux, L., & Holton, A. E. (2015). Branding (health) journalism: Perceptions, practices, and emerging norms. *Digital Journalism*, 3(2), 225-242.
- Molyneux, L., & McGregor, S. C. (2022). Legitimizing a platform: Evidence of journalists' role in transferring authority to Twitter. *Information, Communication & Society*, 25(11), 1577-1595.
- Molyneux, L., & Mourão, R. R. (2019). Political Journalists' Normalisation of Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 20(2), 248-266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1370978>
- Molyneux, L., Mourão, R. R., & Coddington, M. (2016). U.S. political journalists' use of Twitter: Lessons from 2012 and a look ahead. *Twitter and Elections around the World: Campaigning in 140 Characters or Less*, 43-56.
- Molyneux, L. (2015). What journalists retweet: Opinion, humor, and brand development on Twitter. *Journalism*, 16(7), 920-935. doi:10.1177/1464884914550135
- Molyneux, L., Holton A., & Lewis, S.C. (2018) How journalists engage in branding on Twitter: individual, organizational, and institutional levels, *Information, Communication & Society*, 21:10, 1386-1401, DOI: [10.1080/1369118X.2017.1314532](https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1314532)
- Momin M. Malik & Jürgen Pfeffer (2016) A Macroscopic Analysis of News Content in Twitter, *Digital Journalism*, 4:8, 955-979, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2015.1133249](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2015.1133249)
- Morona, J. (2017, 2 November) ESPN revises social media policy in wake of Jemele Hill controversy *AP* <https://apnews.com/article/7284c75a5f2943ce86db394a3963f923>
- Morton, J. (2009). Staying neutral: journalists should not reveal their political views, Twitter or no Twitter. *American Journalism Review*, 31(5), 60. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A215247343/AONE?u=anon~e46c6c9b&sid=googleScholar&xid=1b449659>
- Mosco, V. (2005). *The digital sublime: Myth, power, and cyberspace*. MIT Press.
- Mourão, R. R. (2015). The boys on the timeline: Political journalists' use of Twitter for building interpretive communities. *Journalism*, 16(8), 1107-1123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914552268>

- Nagy, P., & Neff, G. (2015). Imagined affordance: Reconstructing a keyword for communication theory. *Social Media + Society*, 1(2), 1–9. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305115603385>
- Napoli, P. M. (2011). *Audience evolution: New technologies and the transformation of media audiences*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Nechushtai E. (2018) From Liberal to Polarized Liberal? Contemporary U.S. News in Hallin and Mancini's Typology of News Systems. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*. 23(2):183-201. doi:10.1177/1940161218771902
- Nelson, J.L. (2021). Imagined Audiences: How Journalists Perceive and Pursue the Public. : Oxford University Press. Retrieved 28 Jun. 2022, from <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/oso/9780197542590.001.0001/oso-9780197542590>.
- Nelson, J. L. (2019). Currencies Cannot Change. *Social Media + Society*, 5(3). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119856707>
- Nelson, J. L. (2018). The Elusive Engagement Metric. *Digital Journalism*, 6(4), 528–544. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1445000>
- Nelson, J.L. (2021). *Imagined Audiences: How Journalists Perceive and Pursue the Public*. Oxford University Press
- Nelson, J. L. (2021). The next media regime: The pursuit of ‘audience engagement’ in journalism. *Journalism*, 22(9), 2350–2367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884919862375>
- Neuberger, C., Nuernbergk, C., & Langenohl, S. (2019) Journalism as Multichannel Communication, *Journalism Studies*, 20:9, 1260-1280, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2018.1507685
- Neuman, R. W., Guggenheim, L., Mo Jang, S., & Bae, S. Y. (2014). The dynamics of public attention: Agendasetting theory meets big data. *The Journal of Communication*, 64(2), 193–214.
- Nielsen, R.K, & Ganter, S. A. (2018). Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms. *New Media & Society*, 20(4), 1600–1617. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444817701318>
- Nielsen, R. K. (2017, September 14). What is journalism studies studying? *Rasmus Kleis Nielsen* <https://rasmuskleisnielsen.net/2017/09/14/what-is-journalism-studies-studying>
- Nuernbergk, C., & Conrad, J. (2016). Conversations and Campaign Dynamics in a Hybrid Media Environment: Use of Twitter by Members of the German Bundestag. *Social Media + Society*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305116628888>
- Nuernbergk, C. (2016). Political journalists' interaction networks. *Journalism Practice*, 10(7), 868-879. doi:10.1080/17512786.2016.1162669

- Nulty, P., Theocharis, Y., Popa, S. A., Parnet, O., & Benoit, K. (2016). Social media and political communication in the 2014 elections to the European Parliament. *Electoral studies*, 44, 429-444.
- O'Sullivan, J., & Heinonen, A. (2008). Old values, new media: Journalism role perceptions in a changing world. *Journalism Practice*, 2(3), 357-371.
- Opgenhaffen, M., & d'Haenens, L. (2015). Managing Social Media Use: Whither Social Media Guidelines in News Organisations? *International Journal on Media Management*, 17(4), 201–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2015.1107570>
- Opgenhaffen, M., & Scheerlinck, H. (2014). Social Media Guidelines for Journalists An investigation into the sense and nonsense among Flemish journalists. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 726–741. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2013.869421>
- Ottaway, R., N. (1983) “The Change Agent: A Taxonomy in Relation to the Change Process.” *Human Relations* 36 (4): 361–392.
- Ottovordemgentschenfelde, S. (2017). ‘Organizational, professional, personal’: An exploratory study of political journalists and their hybrid brand on Twitter. *Journalism*, 18(1), 64-80. doi:10.1177/1464884916657524
- Papacharissi, Z., & De Fatima Oliveira, M. (2012). Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 266–282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01630.x>
- Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. Penguin UK.
- Park, K., Suiter, J. (2021). Media and the Election: Social and Traditional Media Narratives in the Campaign. In: Gallagher, M., Marsh, M., Reidy, T. (eds) *How Ireland Voted 2020*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-66405-3_6
- Parmelee, J. H., & Deeley, D. (2017). Florida political reporters interact rarely online. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(1), 104-118. Doi:10.1177/0739532917698438
- Parmelee, J. H., Roman, N., Beasley, B., & Perkins, S. C. (2019). Gender and generational differences in political reporters’ interactivity on Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 20(2), 232-247. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364140
- Parmelee, J.H., Roman, N. Beasley B., & Perkins, S.C. (2019) Gender and Generational Differences in Political Reporters’ Interactivity on Twitter, *Journalism Studies*, 20:2, 232-247, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364140](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2017.1364140)
- Parmelee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice*, 14(4), 291-305. doi:10.1386/jmpr.14.4.291_1
- Parmelee, J. H. (2014). The agenda-building function of political tweets. *New Media & Society*, 16(3), 434–450. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444813487955>

- Parr, B. (2009, May 26). The New York Times hires a social media editor; does it need one? *Mashable*. Retrieved from <http://mashable.com/2009/05/26/nytsocial-media-editor>
- Patel, S. (2018). "A fun adventure, not a business": The Weather Channel stopped publishing video on Facebook. *Digiday*. <https://digiday.com/media/the-weather-channel-has-walked-away-from-facebook-video>
- Paulussen, S., & Harder, R. A. (2014). Social media references in newspapers: Facebook, Twitter and YouTube as sources in newspaper journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 8(5), 542–551.
- Pavlik, J. (2000). The Impact of Technology on Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 1(2), 229–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616700050028226>
- Pavlik, J. V., Caruso, D., Tucher, A., & Sagan, P. (1997). The future of online journalism: Bonanza or black hole? *Columbia Journalism Review*, 36(2), 30–38.
- Peer, L., & Ksiazek, T. B. (2011). YouTube and the challenge to journalism: new standards for news videos online. *Journalism Studies*, 12(1), 45–63.
- Perreault, G. P., & Ferrucci, P. (2020) What Is Digital Journalism? Defining the Practice and Role of the Digital Journalist, *Digital Journalism*, 8:10, 1298–1316, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1848442)
- Peters, C., & Broersma, M.J. (2012). *Rethinking Journalism: Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203102688>
- Peters, C., & Carlson, M. (2019). Conceptualising change in journalism studies: Why change at all? *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism*, 20(5), 637–641. doi:10.1177/1464884918760674
- Peters, C., & Witschge, T. (2015). From grand narratives of democracy to small expectations of participation: Audiences, citizenship, and interactive tools in digital journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 9(1), 19–34.
- Phillips, A. (2010). Old sources: New bottles. In *New media, old news: Journalism and democracy in the digital age*, (ed N Fenton) 87–101.
- Phillips, A. (2010). Transparency and the new ethics of journalism. *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 373–382.
- Phillips, W., & Milner, R. M. (2017). *The ambivalent Internet: Mischief, oddity, and antagonism online*. Somerset, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Phillips, W. (2015). *This is why we can't have nice things: Mapping the relationship between online trolling and mainstream culture*. MIT Press.
- Phillips, W. (2018). The oxygen of amplification. *Data & Society*, 22, 1–12
- Ponsford, D., (May 2022) Guardian tells staff not to publicly slate each other on social media, *Press Gazette*, <https://pressgazette.co.uk/guardian-social-media-guidelines-owen-jones/>

- Ponte, D., Pesci, C. and Camussone, P.F. (2017). Between mission and revenue: measuring performance in a hybrid organization, *Managerial Auditing Journal*, Vol. 32 No. 2, pp. 196-214. <https://doi.org/10.1108/MAJ-11-2015-1276>
- Przeworski, A., & Teune, H. (1970). *The logic of comparative social inquiry*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Purcell, K., Rainie, L., Mitchell, A., Rosenstiel, T., & Olmstead, K. (2010). Understanding the participatory news consumer: How internet and cell phone users have turned news into a social experience (pp. 19–21). (White paper) Pew Research Center. Washington, DC.
- Quandt, T. (2018). Dark participation. *Media and Communication*, 6(4), 36–48.
- Rafter, K. (2009). Run out of the gallery: the changing nature of Irish political journalism. *Irish Communications Review*, 11(5).
- Ramos-Serrano, M., Fernández Gómez, J. D., & Pineda, A. (2018). ‘Follow the closing of the campaign on streaming’: The use of Twitter by Spanish political parties during the 2014 European elections. *New media & society*, 20(1), 122-140.
- Rathnayake, C., & Suthers, D. D. (2018). Twitter Issue Response Hashtags as Affordances for Momentary Connectedness. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118784780>
- Raviola, E. (2010). Paper meets web: how the institution of news production works on paper and online (Doctoral dissertation, Jönköping International Business School).
- Raviola, E., & Dubini, P. (2016). The logic of practice in the practice of logics: practicing journalism and its relationship with business in times of technological changes. *Journal of Cultural Economy*, 9(2), 197-213.
- Reay, T., & Hinings, C. R. (2005). The recomposition of an organizational field: Health care in Alberta. *Organization studies*, 26(3), 351-384.
- Reese, S. (2014, March 14). Cautionary words about academic productivity and the problem of hyperactivity. *Inside Higher Ed*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2014/03/14/cautionarywords-about-academic-productivity-and-problemhyperactivity-essay>
- Reese, S.D., (2022) The Institution of Journalism: Conceptualizing the Press in a Hybrid Media System, *Digital Journalism*, 10:2, 253-266, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2021.1977669](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1977669)
- Reese, S. D. (1991). Setting the media’s agenda: A power balance perspective. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, 14(1), 309-340.
- Reese, S. D. (2022) The Institution of Journalism: Conceptualising the Press in a Hybrid Media System, *Digital Journalism*, 10:2, 253-266, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2021.1977669](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1977669)

- Reese, S. D., & Shoemaker, P. J. (2016). A media sociology for the networked public sphere: The hierarchy of influences model. *Mass Communication and Society*, 19(4), 389-410.
- Reidy, T., & Suiter, J. (2018). Who is the populist Irish voter? *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland* (Vol. 46, pp. 117-131). Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland (SSISI).
- Revers, M. (2014). The Twitterization of news making: Transparency and journalistic professionalism. *The Journal of Communication*, 64(5), 806–826.
- Reyes-de-Cózar, S., Pérez-Escolar, M., & Navazo-Ostúa, P. (2022). Digital competencies for new journalistic work in media outlets: A systematic review. *Media and Communication*, 10(1), 27-42.
- Reyes-de-Cózar, S., Pérez-Escolar, M., & Navazo-Ostúa, P. (2022). Digital competencies for new journalistic work in media outlets: A systematic review. *Media and Communication*, 10(1), 27-42.
- Rheingold, H. (2008). Using participatory media and public voice to encourage civic engagement. In Bennett, L. (Ed.), *Civic life online: Learning how digital media can engage youth* (pp. 97-118). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Richardson, A. V. (2017). Bearing witness while black. *Digital Journalism*, 5(6), 673–698.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (2013). *Analyzing Media Messages: Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203551691>
- Robins, K., & Aksoy, A. (2005). New complexities of transnational media cultures. *Media and Glocal Change: Rethinking Communication for Development*. Buenos Aires: *Publicaciones Cooperativas*, 41-58.
- Robinson, J. G. (2019). The Audience in the Mind’s Eye: How Journalists Imagine Their Readers. *Columbia Journalism Review*
- Robinson, S. (2006). The mission of the j-blog: Recapturing journalistic authority online. *Journalism*, 7(1), 65–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884906059428>
- Robinson, S. (2007) “Someone's Gotta Be In Control Here”, *Journalism Practice*, 1:3, 305-321, DOI: [10.1080/17512780701504856](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512780701504856)
- Robinson, S. (2010). Traditionalists vs. Convergents: Textual Privilege, Boundary Work, and the Journalist—Audience Relationship in the Commenting Policies of Online News Sites. *Convergence*, 16(1), 125–143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856509347719>
- Robinson, S. (2011). “Journalism as Process”: The Organizational Implications of Participatory Online News. *Journalism & Communication Monographs*, 13(3), 137–210. <https://doi.org/10.1177/152263791101300302>

- Robinson, S. (2017). *Networked news, racial divides: How power and privilege shape public discourse in progressive communities*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, S. and Culver, K. (2016). When White Reporters Cover Race. *Journalism: Theory Practice & Criticism*.*
- Rogstad, I. D. (2014). Political news journalists in social media. *Journalism Practice*, 8(6), 688-703. doi:10.1080/17512786.2013.865965
- Rosen, J (2006) The people formerly known as the audience. Available at: http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html
- Rupar, V. (2021). The Responsibilities of Journalism Educators. In *Newswork and Precarity* (pp. 217-228). Routledge. Chicago
- Ruotsalainen, J., & Villi, M. (2018). Hybrid engagement: Discourses and scenarios of entrepreneurial journalism. *Media and Communication*, 6(4), 79-90.
- Russell, A. (2011). *Networked: A contemporary history of news in transition*. Polity.
- Russell, F. M., & Vos, T. P. (2022). Journalism's interactions with Silicon Valley platforms: Social institutions, fields, and assemblages. In (eds Patrick Ferrucci, Scott A. Eldridge) *The Institutions Changing Journalism* (pp. 165-179). Routledge.
- Russell, F. M., Hendricks, M. A., Choi, H., & Stephens, E. C. (2015). Who sets the news agenda on Twitter? *Digital Journalism*, 3(6), 925-943. doi:10.1080/21670811.2014.995918
- Russell, F. M. (2017). Twitter and News Gatekeeping. *Digital Journalism*, 0811, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1399805>
- Ryfe, D. M. (2016). *Journalism and the Public*. Polity. Cambridge
- Ryfe, D. M. (2012). Why Has News Production in the United States Remained Stable at a Time of Great Change?. *The international encyclopedia of media studies*.
- Ryfe, D. M. (2006). Guest editor's introduction: New institutionalism and the news. *Political Communication*, 23(2), 135-144.
- Sacco, V., & Bossio, D. (2017). Don't Tweet This! How journalists and media organizations negotiate tensions emerging from the implementation of social media policy in newsrooms. *Digital Journalism*, 5(2), 177–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2016.1155967>
- Sadeh, L. J., & Zilber, T. B. (2019). Bringing “together”: Emotions and power in organizational responses to institutional complexity. *Academy of Management Journal*, 62(5), 1413-1443.
- Saks, A., Jones, A., & McKeown, K. (2019). Social media in higher education: How do students use it and what are the implications for learning? *Computers & Education*, 133, 103768.

- Saks, J., Cruikshank, S. A., & Yanity, M. (2019). U.S. College Student Media and Twitter: Are Student Media Following Best Practices? *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 74(3), 290–305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695818797202>
- Saks, J., Cruikshank, S. A., & Yanity, M. (2019). U.S. College Student Media and Twitter: Are Student Media Following Best Practices? *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator*, 74(3), 290–305. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695818797202>
- Santana, A. D., & Hopp, T. (2016). Tapping Into a New Stream of (Personal) Data: Assessing Journalists Different Use of Social Media. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699016637105>
- Schmidt, T. R., & Lawrence, R. G. (2020). Engaged Journalism and News Work: A Sociotechnical Analysis of Organizational Dynamics and Professional Challenges. *Journalism Practice*, 14:5, 518-536. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1731319>
- Schmidt, T. R., Nelson, J. L., & Lawrence, R. G. (2022). Conceptualizing the Active Audience: Rhetoric and Practice in “Engaged Journalism.” *Journalism*, 23(1), 3–21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884920934246>
- Schwartzman, P., & Barr, J., (Jun 2022) Felicia Sonmez terminated by The Washington Post after Twitter dispute Washington Post <https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/2022/06/09/felicia-sonmez-washington-post/>
- Schudson, M. (2008) *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*, Malden, MA: Polity Press
- Scott, M., Bunce, M., & Wright, K. (2019). Foundation funding and the boundaries of journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 20(14), 2034-2052.
- Scott, W. R. (2013). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, interests, and identities*. Sage Publications.
- Semetko, H. A. (1996). Political balance on television. Campaigns in the United States, Britain, and Germany. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 1(1), 51-71. doi:10.1177/1081180X96001001005
- Shoemaker, P. J., and T. P. Vos (2009) *Gatekeeping Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Shoemaker, P. J., Reese, S. D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. Longman.
- Siapera, E., Boudourides, M., Lenis, S., & Suiter, J. (2018). Refugees and Network Publics on Twitter: Networked Framing, Affect, and Capture. *Social Media + Society*. 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118764437>
- Siapera, E., Hunt, G., & Lynn, T. (2015) #GazaUnderAttack: Twitter, Palestine and diffused war, *Information, Communication & Society*, 18:11, 1297-1319, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1070188

- Singer, J. B. (2005). The political j-blogger: 'Normalizing' a new media form to fit old norms and practices. *Journalism*, 6(2), 173-198. doi:10.1177/1464884905051009
- Singer, J. B. (2014). User-generated visibility: Secondary gatekeeping in a shared media space. *New Media & Society*, 16(1), 55–73. Skogerbø, E., & Krumsvik, A. H. (2015). Newspapers, Facebook and Twitter. *Journalism Practice*, 9(3), 350–366.
- Singer J.B. (2008) The journalist in the network: A shifting rationale for the gatekeeping role and the objectivity norm. *Tripodos* 23: 61–76.
- Skjerdal, T. S., & Ngugi, C. M. (2007). Institutional and governmental challenges for journalism education in East Africa: Special research focus: Journalism education in Africa. *Ecquid Novi*, 28(1_2), 176-190.
- Skogerbø, E., & Krumsvik, A. H. (2015). Newspapers, Facebook and Twitter. *Journalism Practice*, 2786 (January), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2014.950471>
- Solkin, L. (2022). Journalism Education in the 21st century: A thematic analysis of the research literature. *Journalism*, 23(2), 444-460.
- Sparviero, S. (2020). Hybrids before nonprofits: Key challenges, institutional logics, and normative rules of behavior of news media dedicated to social welfare. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 97(3), 790-810.
- Spike, C., & Vernon, P. (2017, July 28). "It was super graphic": Reporters reveal stories of online harassment. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from https://www.cjr.org/covering_trump/journalists-harassment-trump.php
- Steensen, S., & Ahva, L. (2015). Theories of journalism in a digital age: An exploration and introduction. *Journalism Practice*, 9(1), 1–18.
- Steensen, S. (2011) Online Journalism And The Promises Of New Technology, *Journalism Studies*, 12:3,311-327, DOI: [10.1080/1461670X.2010.501151](https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2010.501151)
- Strauss, A. C., & Corbin, J. M (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Stromer-Galley, J. (2014). *Presidential campaigning in the internet age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199731930.001.0001
- Stroud, N. J., Scacco, J. M., Muddiman, A., & Curry, A. L. (2015). Changing deliberative norms on news organizations' Facebook sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*: JCMC, 20(2), 188–203.
- Suler, J. (2004). The online disinhibition effect. *Cyberpsychology & Behavior*, 7(3), 321–326.
- Sumpter, R. S. (2000). Daily newspaper editors' audience construction routines: A case study. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 17(3), 334–346. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15295030009388399>
- Sunstein, C. R. (2018). *#Republic: Divided democracy in the age of social media*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Swart, J., Groot Kormelink, T., Costera Meijer, I & Broersma, M. (2022) Advancing a Radical Audience Turn in Journalism. Fundamental Dilemmas for Journalism Studies, *Digital Journalism*, 10:1, 8-22, DOI: [10.1080/21670811.2021.2024764](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.2024764)
- Tandoc, E. C., Jr., & Vos, T. P. (2016). The journalist is marketing the news. *Journalism Practice*, 10(8), 950-966. doi:10.1080/17512786.2015.1087811
- The Economist. (2017). Do social media threaten democracy? *The Economist*. Retrieved from <https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21730871-facebookgoogle-and-twitter-were-supposed-save-politics-good-information-drove-out>
- Thimm, C. (2018). Media technology and media logic (s): The media grammar approach. In *Media Logic (s) Revisited* (pp. 111-132). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Thornton, P. H. (2004). *Markets from culture: Institutional logics and organizational decisions in higher education publishing*. Stanford University Press.
- Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. (1999). Institutional logics and the historical contingency of power in organisations: Executive succession in the higher education publishing industry, 1958-1990. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 801-843. <https://doi.org/10.1086/210361>
- Thornton, P.H., & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional logics. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, R. Suddaby & K. Sahlin (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism* (pp. 99-128). SAGE, <https://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781849200387.n4>
- Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W., & Lounsbury, M. (2012). *The institutional logics perspective: A new approach to culture, structure, and process*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Thorsen, E., & Jackson, D. (2018). Seven characteristics defining online news formats: Towards a typology of online news and live blogs. *Digital Journalism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1468722>
- Thurman, N., & Walters, A. (2013). Live blogging—Digital journalism’s pivotal platform? A case study of the production, consumption, and form of live blogs at Guardian.co.uk. *Digital Journalism*, 1(1), 82–101.
- Tobitt, C. (2018). Top female lobby journalists say ‘we need to show it’s not an all-boys’ club’ on International Women’s Day. *UK Press Gazette*. Retrieved from <https://www.pressgazette.co.uk/top-female-lobby-journalists-say-we-need-to-show-its-not-an-all-boys-club-on-international-womens-day>
- Tuchman, G. (1972). Objectivity as strategic ritual: An examination of newsmen's notions of objectivity. *American Journal of Sociology*, 77(4), 660-679.
- Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Tufekci, Z. (2018). How social media took us from Tahrir Square to Donald Trump. *MIT Technology Review*, 14, 18.

- Turner, F. (2018). Trump on Twitter: How a medium designed for democracy became an authoritarian's mouthpiece. In P. J. Boczkowski & Z. Papacharissi (Eds.), *Trump and the media* (pp. 143–150). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Tworek, H. (2018, March 27). Tweets are the new vox populi. *Columbia Journalism Review*. Retrieved from <https://www.cjr.org/analysis/tweets-media.php>
- Underwood, D., & Stamm, K. (1992). Balancing Business with Journalism: Newsroom Policies at 12 West Coast Newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 69(2), 301–317. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909206900206>
- Usher, N., Holcomb, J., & Littman, J. (2018). Twitter makes it worse: Political journalists, gendered echo chambers, and the amplification of gender bias. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 23(3), 324–344. doi:10.1177/1940161218781254
- Usher, N. (2014). *Making News at The New York Times*. University of Michigan Press.
- Usher, N. (2021). *News for the Rich, White, and Blue: How Place and Power Distort American Journalism*. Columbia University Press
- Vaast, E., & Kaganer, E. (2013). Social media affordances and governance in the workplace: An examination of organizational policies. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 19(1), 78–101. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12032>
- Vaidhyathan, S. (2018). *Antisocial media: How Facebook disconnects us and undermines democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van Aelst, P., & De Swert, K. (2009). Politics in the news: Do campaigns matter? A comparison of political news during election periods and routine periods in Flanders (Belgium). *Communications*, 34(2), 149–168. doi:10.1515/COMM.2009.011
- Van Leuven S, Heinrich A, Deprez A. Foreign reporting and sourcing practices in the network sphere: A quantitative content analysis of the Arab Spring in Belgian news media. *New Media & Society*. 2015;17(4):573–591. doi:10.1177/1461444813506973
- Vaughan, D. (1996). *The Challenger launch decision: Risky technology, culture, and deviance at NASA*. University of Chicago press.
- Vergeer, M. (2015). Peers and sources as social capital in the production of news: Online social networks as communities of journalists. *Social Science Computer Review*, 33(3), 277–297. doi:10.1177/0894439314539128
- Vicari, S. (2017). Twitter and Non-Elites: Interpreting Power Dynamics in the Life Story of the (#)BRCA Twitter Stream. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117733224>
- Vis, F. (2013). Twitter as a reporting tool for breaking news: Journalists tweeting the 2011 UK riots. *Digital Journalism*, 1(1), 27–47.
- Vos, T. P., & Craft, S. (2017). The discursive construction of journalistic transparency. *Journalism Studies*, 18(12), 1505–1522.

- Wahl-Jorgensen, K., & Carlson, M. (2021). Conjecturing fearful futures: Journalistic discourses on deepfakes. *Journalism Practice*, 15(6), 803-820
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2002). Understanding the conditions for public discourse: Four rules for selecting letters to the editor. *Journalism Studies*, 3(1), 69-81.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2007). *Journalists and the Public: Newsroom culture, letters to the editor, and democracy*. Cresskill, NJ, Hampton Press Inc.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2009). News production, ethnography, and power: On the challenges of newsroom-centricity.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, K. (2015). Resisting epistemologies of user-generated content? Co-optation: Segregation and the Boundaries of Journalism. In: M Carlson, S.C. Lewis, (eds) *Boundaries of Journalism*. New York: Routledge, pp. 335–367.
- Waldenström, A., Wiik, J., & Andersson, U. (2019) Conditional Autonomy, *Journalism Practice*, 13:4, 493-508, DOI: [10.1080/17512786.2018.1485510](https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1485510)
- Walters, P. (2022) Reclaiming Control: How Journalists Embrace Social Media Logics While Defending Journalistic Values, *Digital Journalism*, [10.1080/21670811.2021.1942113](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1942113)
- Ward, S. (2009) “Let the Public Help Guide Journalism Ethics”, The Canadian Journalism Project, 16 June, http://jsource.ca/english_new/detail.php?id=3964&PHPSESSID=469952d026680111dc5a126e25aa3c16, accessed 6 August 2009.
- Warzel, C. (2016). “A Honeypot for assholes”: Inside Twitter’s 10-Year failure to stop harassment. BuzzFeed. Retrieved from <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/charliewarzel/a-honeypot-for-assholes->
- Watts, D. J., & Rothschild, D. M. (2017). Don’t blame the election on fake news. Blame it on the media. *Columbia Journalism Review*. <https://www.cjr.org/analysis/fake-news-media-election-trump.php>
- Weaver, D. H., Willnat, L. (2016). Changes in U.S. journalism: How do journalists think about social media? *Journalism Practice*, 10(7), 844–855.
- Wenger, E., McDermott, R., & Snyder, W. M. (2002). Seven principles for cultivating communities of practice. *Cultivating Communities of Practice: a guide to managing knowledge*, 4.
- Wenger, E. (2011). *Communities of practice: A brief introduction*. University of Oregon
- Wenger, D. H., Owens, L. C., & Cain, J. (2018). Help Wanted: Realigning Journalism Education to Meet the Needs of Top U.S. News Companies. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 73(1), 18–36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077695817745464>
- Wenzel, A. (2019) Public Media and Marginalized Publics. *Digital Journalism*: 1–18. doi: [10.1080/21670811.2017.1398594](https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1398594).

- Wenzel, A. (2020). Community-centered journalism: Engaging people, exploring solutions, and building trust. University of Illinois Press.
- Wenzel, A. D., & Crittenden, L. (2021). Reimagining Local Journalism: A Community-centered Intervention. *Journalism Studies*, 22(15), 2023-2041.
- Wessler, H., Skorek, M., Kleinen-von Königslöw, K., Held, M., Dobрева, M., & Adolphsen, M. (2010). Comparing media systems and media content: Online newspapers in ten Eastern and Western European countries. *Comparative media systems: European and global perspectives*, 233-260. Chicago
- White, D. M. (1950). The “gatekeeper”: A case study in the selection of news. *Journalism Quarterly*, 383–390.
- Wihbey, J., Coleman, T. D., Joseph, K., & Lazer, D. (2017). Exploring the ideological nature of journalists' social networks on Twitter and associations with news story content. arXiv preprint arXiv:1708.06727
- Wihbey, J., Joseph, K., & Lazer, D. (2019). The social silos of journalism? Twitter, news media and partisan segregation. *New Media & Society*, 21(4), 815–835. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818807133>
- Wihbey, J. (2018). Which factors influence how news is produced? Research on structural problems in media. *Northeastern University NU Lab*. Retrieved from <https://web.northeastern.edu/nulab/which-factors-influence-how-news-is-produced-research-on-structural-problems-in-media>
- Wihbey, JP. "The Social Fact: News and Knowledge in a Networked World," in *The Social Fact: News and Knowledge in a Networked World*, MIT Press, 2019, pp.1-6.
- Williamson, K. D. (2018, April 20). When the Twitter mob came for me. *WSJ Online*. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/when-the-twitter-mob-camefor-me-1524234850>
- Willnat, L., & Weaver, D. H. (2018). Social media and US journalists: Uses and perceived effects on perceived norms and values. *Digital Journalism*, 6(7), 889-909.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2013). Mass media research. Cengage learning.
- Witschge, T., Anderson, C. W., Domingo, D., & Hermida, A. (2018). Dealing with the mess (we made): Unraveling hybridity, normativity, and complexity in journalism studies. *Journalism*. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1464884918760669>
- Witschge, T. (2014). Passive accomplice or active disruptor: The role of audiences in the mediatization of politics. *Journalism Practice*, 8(3), 342-356.
- Wu, S., Hofman, J. M., Mason, W. A., & Watts, D. J. (2011). Who says what to whom on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 20th international conference on World Wide Web—WWW 11*, 705. New York, NY: ACM Press.
- Xia, Y., Robinson, S., Zahay, M., & Freelon, D. (2020). The evolving journalistic roles on social media: Exploring “engagement” as relationship-building between journalists and citizens. *Journalism Practice*, 14(5), 556-573.

- Youngblood, N. E., Tirumala, L. N., Hallaq, T., & Cozma, R. (2019). College TV News Websites: Accessibility and Mobile Readiness. *Electronic News*, 13(3), 115–133. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1931243119883653>
- Ytreberg, E. (2009). Extended liveness and eventfulness in multi-platform reality formats. *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 467–485.
- Zahay, M. L., Jensen, K., Xia, Y., & Robinson, S. (2021). The Labor of Building Trust: Traditional and Engagement Discourses for Practicing Journalism in a Digital Age. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 98(4), 1041–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699020954854>
- Zelizer, B. (2009) “Introduction: why journalism’s changing faces matter”, in: Barbie Zelizer (Ed.), *The Changing Faces of Journalism: tabloidization, technology and truthiness*, New York: Routledge, pp. 1–10.
- Zelizer, B. (2018). Resetting journalism in the aftermath of Brexit and Trump. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 140–156. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323118760318>
- Zeller, F., & Hermida, A. (2015). When tradition meets immediacy and interaction. The integration of social media in journalists’ everyday practices. *Sur Le Journalisme, About Journalism, Sobre Jornalismo*, 4(1), 106–119.

CODE BOOK

CODEBOOK

Snippet	Open codes	Axial	Selective
Email, Facebook messages and Twitter direct messages may feel like private communications, but may easily find their way to blogs and political pressure groups, lawyers and others	Private accounts	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Staffers should always refrain from spreading unconfirmed rumors online, regardless of whether other journalists or news outlets have shared the reports, because of staffers' affiliation with AP, doing so could lend credence to reports that may well be incorrect	Spreading information online	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
If you're editorial staff, it doesn't make any difference whether or not you identify yourself as someone who works for the BBC.	Labeling on account	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
It's fine to say where you work in bios and About sections.	Profile section	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
It's good to talk about what you do.	Profile section	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
But the handle, name or main title of your activity shouldn't include 'BBC', to avoid giving the impression what you're doing is somehow part of official BBC output (unless it is - see below).	Profile section	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
You should make clear that any views expressed are personal, and not those of the BBC.	Personal views	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
You must have the permission of your editor or line manager to include a specific publication in your Twitter or other usernames, ie @mary0K1 or to reference your publication and/or job title in the info field	Account link to employer	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You don't have to include AP in your Twitter or other usernames, and you should use a personal image (not an AP logo) for the profile photo.	Account rules	Use of official logos	Accounts and profiles
We strongly encourage staff to regularly delete historical tweets and other social posts.	Deleting old posts	Account protection	Emerging
h) Do think about what your likes, shares, retweets, use of hashtags and who you follow say about you, your personal prejudices and opinions.	Activity	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
CAN I SHOW MY SUPPORT ON SOCIAL MEDIA FOR A POLITICAL PARTY?	Advocacy	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

There are some situations where your professional responsibilities may not allow you to express yourself politically on social media.	Advocacy	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Such things as political contributions, party membership, taking part in protest or political marches, demonstrations, online petitions, lapel buttons, lawn signs (see below) and campaign work are out.	Advocacy not allowed	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
Do not advocate for political or other polarizing issues online This extends to your Facebook page or a personal blog Don't express personal views on a political or other controversial issue that you could not write for the air or post on NPR.	Advocacy not allowed	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
org These guidelines apply whether you are posting under your own name or ,Â if the online site allows pseudonyms ,Â your identity would not be readily apparent.	Advocacy not allowed	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
If however you receive a message, post or tweet that you consider a grave personal threat, you must report to your line manager.	also report hostile tweets	Hostile interactions	Audience
It's worth keeping in mind that just because a story is generating interest on social media, or a handful of people have tweeted about it, that does not necessarily mean it has news value and needs to be reported or circulated further on social media.	Amplification	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
We should be attentive to the intended audience for a social media post, and whether vastly increasing that audience reveals an important story ,Â or just shames or embarrasses a random person.	Audience	New community rules	Audience
We should not automatically or even typically comply with a poster's original intention ,Â but we should be aware of it.	Audience	New community rules	Audience
But in the case of sensitive subjects ,Â sexual assault, LGBT issues, and racial bias, for example ,Â we should be aware and respectful of the fact that many ostensibly public Twitter users consider themselves part of distinct communities.	Audience	New community rules	Audience
Most feedback we receive is constructive, and any substantive	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

criticism of our content should be taken seriously, however it may be phrased			
However, it's best to avoid protracted back-and-forth exchanges with angry people that become less constructive with each new round.	Audience interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
Abusive, bigoted, obscene and/or racist comments should be flagged to the Nerve Center immediately and, if appropriate, to AP Global Security	Audience interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
Any incoming message that raises the possibility of legal action should be reviewed by an AP attorney before a response is made	Audience interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
Any response we make to a reader or viewer could go public.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Email, Facebook messages and Twitter direct messages may feel like private communications, but may easily find their way to blogs and political pressure groups, attorneys and others.	Audience interactions	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
In the case of a story or image that stirs significant controversy, the editor is likely the best person to reply, rather than the person who created the content.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
They're also encouraged to answer questions about their areas of coverage that are directed their way on social media, as long as they answer in a way that's consistent with AP's News Values and Principles and Social Media Guidelines	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
AP is strongly in favor of engaging with those who consume our content Staffers should feel free to ask their followers on social networks for their opinions on news stories, or to put out a call for witnesses and other sources, including people who have captured photos or video that AP might want to authenticate and use	UGC	Sourcing	Newswork
Beyond that, responses to our audience can largely be guided by the nature of the comments that come in.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
A thoughtful note from a reader or viewer that leads to a correction by us deserves an email or tweet of thanks (try to avoid repeating the original error).	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

If someone offers a businesslike criticism of a story or image but has their facts wrong, it's good to reply, time permitting, to clarify the facts	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Staffers should take a sensitive and thoughtful approach when using social networks to pursue information or user-generated content from people in dangerous situations or from those who have suffered a significant personal loss.	Audience interactions	Sourcing	Newswork
They should never ask members of the public to put themselves in danger, and in fact should remind them to stay safe when conditions are hazardous.	Audience interactions	Sourcing	Newswork
Staffers should use their journalistic instincts to determine whether inquiring through social media is appropriate at all given the source,'s difficult circumstances, and should consult with a manager in making this decision.	Audience interactions	Sourcing	Newswork
For more details on how to handle this situation, see the broader memo that was distributed to AP staff	Audience interactions	non specific	non specific
Talking to people is crucial to getting the most out of social media.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Be polite.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
If you experience rudeness or criticism, beware reacting aggressively, including by 'blocking,' and equivalent actions, which should be saved for cases of real offence, abuse, or spamming.	Audience interactions	Hostile interactions	Audience
We do, however, expect reporters to engage in conversations on social media, legacy media, events, and street corners on subjects in which they have expertise or interest.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
NPR has always tried to be engaging, entertaining and informative ' while being civil.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
We've never shouted at our guests.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
We seek answers, not confrontations, when we conduct interviews.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
We are firm when we need to be, but never mean.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Always treat others with respect on social media.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

If a reader questions or criticizes your work or social media post, and you would like to respond, be thoughtful.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Do not imply that the person hasn't carefully read your work.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Avoid engaging in arguments on social media.	Audience interactions	Interactions	Audience
Social media can be a helpful source in a breaking news situation but always consider people's safety first.	Audience safety	Sourcing	Newswork
Before making contact with eyewitnesses on social media, consider their state of mind if they have been involved in a distressing incident.	Audience safety	Sourcing	Newswork
Be aware of the potential consequences of drawing attention to posts by someone who does not have a large social media following.	Audience safety	Community	Audience
We should avoid personal attacks and inflammatory rhetoric.	Avoid personal attacks	Hostile interactions	Audience
There are many bad-faith actors on social media platforms.	bad faith actors	Hostile interactions	Audience
We should offer balance or recognize opposing views, as warranted.	Balance viewpoints	Hostile interactions	Audience
It is impossible to be aware of everything posted on social media, but we will reasonably monitor our social media activity online and exercise good judgement when we post.	Be a good person	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
We recommend using the Tweetdelete service to do this.	Deleting old posts	Account protection	Emerging
The impartiality requirements begin when you start working for the BBC: they are not retrospective.	Be active and impartiality	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
As a corporation, integrity, independence and impartiality are fundamental to CBC/Radio-Canada's credibility.	Be active and impartiality	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
While, obviously, we cannot control what others may post on our accounts, we must maintain constant awareness when posting to Facebook, Twitter and other online fora that we are flying without a net, and that an indiscretion lasts forever.	be careful	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

At all costs, we must avoid flame wars, incendiary rhetoric and loose talk.	be careful	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
As a Sky News journalist you are expected to use social media responsibly, adhering to the principles of fairness, accuracy, impartiality, legality and rigour.	be careful	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Employees should keep in mind that denouncing fellow users, newsmakers or anyone else can reflect badly on AP and may one day harm a colleague's ability to get important information from a source.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
You must not write derogatory comments or defame another person or company.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Trash-talking about anyone (including a team, company or celebrity) reflects badly on the Company	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
You must be respectful towards your colleagues and not do anything on social media which could infringe their privacy or cause them embarrassment.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
But when it comes to criticism of the work done by NPR's journalists, we treat our colleagues as we hope they would treat us.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
If we have something critical to say, we say it to their face ,Äi not on social media.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
We also treat each other with respect when using social media platforms such as Slack to communicate internally.	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
When in doubt, it's always wise to ask a few questions: Would I say that to this person's face?	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Would I say that in front of my co-workers?	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
How would I feel if that was said ,Äi in public ,Äi to me?	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Do not criticise colleagues or reveal confidential information of RTE or third parties	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Do not undermine the work of colleagues who are assigned to a particular story by posting information which contradicts or devalues their journalism	being mean to colleagues	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
The use of social media by AP's journalists is held to the same high standards as reporting, communication and distribution over any other medium.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
At the same time, we recognize that many journalists use social media to build their audience and for professional development.	Benefits	Branding	Conduct and activity
Others use social media to connect with family, friends and the wider world.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
These guidelines are meant to help protect AP and its employees.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Social media has transformed the relationship between journalists and readers and in the right circumstances can be used positively in a number of ways.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
As NPR grows to serve an audience that extends well beyond radio listeners, social media are an increasingly important way of connecting with our audiences.	Benefits	non specific	Audience
Properly used, social networking sites can be valuable parts of our newsgathering and reporting kits because they can speed research and quickly extend a reporter's contacts.	Benefits	Sourcing	newswork
The New York Times has been a dominant force on social media for years.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Our newsroom accounts have tens of millions of followers.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Many of our journalists are influential voices on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and other platforms.	Benefits	non specific	non specific

CODEBOOK

The voices of our readers, listeners and viewers inform and improve our reporting.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
We believe that to remain the world's best news organization, we have to maintain a vibrant presence on social media.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
But we also need to make sure that we are engaging responsibly on social media, in line with the values of our newsroom.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Social media plays a vital role in our journalism.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Social networks have been a great boon for the practice of journalism, on stories large and small, and Reuters journalism has been the better for them.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
By all means, explore ways in which social media can help you do your job.	Benefits	non specific	non specific
Be wary of 'revealed bias,' whether through likes or re-posting other posts, so that a bias becomes evident, and 'inferred bias,' where a post is impartial but loose wording allows readers to infer a bias where there is none.	Bias	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Would someone who reads your post have grounds for believing that you are biased on a particular issue?	Bias	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Hoaxes & Spoofs: Be mindful of the existence of bogus accounts.	bogus accounts	Verification	Newswork
Many websites and social media streams contain bogus information (such as spoof news reports).	bogus accounts	Verification	Newswork
Posts and tweets aimed at gathering opinions for a story must make clear that we are looking for voices on all sides of an issue.	Both sides	Sourcing	Newswork
Posts aimed at gathering opinions for a story should make clear that the reporter is looking for voices on all sides of an issue.	Both sides	Sourcing	Newswork

CODEBOOK

Therefore, staffers should try to make this kind of contact with figures on both sides of controversial issues	Both sides	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity
Yes, if you're doing it to keep up on what that party or group is doing.	Both sides	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity
And you should be following those on the other side of the issues as well	Both sides	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity
But consistently linking to only one side of a debate can leave the impression that you, too, are taking sides.	Both sides	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
The material must be clearly identified as AP content	Brand	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
AP journalists who have confirmed urgent breaking news should not share that information over social accounts until they have provided it to the appropriate AP desk and done any immediate reporting work that is asked of them.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Employees should not use social media to break major news or share exclusive information or tips before AP publishes the information.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
In breaking news situations accuracy is crucial.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Only share or retweet verified information - including images - from trusted sources.	Breaking news	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
Beware of propaganda, false information and fake accounts.	Breaking news	Verification	Newswork
If in doubt, it is safer just to retweet official Guardian accounts or those of trusted Guardian colleagues.	Breaking news	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
Remember, as a journalist your job is to break news for GNM, on GNM's platform, not on social media.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Only tweet breaking news if the news editor is happy for you to do that, rather than report it for the website.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork

CODEBOOK

a) As for our TV, radio and digital output, accuracy trumps speed every time when it comes to breaking news on social media, no matter the temptation to be first.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
b) When you have news to break, you should normally alert the appropriate newsdesk first.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
If you use Twitter, it is possible to file into Quickfire and tweet at the same time by sending simultaneous SMS text messages.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
But the needs of our large audiences across our full range of outlets should be prioritised, and that will usually involve a newsdesk rapidly deploying appropriate resources to cover the story.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
j) Do not break news on a personal account; if you have a story to break, the BBC platforms are your priority, even if it takes slightly longer.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Do not break news on social platforms.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Public news (i.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
announced in news conferences) can be distributed without vetting.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
However, sourced or proprietary news must be vetted by the Universal News Desk.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Once reported on an ESPN platform, that news can (and should) be distributed on social platforms.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Here's an example of language we use: "This is a breaking news story.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
As often happens in situations like these, some information reported earlier may turn out to be inaccurate.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
We'll move quickly to correct the record and we'll only point to the best information we have at the time.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork

CODEBOOK

A Twitter-sized version might read like this: "We're following the news from Gotham City.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
We'll focus on authoritative sources, update as things change and correct any misinformation	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Above all, proceed with caution, especially when news is breaking and accounts vary widely about what is happening.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
That means we reach out to other sources for confirmation.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
And the general standard is simple: We tweet and retweet as if what we're saying or passing along is information we would put on the air or in a "traditional" NPR.	Breaking news	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
If it needs context, attribution, clarification or "knocking down," we provide it.	Breaking news	Verification	Newswork
We believe in the value of using social media to provide live coverage and to offer live updates.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
But there may be times when we prefer that our journalists focus their first efforts on our own digital platforms.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
We generally want to publish exclusives on our own platforms first, not on social media, but there may be instances when it makes sense to post first on social media.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Exercise caution when sharing scoops or provocative stories from other organizations that The Times has not yet confirmed.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
In some cases, a tweet of another outlet's story by a Times reporter has been interpreted as The Times confirming the story, when it in fact has not.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Always pass breaking lines to the news desk and video to Sky News Centre before posting on social media networks	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork

CODEBOOK

Be mindful that, on occasion, information is not broadcast for reasons of taste or security.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
This is particularly important for breaking or developing news stories.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Remember, breaking news lines should be passed to the news desk before they are posted on social media.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
This includes information from tweets and re-tweets.	Breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Reporters and editors should not use their work-related email accounts, social media accounts, or other BuzzFeed-related platforms to seek customer service assistance.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
It's fine, however, to tweet in general about issues with, say, the subways or other private or public services, as long as you aren't seeking ,Ä or receiving ,Ä special treatment.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
For example: Okay: The face unlock on my new iPhone X never works.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
The seats on @FlyFrontier Airlines are too close together for normal human legs.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
Not okay: @apple, I can't get face unlock working on my iPhone X.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
" "@frontiercares I paid for extra legroom but my knees are *completely* jammed up against the seat in front of me.	Buzzfeed staffer rules on ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
CAN I ENGAGE ON SOCIAL MEDIA IN MATTERS THAT ARE CONTENTIOUS OR POLITICAL IN NATURE?	Can I discuss politics online?	Opinions/commentary	Accounts and profiles
So we respect their cultures and treat those we encounter online with the same courtesy and understanding as anyone we deal with in the offline world.	care for community	Community	Audience
We do not impose ourselves on such sites.	care for community	Community	Audience

CODEBOOK

We are guests and behave as such.	care for community	Community	Audience
Reporters should use their journalistic instincts to determine whether inquiring through social media is appropriate at all given the source's difficult circumstances, and should consult with their editor in making this decision	care towards UGC	Sourcing	Newswork
CBC/Radio-Canada has an established process in place for managing potential issues and risks to our brand and reputation.	CBC has a plan	Hostile interactions	Audience
Social media is constantly evolving and much has changed since we last updated our guidelines in 2018.	Change	non specific	non specific
What to post and how to respond to other users can sometimes be challenging, and the situation can change quickly.	Change	Interactions	Newswork
But even as new social media tools and challenges pop up, and as old ones evolve, our core principles still drive the way we should conduct ourselves in the digital world.	Generic	Generic	non specific
This is a fast-changing world and you will need to exercise judgment in many areas.	Generic	Generic	non specific
We promote civil discourse.	Civil discourse	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
However, it is never acceptable to criticise colleagues on social media either directly or indirectly, eg through subtweets.	Collegiality	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Could your post hamper your colleagues' ability to effectively do their jobs?	Collegiality	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
e) Do not express a view on any policy which is a matter of current political debate or on a matter of public policy, political or industrial controversy, or any other controversial subject.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
f) Do not offer judgements beyond your specialism.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Outside of ,Äúhard,Äù news reporting, commentary related to political or social issues, candidates or office holders should be consistent with these guidelines:	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The subject matter should merit our audience,'s interests, and be worthy of our time, space and resources, we should be in position to discuss the issue with authority and be factually accurate.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The topic should be related to a current issue impacting sports, unless otherwise approved by senior editorial management.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
This condition may vary for content appearing on platforms with broader editorial missions ,Äi such as The Undeclared, FiveThirtyEight and espnW	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Commentaries on relevant sports-related issues are appropriate, but we should refrain from overt partisanship or endorsement of particular candidates, politicians or political parties.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Communication with producers and editors must take place prior to commentary on any political or social issues to manage volume and ensure a fair and effective presentation.	Commentary	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
When a journalist writes an article and it is uploaded to one of our websites the usual policy is for our readership to be able to post comments regarding the story.	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity
In the spirit of debate, a journalist who wrote the article is free to post comments and debate with our readership.	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity
However other employees are discouraged from commenting on other peoples' ,articles published on the websites of the Company's publications (eg OK!	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

,Daily Star and Daily Express)	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity
The comments sections of our websites are interactions for the public, not for employees to post observations among themselves in a public-facing forum	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity
Any journalist who does wish to, post comments on their article should abide by both the clauses and spirit of this social media policy	Comments	Interactions	Conduct and activity
We are committed to inclusion, tolerance and that which makes us different.	Generic	Generic	non specific
The cost of this can be expensed.	Deleting old posts	Account protection	Emerging
Personal accounts should never be used to speak on behalf of the Corporation.	Personal account can not be used for official statements	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
To mitigate risks and protect CBC/Radio-Canada,'s reputation, stay aware of what is happening on your social media accounts.	Stay aware of activity relating to your account	Be alert	emerging
" Its members have expertise in collecting information from a variety of sources, in establishing to the best of their ability the credibility of those voices and the information they are posting, and in analyzing the material they use.	engagement team	Community	Audience
Attempts to enforce our rules on third-party sites may lead to resentment, criticism and in some cases outright hostility to RTE (See note on Moderation and House Rules).	Everything is associated with work	Community	Audience
Always adhere to the Terms of Use and seek to conform to the norms of the social media platform being used	terms of use	community	Audience
Consider as well how your conduct in a community will affect your reporting.	communities	Community	Audience

CODEBOOK

As you adjust behaviors such as language and dress in different situations, think about what might be most helpful or harmful to effective reporting on social media.	communities	Community	Audience
Also, appreciate that journalism can be an intrusive act, and conduct yourself as a decent guest of the community where you're reporting.	communities	Community	Audience
If it was customary to remove your shoes upon entering a building, you would.	communities	Community	Audience
It's appropriate to follow the indigenous customs on social media as well.	communities	Community	Audience
We should be aware of the expectations of those users who are already involved with third-party social media sites.	communities	Community	Audience
If we add an RTE presence to a third- party site, we are joining their site; users are likely to feel that they already have a significant stake in it.	communities	Community	Audience
When adding an informal RTE presence to a third-party site, operate a 'when in Rome,' approach and be sensitive to existing user customs and conventions.	communities	Community	Audience
Avoid giving the impression that RTE is imposing itself on a community of users and its space.	communities	Community	Audience
Respect the fact that users on site X are not our users and that they are not bound by the same Terms of Use and guidelines as we apply at RTE.	communities	Community	Audience
And all NPR journalists understand that to get the most out of social media we need to understand those communities.	communities	Community	Audience
You must be mindful of competitive and corporate issues as you post links	competition	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

i) Do be open to, seek, and respect the widest range of opinion and reflect it.	Conduct	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
We must not share AP proprietary or confidential information or include political affiliations or preferences.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Employees must not share AP proprietary or confidential information or display political affiliations or preferences.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Do not post anything that could be classed as confidential (this includes discussions from morning conference and other internal GNM meetings).	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Posting AP proprietary or confidential material is prohibited	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Don't reveal confidential BBC information, including sensitive stories or deployments you or others are working on.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
g) Do respect the confidentiality of internal meetings and discussion.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
In your role you may be privy to private and confidential information.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Respect it.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
For example, do not comment on legal or financial matters including non-public, financial or operational information unless you are an official spokesperson and have the approval of Legal Services to do so.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
If you have concerns regarding ethics or conflicts of interest, you can always contact the office of the Values and Ethics Commissioner.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
FYI ,Äi It is not okay to share announcements that are intended for internal use only.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

If it says „internal use only,“ then that is who it is meant for the internal use of CBC/Radio-Canada.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Keep internal deliberations confidential.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Do not discuss how a story or feature was reported, written, edited or produced, stories or features in progress, interviews conducted, or any future coverage plans.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Do not post any confidential or proprietary company information, references to ESPN policies or similar information on third parties who have shared such information with ESPN.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
You must not share confidential or commercially sensitive information about the Company or its partners, in breach of the confidentiality clause in your contract of employment.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
You may become privy to personal information relating to events, stories, criminal cases and celebrities etc not in the public domain.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
On matters dealing with Thomson Reuters, we must observe our existing obligations of confidentiality and the obvious boundaries of discretion, for example, refraining from the disclosure of inside information, confidential personnel matters, sensitive information from internal meetings (all of which are to be considered „off the record“).	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Do not compromise or reveal confidential sources „ç	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
RTÉ Staff and/or contractors must not post original or internal RTÉ copy until it has been first published by RTÉ	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Only discuss publicly available information.	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

You should not comment on or disclose confidential Sky information (such as financial information, future business performance and business plans or personnel issues)	Confidentiality	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Your simple participation in some online groups could be seen to indicate that you endorse their views Consider whether you can accomplish your purposes by just observing a group's activity, rather than becoming a member	connection is support	Following/Friending/Liking	Newswork
If you do join, be clear that you've done so to seek information or story ideas And if you "friend" or join a group representing one side of an issue, do so for groups representing other viewpoints	connection is support	Following/Friending/Liking	Newswork
Consider the consequences of whom or what you are following	consider consequences	Following/Friending/Liking	Newswork
Journalists should take a sensitive and thoughtful approach when using social networks to pursue information or user-generated content from people in dangerous situations or from those who have suffered a significant personal loss.	consideration for others	Sourcing	Newswork
They should never ask members of the public to put themselves in danger, and in fact should remind them to stay safe when conditions are hazardous.	consideration for others	Sourcing	Newswork
Outside of breaking news situations, writers are encouraged to contact Instagram and Twitter users when embedding a photo or a tweet on a sensitive subject.	Contact social users before using content	Sourcing	Newswork
Contacting the user has the added benefit of giving the story more context for the reader.	Contact users for context	Sourcing	Newswork
Many contacts with sources are made online ,Â via emails and social media sites.	Contacting sources online	Sourcing	Newswork
As we discuss in the guidelines about accuracy and transparency, NPR pushes to keep its interviews on-the-record.	Contacting sources online	Sourcing	Newswork

CODEBOOK

The same is true of our virtual" interactions with sources.	Contacting sources online	Sourcing	Newswork
We make that clear to potential sources when we reach out to them	Contacting sources online	Sourcing	Newswork
b) Do assume anything you say or post will be viewed critically.	Content	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
h) Do not post anything that couldn't be said on-air or on BBC platforms.	Content	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Nothing should appear on your personal social media accounts that undermine the perception of the BBC's integrity or impartiality.	Content	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Avoid the temptation to post quickly and without thinking about the language you are using or how it could be perceived.	Content	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Do nothing that would undercut your colleagues,' work or embroil the company in unwanted controversy.	Controversy	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
When publishing to AP's branded accounts, staffers should get explicit permission from a senior manager before distributing third-party copyrighted material.	Copyright	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Under no circumstances can news releases be published in their original form; we can use information, quotes and properly cleared images from releases, but we must judge the material's credibility, augment it with information from other sources, and then prepare our own stories, with the release material duly credited.	Copyright	Verification	Newswork
Pickups of audio and of television graphics are credited in billboards/captions when the source requests it.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
a) Video and stills on the web aren't 'in the public domain,' and free for us to use.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork

CODEBOOK

b) Be aware that using video under the 'fair dealing,' copyright exception has specific conditions attached, including the timeliness and newsworthiness of the content, the need to make efforts to gain permission, and to credit.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
Fair dealing can,'t apply to still images	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
c) We rely on non-professionals sharing their content to help us do our jobs, and must treat them with respect.	Copyright	Sourcing	Newswork
We should always give an on-screen credit to the individual who owns the content, unless they ask otherwise, or when to do so may put them at risk.	Copyright	Sourcing	Newswork
Giving the name of a website - like YouTube or Facebook - isn,'t enough on its own.	Copyright	Sourcing	Newswork
Before uploading or sharing content, consult and ensure you,'re comfortable with third-party terms and conditions.	Copyright	Sourcing	Newswork
Make sure you have the necessary rights to any content being posted on third-party sites.	Copyright	Sourcing	Newswork
You must not post or reproduce a substantial part of someone else's work Without their permission, even if that work is freely available This includes photographs You will be infringing their copyright if you do so If you do want to reproduce somebody else's work in its entirety, please do so by hyperlink If in doubt,always consult the legal department	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
To include photos, videos or other multimedia content from social networks in a news report, you must determine who controls the copyright to the material and get permission from that person or organisation to use it.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
When posting about NPR's work, do respect its copyrights.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork

CODEBOOK

For example, it is OK to link from your blog or Facebook profile to a story of yours on the NPR site, but you should not copy the full text or audio onto a personal site or Web page.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
Assume the terms of use that apply to the public also apply to your usage in these situations.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
Does this person have the legal right to distribute the work and has he made the materials available for others to use?	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
More resources: The National Press Photographers Association's code of ethics is posted online.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
Check the terms and conditions of the relevant social media platform, for example Facebook, uploaded content remains the property of the person uploading it.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
copyright/trademark clearance.	Copyright	Copyright	Newswork
Be mindful of competitive and corporate issues as you post links.	Corporate concerns	Linking	newswork
When we match a report that a news outlet was first with due to significant reporting effort, we should mention that the other outlet first reported it.	credit	Copyright	newswork
At the same time, it is common for AP staffers to include in their work passages from previous AP stories by other writers ,Äi generally background, or boilerplate.	credit	Copyright	Newswork
This is acceptable if the passages are short.	credit	Copyright	Newswork
Regardless, the reporter writing the story is responsible for the factual and contextual accuracy of the material.	credit	Verification	Newswork
Also, the AP often has the right to use material from its members and subscribers; as with material from other news media, we credit it.	credit	Copyright	Newswork

CODEBOOK

Unless we are clearly retransmitting in full a story by a member outlet, we do not transmit stories in their original form; we rewrite them, so that the approach, content, structure and length meet our requirements and reflect the broader audience we serve.	credit	Copyright	Newswork
And while we compete vigorously with other news organizations, you should think twice before you tweet or post anything that disparages them.	Criticising other news orgs	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
(Culture writers, whose work may be more overtly political or opinionated, should hold their comments to the same standards they do in their work.	Culture writers are different	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
AP employees should refrain from using work-related social media accounts to seek customer service assistance.	Customer service	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
For example, a tweet about how an airline lost an employee's luggage could create a conflict for colleagues that cover that airline.	Customer service	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
We know that different communities ,Äi online and offline ,Äi have their own culture, etiquette, and norms, and that we should be respectful of them.	communities	Community	Audience
Our ethics don't change in different circumstances, but our decisions might.	communities	Community	Audience
Awareness is critical.	communities	Community	Audience
Strive to be knowledgeable about each social media platform's culture, and be attuned to gaps in your understanding.	communities	Community	Audience
Your colleagues can be a terrific resource to help you get up to speed on unfamiliar settings.	communities	Community	Audience
You must not breach the Company's Data Protection Policy (for example, never disclose personal information about a colleague on-line)	data protection	Confidentiality	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Delete posts with errors to prevent them spreading further, and make another post explaining what has happened.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
com allows us to delete tweets we've sent.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Deletion, however, removes the tweet only from Twitter.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
com and perhaps some other Twitter clients.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Tweets of ours that have been retweeted or reposted elsewhere will still remain publicly visible.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
If you believe a tweet should be deleted, contact a Nerve Center manager to discuss the situation.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Deletion only removes the tweet from Twitter.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Tweets that have been re-tweeted or reposted elsewhere will still remain publicly visible.	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
If you believe a tweet should be deleted, contact your line manager, editor or legal department to discuss the situation	Deleting tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Check that you understand how the social media platform that you are using works Do not confuse the direct messaging 'DM' function with a 'reply' - effectively publishing to all	digital literacy	Digital literacy	Conduct and activity
When NPR bloggers post about breaking news, they do not cite anonymous posts on social media sites ,Ät though they may use information they find there to guide their reporting.	diligence	Verification	Newswork
They carefully attribute the information they cite and are clear about what NPR has and has not been able to confirm.	diligence	Verification	Newswork
When NPR correspondents go on the air they may mention discussions they've seen on social media sites as reflecting in part the tone or mood or general reaction to an event.	diligence	Verification	Newswork

CODEBOOK

But they realize that is not the same as a scientific survey of public opinion or a substitute for the kind of in-depth reporting that leads to a deep understanding of a subject.	diligence	Sourcing	Newswork
GNM employees are responsible for what they post on social media, and failure to follow these guidelines could be a disciplinary matter.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Editorial staff must also adhere to GNM,'s editorial code.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
We reserve the right to take action for violations of these principles.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Any violation of these guidelines could result in a range of consequences, including, but not limited to, suspension or dismissal.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Each case will be considered on its own merits	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Department heads will be responsible for ensuring that these guidelines are followed by all staff members in their departments.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Violations will be noted on performance reviews	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Failure to comply with instructions referred to in this paragraph 2.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
3 will be treated as a disciplinary matter for employees and subject to the normal courses of disciplinary action.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Contractors may have their contracts terminated.	Disciplinary action	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Many people who see your tweets and re-tweets will never look at your Twitter bio	disclaimers	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

If you operate a personal social media account (Classification 4), you may say that you work for RTÉ in your profile/ biography but accounts should then contain the following line: „The views expressed are my own and do not express the views of RTÉ.	disclaimers	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
4 Ownership of RTÉ Content on Personal Accounts RTÉ owns the Intellectual Property Rights to RTÉ-related content on Hybrid Personal and/or Personal Accounts (Classifications 3 & 4).	disclaimers	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
While good in theory, disclaimers such as „All opinions expressed here are my own,“ can lull one into a false sense of security and do not negate the expectations of behaviour laid out in the Code of Conduct.	Disclaimers are not enough	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
You must always use a disclaimer "all views expressed are my own and not those of my employer".	Disclaimers are not enough	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
(Please note that the Company can still be held vicariously liable for what you write even with a disclaimer so you still need to be careful)	Disclaimers are not enough	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
These cautions apply even if you say on your Twitter profile that re-tweets do not constitute endorsements.	Disclaimers are not enough	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
At CBC/Radio-Canada we recognize that social media is increasingly becoming a place where Canadians share their views and opinions on current affairs and community issues.	Discussing politics online	Interactions	Audience
We should do nothing to undermine that position.	Do nothing to hurt that	Interactions	Audience
It is usually best not to engage.	don't engage	Interactions	Audience
We advise you not to retweet or quote offensive comments about yourself or others, even if your intention is to show your disapproval - it simply rewards offensive accounts with attention.	don't engage	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

But nothing in this paragraph or in this policy should be interpreted as inhibiting the exchange of ideas about matters that deal with our common welfare.	free speech	emerging	emerging
Nor is there any prohibition on using social media for speech protected by the National Labor Relations Act, such as candidly discussing wages, hours and working conditions.	free speech	emerging	emerging
Most staff can do their jobs extremely well using social media either occasionally, such as to share Guardian and Observer stories; for monitoring (listen-only, mode); newsgathering/finding sources; or not at all.	uses of social media	emerging	Conduct and activity
Operators of these accounts should at all times refrain from replying to abusive messages or engaging in exchanges.	don't join in	Interactions	Audience
If in doubt, don't respond.	don't respond	Interactions	Audience
Our journalists should be especially mindful of appearing to take sides on issues that The Times is seeking to cover objectively	don't take sides	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
It's important to remember that tweets about President Trump by our reporters and editors are taken as a statement from The New York Times as an institution, even if posted by those who do not cover him The White House doesn't make a distinction In this charged environment, we all need to be in this together	don't take sides	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
On that same note, we strongly discourage our journalists from making customer service complaints on social media.	Don't use position to make complaints	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
While you may believe that you have a legitimate gripe, you'll most likely be given special consideration because of your status as a Times reporter or editor	Don't use position to make complaints	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

b) Do not post when your judgement may be impaired.	Drink posting	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
And reporters should generally consider the value of commentary that may make their colleagues,' work harder on specific beats.	Effects of your work on colleagues	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Use of emojis can ,Äi accidentally, or deliberately ,Äi undercut an otherwise impartial post.	Emojis	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
,Äç We want our journalists to feel that they can use social media to experiment with voice, framing and reporting styles ,Äi particularly when such experiments lead to new types of storytelling on The Times,'s platforms	experiment	experiment	emerging
Margot Sanger-Katz says: ,ÄúPart of what,'s fun and interesting about these other platforms is that they are a little different from The Times,'s article pages in tone and framing: You can ask questions about things you don,'t know, make little jokes, express surprise, share others,' work, etc.	experiment	experiment	emerging
Part of why I find Twitter useful, and a worthwhile use of my time, is that I find it helpful to engage in conversation with experts and readers and test out ideas in a less formal way and with less certainty than I would in an article.	experiment	experiment	emerging
The same applies to social media posts or content that you publicly ,Äòfavourite,' or save.	Impartiality	Favorite	Conduct and activity
We don't use foul language.	Engagement	Interactions	Audience
We pause to re-read our responses before hitting "reply.	Engagement	Interactions	Audience
AP managers should not issue friend requests to subordinates; otherwise, friend requests among AP employees are fine.	Friending	Friending	Conduct and activity
Erroneous tweets or other social media posts need to be corrected as quickly and transparently as errors in any other AP service.	Erroneous tweets	Corrections	Newswork

CODEBOOK

The thing to do is to tweet or post that we made a mistake and explain exactly what was wrong	Erroneous tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Correction: U S Embassy in Nigeria says bombings could happen this week at luxury hotels in Abuja (previously we incorrectly said Lagos): apne ws/uxr9ph	Erroneous tweets	Corrections	Newswork
Serious errors need to be brought to the attention of a Nerve Center manager and the appropriate regional or vertical desk	Erroneous tweets	Corrections	Newswork
AP's News Values and Principles say, "Staffers must notify supervisory editors as soon as possible of errors or potential errors, whether in their work or that of a colleague."	Erroneous tweets	Corrections	Newswork
If a social media post contains an error of fact, emphasis or tone, the post should be promptly removed from the platform where it occurred, followed by a note acknowledging the deletion and a corrected post issued where appropriate.	error	Corrections	Newswork
AP: Transparently correcting errors on all platforms on which the erroneous material was distributed.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
If an AP tweet or social media posting contains an error of fact, emphasis or tone, the tweet or posting promptly should be removed from the platform where it occurred, followed by a note acknowledging the deletion and a substitute corrected tweet or posting issued where appropriate.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
Sometimes mistakes or misjudgements happen - inaccurate information is posted or opinions are aired which in hindsight are ill-considered.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
If you make a mistake or repost inaccurate or unverified information which is later proven to be false, correct it as quickly as possible.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork

CODEBOOK

If you are unsure about how to do this, speak to your manager/ editor and/or where appropriate Editorial Legal.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
e) If you know you've got something wrong, do correct it quickly and openly.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
Erroneous tweets or other social media posts need to be corrected quickly and transparently.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
This applies to messages or posts on personal accounts as well as branded accounts.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
Serious errors need to be brought to the attention of your editor, line manager or legal department	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
If you tweeted an error or something inappropriate and wish to delete the tweet, be sure to quickly acknowledge the deletion in a subsequent tweet.	Errors	Corrections	Newswork
Please consult our social media corrections policy for guidance.	Errors	Generic	Newswork
Social media is now critical to our work, allowing us to more easily connect with people, to find useful information and newsworthy content, and to get our journalism to new audiences.	Essential tool	Generic	non specific
c) Never use your BBC status to seek personal gain or pursue personal campaigns.	Ethics	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
But reporting in social media spaces requires the same diligence we exercise when reporting in other environments.	ethics in journalism	non specific	newswork
In addition to these social media guidelines, staff members should be familiar with and follow the newsroom's Ethical Journalism guidelines, which apply here as well	ethics in journalism	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
Social media should not be used to promote personal/third-party business interests, without declaration of potential conflicts of interest	ethics in journalism	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

You are not authorized to derive revenues, benefits or interest from CBC/Radio-Canada-related information that you publish.	Ethics on publishing	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
We exemplify our corporate values „Äi integrity, creativity, relevance and inclusion „Äi in all that we do	Ethics on publishing	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
This includes the existing Commentary and Media Criticism guidelines, and posts should not include any references to personal endorsements, promotions or business relationships.	Ethics on publishing	Conflict of interest	Conduct and activity
And everything we do in public is associated with ESPN	Everything is associated with work	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
But we must remember that public comments on social platforms will reflect on ESPN and may affect your own credibility as a journalist	Everything is associated with work	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
ESPN,'s focus is sports.	Everything is associated with work	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
While we acknowledge that our employees have interests beyond sports, it is essential that we not compromise our authority as the worldwide leader in sports coverage.	Everything is associated with work	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Would you express similar views in an article on The Times,'s platforms?	Everything is associated with work	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
If readers see your post and notice that you,'re a Times journalist, would that affect their view of The Times,'s news coverage as fair and impartial?	Everything is associated with work	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We want to encourage you to use social media approaches in your journalism but we also need to make sure that you are fully aware of the risks -- especially those that threaten our hard-earned reputation for independence and freedom from bias or our brand.	Everything is associated with work	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Usually it's possible for anyone to see the individuals, issues or organisations that you choose to 'friend,' or follow on social media.	Friending	Friending	Conduct and activity
It is your responsibility to ensure anything you tweet or re-tweet on a story is consistent with Sky News,' cross-platform editorial decisions and guidelines.	Everything is associated with work	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Everything we post or comment on in social media is public.	Everything is public	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
It is critically important that employees not post anything that might endanger a colleague or otherwise hamper their ability to do their job.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Employees should not post about a missing or detained AP staffer without clearance from senior AP managers.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
Social media posts can unwittingly put colleagues at risk and jeopardize company operations continents away.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional tone and content	Conduct and activity
„If your post is on a private account, could it still be interpreted as you speaking as an AP employee?	Everything reflects the employer	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
This applies to the people and organizations we choose to "friend" or "like" online as well.	Friending	Friending	Conduct and activity
Those are content choices as much as a message or blog post.	Friending	Friending	Conduct and activity
It should go without saying that no one may compel or pressure anyone to friend them on Facebook, follow them on Twitter or engage in similar conduct on other social media.	Friending	Friending	Conduct and activity
It is acceptable to extend and accept Facebook friend requests from sources, politicians and newsmakers if necessary for reporting purposes, and to follow them on Twitter	Friends on social	Friending	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

However, friending and „liking“ political candidates or causes may create a perception among people unfamiliar with the protocol of social networks that AP staffers are advocates.	Friends on social	Friending	Conduct and activity
We are offering these standards to our staffers and to our readers as a first attempt at articulating the goal of merging the best of traditional media's values with deep shifts in the forms of media and communication.	generic	generic	emerging
Imagine what you say or write landing in an AP story or in The Washington Post, and imagine the damage that could cause you or NPR	Everything reflects the employer	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Whether in an NPR newscast or a tweet, "you always have to take into consideration what you're saying, what you know, what you don't know, and be thoughtful about not making libelous comments whatever the medium	Everything reflects the employer	legal concerns	conduct and activity
In reality, anything you post online reflects both on you and on NPR	Everything reflects the employer	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
(That said, I am always conscious that any of my tweets can end up getting quoted elsewhere as the statements of a Times reporter).	Everything reflects the employer	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
When dealing with matters of public importance and actual or potential subjects of coverage, however, Reuters journalists should be mindful of the impact their publicly expressed opinions can have on their work and on Reuters.	Everything reflects the employer	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
In our Twitter and Facebook profiles, for example, we should identify ourselves as Reuters journalists and declare that we speak for ourselves, not for Thomson Reuters.	Everything reflects the employer	Profiles	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

When writing as Reuters journalists, whether for the file or online, we are guided 24 hours a day by the ethics of our organization as embodied in the Code of Conduct and the Trust Principles, which require us to be responsible, fair and impartial.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Although acting in a private capacity, you are still a public representative of RTÉ.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Do not bring RTÉ into disrepute	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Non-editorial staff should consider very carefully how their views might be interpreted in the context of RTÉ's overall commitment to balance, fairness and impartiality	Everything reflects the employer	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Staff should be aware that disputes or controversy arising from content or images on RTÉ accounts have the potential to damage RTÉ and may have legal implications.	Everything reflects the employer	legal concerns	conduct and activity
Do not say anything on social media which may bring Sky News into disrepute	Everything reflects the employer	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Any exception to this rule should be pre-approved by a senior editorial manager.	Exceptions for advocacy	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
The Company must have the opportunity to publish exclusive text, photo and video material before it appears on social networks.	exclusives	breaking news	Newswork
Once that material has been published, you may tweet and post a link to it on social media platforms provided that you have permission from your line manager	exclusives	breaking news	Newswork
We also support the right of our journalists to mute or block people on social media who are threatening or abusive.	Hostile interactions	Hostility	Audience
(But please avoid muting or blocking people for mere criticism of you or your reporting.	Hostile interactions	Hostility	Audience

CODEBOOK

Where we do intervene, we will do so responsibly and sensitive to expectations.	Hostile interactions	Hostility	Audience
Incremental reporting threads: AP staffers should never share on social networks incremental information that, if closely held, could lead to important, exclusive content	Incremental reporting threads	Incremental reporting themes	Conduct and activity
journalists should never share on social networks details that, if closely held, could lead to important, exclusive content being disclosed	incremental threads	Incremental reporting themes	Conduct and activity
Most feedback we receive is constructive, and any substantive criticism of the Company's publications' content should be taken seriously, however it may be phrased	Feedback	Interactions	Audience
We may follow or friend sources or newsmakers, but when doing so with politicians or political causes, we should try to connect with accounts on both sides of a given issue or campaign.	Following	following	Newswork
Staff can follow or friend sources or newsmakers, but when doing so with politicians or political causes, must try to connect with accounts on all sides of a given issue or campaign.	Following	following	Newswork
The same is true for following social media accounts.	Following	Following	Newswork
Following social media accounts which reflect only one point of view on matters of public policy, politics or 'controversial subjects,' may create a similar impression.	Following	Following	Newswork
CAN I FOLLOW ANY GROUP/INDIVIDUAL THAT I WANT TO?	Following	Following	Newswork
Absolutely, however keep in mind you may be associated with any individual or group you follow or interact with.	Following	Following	Newswork

CODEBOOK

NPR journalists may, in the course of their work, "follow" or "friend" Twitter accounts, Facebook pages and other social media sites created by political parties and advocacy groups.	Following	Following	Newswork
But we do so to monitor their news feeds, not to become participants, and we follow and friend sites created by advocates from all sides of the issues.	Following	Following	Newswork
It's as basic a tool as joining mailing lists.	Following	Following	Newswork
If your work includes coverage of politics and social issues, can you "follow" or "friend" a political party or advocacy group?	Following	Following	Newswork
We should also remember that by friending or following someone, we may be giving out the identity of a source.	Following	Following	Newswork
How Canadians interact with information, content, and each other is constantly evolving and it's important for us to be deeply invested in digital tools, like social media, to ensure we are engaging with Canadians from coast to coast to coast.	Important to be up to speed on social	Interaction	Audience
CBC endeavours to engage with Canadians, especially on digital platforms.	Engagement	Interactions	Audience
Our engagement on social platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram should be civil, responsible, and without overt political or other biases that would threaten our or your credibility with the public.	Engagement	Interactions	Audience
It can be off-putting for an average Facebook user to click on a post and see conversations between colleagues or virtual insider pats on the back.	Insider content	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

Staff members should not repeatedly like or share content with a particular point of view on controversial issues, as it can leave the impression that the staff member also holds that view.	liking	Liking	Conduct and activity
For example, staff members should not repeatedly like or share stories about a particular political party.	liking	Liking	Conduct and activity
The same applies to likes	liking	Liking	Conduct and activity
On the one hand, these standards can be compromised whenever we „like“ a post or adopt a „badge“ or „join“ a cause, particularly when the subject is relevant or even tangential to our beat.	liking	Liking	Conduct and activity
Recent high profile cases have demonstrated the need to be vigilant.	newswork	non specific	non specific
Expressions of Opinion on Social Media****	Opinion	non specific	Conduct and activity
Social networking sites, such as Facebook, Twitter and Slack have become an integral part of everyday life for people around the world.	generic	generic	non specific
i) Do not sacrifice accuracy for speed.	Breaking news	breaking news	Newswork
Second and right is always better than first and wrong „an inaccurate post is a problem for you, your colleagues and the BBC.	Breaking news	breaking news	Newswork
It is increasingly difficult to draw clear dividing lines between personal and professional personas on social media accounts.	Hard to distinguish personal professional lines	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
It is easy for someone to copy material out of restricted pages and redirect it elsewhere for wider viewing	hard to hide stuff	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

Hate speech and personal attacks hurt the reputation of our staff and the organization, and are unacceptable.	Hate speech	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Staffers should not, as a matter of course, respond to personal attacks on social media.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
If, however, a person is presenting erroneous information, staffers should consult their supervisor and see if there is an appropriate response.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Involving others serves multiple purposes, including giving the employee a sounding board and providing an additional level of protection for themselves.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Employees should consider whether the exchange might venture into the disinformation range.	Hostile interactions	Disinformation	emerging
If a person repeatedly attacks an employee or issues threats, the employee should engage resources to combat online harassment.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
It has also increasingly become a place where journalists can be harassed and targeted, either for their work, or personally, or both.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
When that is not being observed, our employees may consult with their supervisor about discontinuing interactions with certain individuals.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
When possible, we do so without unduly restricting access to our journalism.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
As per our Code of Conduct, harassment, discrimination, bullying and violence are not tolerated at CBC/Radio-Canada.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Think before you respond to someone being provocative - it is very easy to become engaged in a slanging match Do not engage in bad language or name-calling	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

However, it is best to avoid protracted back-and-forth exchanges with angry people that become less constructive with each new round.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Abusive, bigoted, obscene and/or racist comments should be flagged to allow the legal department to deal with those individuals	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Any incoming message that raises the possibility of legal action must be reviewed by the relevant legal department before a response is made	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Any response you make to the reader or viewer could go public.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Journalists are also encouraged to answer questions about their areas of coverage that are directed their way on social media, as long as they answer in a way that is not abusive,insulting and in bre:ach of your terms of employment	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
You must not engage in activities or discussions which could bring the Company into disrepute or adversely affect any of the Company's relationships eg with an advertiser	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Do not write or post anything which is abusive or could amount to harassment or bullying or breach the Company's Bullying and Anti-Harassment Policy	Hostile interactions	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
In fact, one unpleasant aspect has become all too familiar: While NPR journalists generally enjoy their interactions with the public on social media, they have also been the targets of abuse on Twitter and other platforms.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
We've added new guidance on how to handle such situations.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Journalists are just like those in other professions.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
We enjoy being praised when we do good work.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

But unlike those in occupations that aren't in the public eye, journalists have to accept that being criticized is part of the job.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
We know that the words we write and say, the photos and videos we post, the charts we produce and „Äi yes „Äi the things we say in social media may anger others.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
If we're willing to report facts that may cast public officials in an unfavorable light and are willing to dig into controversial topics, we have to be willing to put up with some pushback from the public.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
We do not, however, have to put up with threatening or abusive communications from those who don't like our reporting.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
We do not have to put up being personally attacked because of our gender, race, religion or any other identifying factor.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
The guiding principles when such abuse comes in are "don't feed the trolls" and "don't respond in kind.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
This is a classic example of easier said than done," of course.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
We're human.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
We want to fire back.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
Here are two other approaches: If the message is unpleasant but not threatening and is about work you've done, try responding with something along these lines „Äi "I appreciate constructive feedback Can you tell me more about what concerned you?	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
" If the person responds constructively, you've got a conversation going If the person continues to be unpleasant or becomes abusive, do not continue the conversation Instead, move to our next suggestion	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience

CODEBOOK

If a message feels threatening, do not respond to it. Instead, forward it to our internal distribution list "NPRThreats". It will be read by our Legal, Security and News Operations executives.	Hostile interactions	Hostile audience	Audience
They will take appropriate actions and keep you updated about what they're doing.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Social media can be wonderful places to spread our journalism and hear from the public.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
But it's become increasingly clear that social media communities are also places where some people's darker sides emerge.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
NPR journalists should know that there is support available to them when they come under attack.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Treat those you encounter online with fairness, honesty and respect, just as you would offline.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
We take the same attitude to social media.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
We shouldn't take the bait from trolls and sink to their level.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
„Ä“ If the criticism is especially aggressive or inconsiderate, it's probably best to refrain from responding.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
This guidance applies to any personal account used by an AP staff member and seeks to clarify and expand upon AP's current Social Media Guidelines.	Personal accounts	non specific	Conduct and activity
Many AP employees use social media as part of their job.	Personal accounts	non specific	Conduct and activity
„Ä“ I used to get really upset and respond to abuse „Ä“ which only made it worse. What I finally discovered is that if I just aggressively block the abusive people, I can control the flow „Ä“ and that's, I think, because people who speak that way to women are generally followed by other people who think it's okay to use crass words.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

By blocking anyone and everyone who uses abusive terms, I am able to halt the conversation.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
I think this is especially important as a strategy for women, at a time when people think that rape memes are a good way to respond to a story they don't like by a female New York Times writer.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
If you feel threatened by someone on social media, please inform your supervisors immediately.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
The Times has policies in place to protect the safety of our journalists.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
When engaging in online dialogue, avoid personal attacks and insults	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
Behaviour likely to cause extreme offence (racist and sexist insults, for example) should not be tolerated by RTÉ or on an RTÉ-branded space within a social networking site and offending comments should be removed.	Hostile interactions	Interactions	Audience
All social media activity by our journalists comes under these guidelines.	Social media usage	non specific	Conduct and activity
Employees must identify themselves as being from AP if they are using their accounts for work in any way	Identification as journalist	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
But you should identify yourself in your profile as an AP staffer	Identification as journalist	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
If an issue arises related to CBC/Radio-Canada, please contact socialmedia-grp@cbc.ca who will escalate the issue appropriately	If issue arises contact CBC	Interactions	Audience
Accounts (Classification 2 & 3) If you are the victim of online abuse (intemperate messages that may be personally critical and crudely expressed), it is best to ignore such messages.	ignore hostile tweets	Interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

Are you expressing views that could lead an average person to conclude that you or the AP can't be impartial?	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Posts and tweets aimed at gathering opinions for a story must make clear that we are looking for voices on all sides of an issue	Impartiality	sourcing	newswork
You shouldn't state your political preferences or say anything that compromises your impartiality.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Don't sound off about things in an openly partisan way.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Don't be seduced by the informality of social media into bringing the BBC into disrepute.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Don't anonymously sanitise Wikipedia pages and similar websites about the BBC.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Don't criticise your colleagues.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Consider the impression given by those choices, especially if they're contentious or partisan, and relevant to stories you cover.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
Broaden or balance the range if needed.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
This policy applies to all employees, casuals and freelancers employed by Northern & Shell Plc, Express Newspapers and The Health Lottery ("the Company").	Social policy	non specific	Conduct and activity
A retweets aren't endorsements, or equivalent disclaimer in your bio won't be enough on its own.	Impartiality	Disclaimers	Accounts and profiles
If you have a social media or other online presence - like a blog - where you feel conflicts of interest are possible, you should discuss it with your line manager, he or she won't unreasonably stop you, but will want to discuss potential risks	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Avoid ,Ävirtue signalling,' ,Äi retweets, likes or joining online campaigns to indicate a personal view, no matter how apparently worthy the cause.	Impartiality	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
Avoid actions that might discredit your professional impartiality.	Impartiality	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
We,'ve always made clear that newsroom employees should avoid posting anything on social media that damages our reputation for neutrality and fairness.	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
If someone were to look at your entire social media feed, including links and retweets, would they have doubts about your ability to cover news events in a fair and impartial way?	Impartiality	Opinions/commentary	conduct and activity
It also applies to all forms of social media: Twitter, Facebook, Google +, blogging etc.	Social policy	non specific	Conduct and activity
The use of social media by AP,'s employees is held to the same high standard as reporting, communication and distribution over any other medium.	Standards	non specific	Conduct and activity
Apply to social platforms the same high standards, sound logic and common sense you employ on ESPN,'s platforms.	Standards	non specific	Conduct and activity
Everything depends on our keeping trust.	trust	non specific	Conduct and activity
We often embed Instagram images and tweets in news and entertainment.	Instagram	user generated content	Newswork
Always treat people on social media with the respect and professionalism you would apply offline, even if you disagree with them, and try to avoid public arguments on social media.	Interactions	interactions	Audience
We should avoid interacting with newsmakers on their public pages ,Äi for instance, commenting on their posts	Interactions	interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

a) Do always treat others with respect, even in the face of abuse.	Interactions	interactions	Audience
People who work for the BBC should set an example for civilised public debate.	Interactions	interactions	Audience
a) Do not be drawn into ill-tempered exchanges, or exchanges that will reflect badly on you, or the BBC.	Interactions	interactions	Audience
The Company is in favour of engaging with those who consume its content.	Interactions	interactions	Audience
We ask that AP staff refrain from liking or commenting on official AP-branded Facebook or Google Plus posts and chats.	Internal liking	Liking	Conduct and activity
These accounts are official, public-facing channels of communication, and we want to reserve the comments and interactions for the public, not for journalists talking among themselves in a public-facing spot.	Internal liking	Commenting	Conduct and activity
Issues happen and can escalate quickly online.	Issues can escalate	interaction	Audience
Understand that at all times you are representing ESPN, and social sites offer the equivalent of a live microphone.	It's a live mic	Obligation	Conduct and activity
Journalistic accuracy, fairness and clarity should be the guiding principles of editorial staff in any public forum, online or otherwise.	journalism ethics	Principles	Newswork
Of course, it's not always obvious how to apply journalistic principles to the social media arena.	journalism principles	Principles	Newswork
One resource available to NPR journalists is our "Engagement Team.	journalism principles	Interactions	Audience
Journalists are people too, with all the rights of citizens.	journalists are people too	Interactions	Audience
If we want to tweet or post about a school play, a film or a favorite recipe, we are free to do so.	journalists are people too	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

That said, there are certain positions within the organization that carry different rules, most notably with our journalistic personnel.	Journalists can not discuss politics online	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Beyond those covered under the JSP, there are other roles at CBC/Radio-Canada that preclude employees from engaging on social media in matters that are contentious or political in nature.	Journalists can not discuss politics online	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Any member of the Senior Executive Team (SET), the executives reporting directly to them, as well as Communications employees who operate as spokespeople or manage social media accounts representing CBC/Radio-Canada in its relations with its various audiences would fall into this category.	Journalists can not discuss politics online	non specific	non specific
We expect our journalists to reach conclusions through reporting, but they must also demonstrate the intellectual discipline to keep their conclusions susceptible to further reporting, which requires a posture of open-mindedness and enlightened skepticism.	keep an open mind	Principles	Newswork
I) Do not be seduced by the informality of tone and language on social media.	Language	opinion	Conduct and activity
Please remember that you are legally responsible for what you post on social media.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
When using social media, the laws of privacy, libel, copyright and contempt apply.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
You can read more about the importance of these in our legal guidelines for social media.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
However, the use of social media exposes you and the Company to the risk of legal action for example, defamation, breach of privacy or contempt of court.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Remember that the Company may well be liable even if you are repeating comments made by someone else	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
Regulations governing comments on websites came into effect on 1 January, 2014.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
A website operator would not be able to defend a libel case if a claimant can show that the person who posted the libellous comment (on OK!	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
for example) was an employee of the Company	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
You must remember to take the material down following any legal warning	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
Any exceptions must be discussed with your editor and relevant legal department.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
1 In many cases, a journalist will be legally responsible for any statement he or she repeats, even if the statement is attributed to another source.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
There are a few exceptions, and one of them is Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which protects news organizations from defamation liability for content that's created by a third party.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
But beyond the legal implications, it is important to consider our listeners and readers and the fact that they trust that the information we're giving them is as accurate as we can make it.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
Everything we say online can be used against us in a court of law, in the minds of subjects and sources and by people who for reasons of their own may want to cast us in a negative light.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
Particular caution is required with regard to contempt of court and defamation.	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

If you are not certain that a post on social media would be considered suitable for any of our platforms then DO NOT post it.	legal concerns	Opinions / Commentary	Conduct and activity
If someone else has posted something that could be considered in contempt of court, defamatory or in clear breach of privacy DO NOT link to it.	legal concerns	retweets / sharing	Conduct and activity
Always respect the law, including those laws governing defamation, privacy, discrimination, harassment and copyright	legal concerns	legal concerns	Conduct and activity
Second, in some countries, the law requires the deletion of content in some cases.	legal reasons for deletion	corrections	Newswork
Imagine, if you will, an NPR legal correspondent named Sue Zemencourt She's a huge fan of Enormous University's basketball team and loves to chat online about EU She posts comments on blogs under the screen name "enormous1 One day, an equally rabid fan of Ginormous State (ginormous1") posts obnoxious comments about EU Sue snaps Expletives and insults fly from her fingers on to the webpage They're so out-of-line that the blog blocks her from submitting any more comments ,Â and discovers that her IP address leads back to NPR The blog's host posts that "someone at NPR is using language that the FCC definitely would not approve of" and describes what was said Things go viral The basically good person that she is, Sue publicly acknowledges and apologizes for her mistake But that doesn't stop The Daily Show from satirizing about the "NPRNormous Explosion.	Everything reflects the employer	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
RTE staff and contractors should be mindful of the need for impartiality and objectivity at all times.	no bias	Opinion/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

They encourage staffers to be active participants in social networks while upholding our fundamental value that staffers should not express personal opinions on controversial issues of the day.	Be active and impartial	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Avoid joining private and "secret" groups on Facebook and other platforms that may have a partisan orientation.	Partisan groups	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
AP journalists are encouraged to have accounts on social networks	Accounts	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Employees who don't need to engage with social media as part of their job have the option of not using the medium if they so choose.	don't have to use it	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
No AP employee is required to post content on social media.	don't have to use it	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
For example, some journalists may need to maintain a Twitter account to follow sources and stay on top of breaking news, but it is perfectly acceptable for that person to never tweet if they choose.	don't have to use it	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
AP journalists are encouraged to maintain accounts on social networks, and must identify themselves in their profiles as being with AP if they use the accounts for work in any way.	encourage staffers to have accounts	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Any web-based social media account, either personal or work related, that contains any reference to the Company and/or its related publications is subject to this policy	your conduct	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
We want to serve fans in the social sphere, but the first priority is to ESPN news and information efforts.	Company first	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Even on purely recreational or cultural sites and even if what we're doing is personal and not identified as coming from someone at NPR, we understand that what we say and do could still reflect on NPR.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
All postings must be consistent with the rules in the AP News Values and Principles and Social Media Guidelines, including those on expressing opinions on contentious public issues.	Linking rules	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
So we do nothing that could undermine our credibility with the public, damage NPR's standing as an impartial source of news, or otherwise jeopardize NPR's reputation.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
In other words, we don't behave any differently than we would in any public setting or on an NPR broadcast.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
This is particularly important if you are live tweeting a breaking news situation.	Live tweeting	Live tweeting	Newswork
j) If you are "live tweeting" a story, do clearly indicate it is developing and your posts are not a final or settled view.	Live tweeting	Live tweeting	Newswork
AP journalists have live-tweeted news events on several occasions with great success.	Live-tweeting	Live tweeting	Newswork
Here are some guidelines on live-tweeting:	Live-tweeting	Live tweeting	Newswork
News events (press conferences, sports events, etc) that are being broadcast live: AP staffers are welcome to live-tweet these events.	Live-tweeting	Live tweeting	Newswork
There is room to be a little looser with our language on social media.	looser language	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
There are words and phrases that, if written with the right tone, are OK.	looser language	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Take "badass," for example.	looser language	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Used as a compliment, it's a wonderful word.	looser language	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We are making this document public to keep BuzzFeed News,' writers, reporters, and editors accountable to our readers	making document available	non specific	non specific
The news operations of The Globe and Mail must be, and must be seen to be, impartial.	News must be impartial	non specific	Newswork
They have become an essential tool for AP reporters to gather news and share links to our published work	News tool	non specific	Newswork
The person or organization you're deriding may be one that an AP colleague is trying to develop as a source	News tools	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
breaking news, accuracy and newsgathering	Newsgathering	breaking news	Newswork
The content, therefore, represents us and NPR to the outside world ,Â as do our radio pieces and stories for NPR.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Social media offer useful tools for both gathering information and connecting readers with Globe and Mail reporting in a timely, convenient manner.	Newsgathering	non specific	Newswork
On social platforms, our reporters and editors can promote their work, provide real-time updates, harvest and curate information, cultivate sources, engage with readers and experiment with new forms of storytelling and voice	non specific	non specific	Newswork
It is an integral part of our journalistic processes, enabling journalists to collect information, promote our stories and engage with readers, and allowing audiences to provide instant feedback and take part in our journalism.	newswork	non specific	Newswork
Effective use of social media may also help build the profile of The Globe and Mail and the journalist.	newswork	Your brand	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

The Company encourages the use of social media as an effective way of promoting your work and the Company's publications and business activities.	newswork	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
In other words, don't act any differently online than you would in any other public setting.	Everything reflects the employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
In the spirit of using these guidelines as a framework of support, there may be alternative actions or ESPN forums to accomplish the overall goal of your intended tweet or social post.	Extra help	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
The need for care applies all the time, on all services, regardless of 'privacy,' settings, the intended audience, or if it's a 'direct,' or 'private,' message Posts on sites like Facebook, or Direct Messages on Twitter, that you may think are restricted can be easily and quickly shared with much wider audiences Assume anything you do or say can be seen by anyone	Fear of what journalists will say online	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Common sense should guide your behaviour on social media, as it should guide your behaviour on all occasions when you are associated with Sky News.	Use common sense	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
We strongly discourage the use of social media to air any form of internal disputes with colleagues or contributors, or with GNM.	No in-fighting online	professional conduct	Conduct and activity
This is a serious matter.	No in-fighting online	professional conduct	Conduct and activity
If a staff member attacks a colleague on social media, they may be subject to our disciplinary procedures.	No in-fighting online	professional conduct	Conduct and activity
Freelancers on contract who abuse colleagues may be in breach of their contracts, while occasional freelancers may see future opportunities with GNM impacted.	No in-fighting online	professional conduct	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

GNM does not require you to tweet or post on any social media platform.	no need to use social	Conduct and activity	emerging
You are not expected to have a presence or a following on social media.	no need to use social	Conduct and activity	emerging
In social media posts, our journalists must not express partisan opinions, promote political views, endorse candidates, make offensive comments or do anything else that undercuts The Times's journalistic reputation	no partisan comments	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Editorial staff should not state political preferences or compromise their impartiality	no politics	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Employees may not include political affiliations in their profiles	No political statements	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
Employees should not make any postings that express political views	No political statements	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Ä Editorial staff should not reveal their personal feelings or bias on current news topics	no politics	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
In social posts related to sports and entertainment, we must steer clear of trash-talking directed at teams, athletes and celebrities.	No trash talking	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We should also keep in mind that denouncing fellow users, newsmakers or anyone else can reflect badly on AP and may one day harm a colleague's ability to get important information from a source.	No trash talking	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
In social media posts related to sports and entertainment, employees can root for teams or make general comments about elements of popular culture such as movies, TV shows or music, but must refrain from insults or personal attacks directed at teams or individuals.	No trash talking	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

engaged in sports or entertainment coverage should not publicly show favor to or criticize specific teams or individuals within their area of coverage.	No trash talking	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
First, trash-talking about anyone (including a team, company or celebrity) reflects badly on staffers and the AP.	No trash talking	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
You should conduct yourself in social media forums with an eye to how your behavior or comments might appear if we were called upon to defend them as being appropriate behavior by a journalist.	your conduct	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Though social media account settings can imply privacy, nothing we say or post on social media or the internet can be considered truly private.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Finally, we acknowledge that nothing on the Web is truly private.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Be circumspect about your behavior, even when the exchange feels private or anonymous.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Even an email to a trusted recipient can be made public, with or without the recipient's knowledge or consent.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
We know that everything we write or receive on a social media site is public.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Anyone with access to the Web can potentially see what we're doing.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
And regardless of how careful we are in trying to keep them separate, our professional lives and our personal lives overlap when we're online.	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

We understand that what we say on platforms such as Snapchat, where things seem to disappear after a short time, may still exist in the service's database That's why we follow the same rules on those platforms as on all others We're as careful about what we say there as we are anywhere else	Nothing on the internet is truly private	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
This may affect perceptions of your objectivity	Objectivity	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We comply with applicable privacy policies, laws, rules and regulations and respect copyrights, trademarks, rights of publicity, and other third-party rights and agreements.	Observe social media platform rules	copyright	newswork
Do not post inappropriate or offensive material	offensive posts	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Do not be offensive, use bad language or language that could be perceived as offensive to a reasonable person	offensive posts	Opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
In cases where identifying the user is inappropriate but the content is still newsworthy, screenshots with the name and image blurred are fine.	Okay to blur content on user	Sourcing	Newswork
You must not post on social networks any information that could jeopardise the safety of the Company's staff	online safety	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Use the highest level of privacy tools available to control access to your personal activity when appropriate, but don't let that make you complacent.	online safety	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
It's just not that hard for someone to bypass those safeguards and make public what you thought was private	online safety	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
If a specific grave threat is made against any individual, this should be reported immediately to the line manager, the relevant communications manager, or to the Head of Communications.	online safety	Interactions	Audience

Women in particular are experiencing incidents of online harassment or abuse; in a recent UNESCO survey, nearly three quarters of female respondents said they have experienced online violence in connection with their work in the field of journalism.	Online violence	Interactions	Emerging
Controversy and personal opinions	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Ask yourself if you would be happy for senior editors or line managers to read your post.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
If not, don't post it.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The Guardian and the Observer are renowned for fair and accurate reporting, and being trusted matters.	non specific	non specific	Newswork
Editorial colleagues - particularly those working in news - should remain especially mindful of blurring fact and opinion when using social media.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Be aware that expressing partisan, party-political or strong opinions on social media can damage the Guardian's reputation for fair and fact-based reporting, and your own reputation as a journalist.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
GNM encourages open debate about issues that are important to our staff.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Ask their permission before writing about them	permission to write about colleagues	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
Section 2 Rule 3 above requires that you do not express a personal opinion on matters of public policy, politics, or 'controversial subjects' if your work requires you to maintain your impartiality, ie.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
if you are working in news and current affairs (across all Divisions) and factual journalism production or senior management.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Expressions of opinion on social media can take many forms ,Äi from straightforward tweets, posts or updates, sharing or liking content, following particular accounts or using campaigning or political hashtags.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
You should consider carefully every comment before posting.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
CAN I SHARE MY OPINIONS ON CBC/RADIO-CANADA PROGRAMMING, POLICIES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS?	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We love the passion you have working for the public broadcaster (we have it too!	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
) and we encourage you to share and engage on social media, as long as it is within the spirit of the Code of Conduct and does not go against your professional responsibilities.	Opinion	retweets	Conduct and activity
While columnists may express their opinions publicly on a topic, staff should be aware that anything published via social media ,Äi even private postings ,Äi can become public and associated with The Globe and Mail.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Editorial staff should be aware of the risks of libel, malice and bias and should remain temperate on public and political issues.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
While private views expressed through voting or with family and close friends are acceptable, political or partisan views which go beyond your public-facing role should not be expressed in public.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Keep your opinions to yourself.	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Of course, it's worth emphasizing again that just because our journalists can try new things on social media, that does not mean they have a license to veer into editorializing or opinion	Opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

„Ä Avoiding expressions of opinion on contentious issues, even in supposedly password protected conversations.	opinions	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
„Ä Avoiding expressions of opinion on contentious issues, even in supposedly password protected conversations	opinions	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Employees should not share opinionated material from others.	opinions	retweets	Conduct and activity
If an employee feels that sharing opinionated material is crucial for reporting purposes, they must add language that makes it clear they,'re simply reporting someone else,'s opinion.	opinions	retweets	Conduct and activity
All employees must be aware that the opinions they express may damage the Company's reputation as a source of news Employees often ask if they are free to comment in social media on matters like sports and entertainment The answer is yes, but there are some important things to keep in mind:	opinions	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
AP staff can also link to content from other media organizations, except if the material spreads rumors or is otherwise inappropriate.	Outside links	retweets	Conduct and activity
This applies to AP-related tweets or posts on personal accounts as well	over reach?	retweets	Conduct and activity
One of the distinguishing features of Reuters is the trust invested in the judgment of its journalists „Ä and we will continue to look to our journalists to use their common sense in dealing with these new challenges.	trust	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
That's why we continue to say: "Conduct yourself online just as you would in any other public circumstances as an NPR journalist.	You represent your employer	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
If you are joining these groups for reporting purposes, please take care in what you post	Partisan groups	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Are you exhibiting a pattern in your posts, likes or friends that could lead an average person to conclude that you can't be impartial?	patterns of bias	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity
These guidelines apply to everyone in every department of the newsroom, including those not involved in coverage of government and politics	people covered by guidelines	non specific	non specific
They are not intended to stop you from posting, tweeting, liking, and sharing. In fact, we encourage it.	Not intended to stop people	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
If you are unsure whether certain information has been publicly released, speak to your editor, line manager or the legal department	your conduct	Professional obligation and/or content	Conduct and activity
We encourage you to be an active participant of social media, but keep in mind that any reference made to your work, even within a personal context, is subject to the spirit of these guidelines, and the employee Code of Conduct.	Encourage staffers to be active	Professional tone and content	Accounts and profiles
Writers, reporters, producers and editors directly involved in "hard" news reporting, investigative or enterprise assignments and related coverage should refrain in any public-facing forum from taking positions on political or social issues, candidates or office holders.	No advocacy	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
AP employees must identify themselves in their profiles as being with the AP if they use the accounts for work in any way.	Personal accounts	Profiles	Accounts and profiles
Staff members can express themselves on social media but should consider a series of questions, below, before doing so.	Personal accounts	Opinion/commentary	Conduct and activity
Personal social media accounts are personal and we do not own them.	Personal accounts	Opinion/commentary	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

If your personal account has links and/or any connection to the Company then that account is bound by this policy.	Personal accounts	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
When using your own personal Facebook account or similar personal account remember that your "friends" will see whatever you have posted.	personal activity	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You are personally responsible for the content you publish on social networks	personal activity	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Updates from your Sky-linked social media accounts can reflect your personality and personal interests, to an extent.	personal activity	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
You should be guided by common sense and by the principles outlined above.	personal activity	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
If you regularly use social media to comment on areas of interest outside work or chat to your friends use a separate private account to do so	personal activity	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	emerging
The Social Media Guidelines are designed to advance the AP,'s brand and staffers,' personal brands on social networks.	Personal and org reputation	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
But always remember that if you are associated with GNM then everything you post, like or link to on social media - regardless of the platform - can easily become public and on the record, and may be seen as representing an official GNM position,	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
even if that is not your intention.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Your role working for GNM, in whatever capacity, comes with considerable responsibilities on social media.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
We recommend having one account per network that you use both personally and professionally.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

But social media easily blurs the line between the personal and professional, and the simplest misstep could lead you to undermine the credibility of yourself, your colleagues, and BBC News as a whole.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
This guidance will help you avoid that.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
It applies to everyone working for BBC News and across all services including but not limited to Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Instagram, Google+, Reddit, Pinterest and chat apps like WhatsApp, Line and Snapchat.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
There are three main kinds of social media activity we are concerned with: 1.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Your own personal social media use, not carried out in the name of BBC News, though it could well include work-related activity, like newsgathering or reaching out to contributors 2.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The social media activity of designated editors, presenters, correspondents or reporters carried out as part of official BBC News output 3.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Official social media activity in the name of our programmes, teams, or brands	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
A useful summary has always been and remains: 'Don't do anything stupid,'.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Considering you,'re on show to anyone who sees what you do on social media, another way of summarising it would be: ,ÄòYou,'re a BBC journalist, act like it	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
d) Do be aware that there is no difference between how a personal and an ,Äòofficial,' account is perceived on social media: disclaimers do not offer protection.	Personal and professional	disclaimers	accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

f) Do remember that your personal brand on social media is always secondary to your responsibility to the BBC.	Personal and professional	your brand	emerging
k) Do think how to signal that a post is a professional judgement, not a personal opinion, with caveats or links to context.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
All Globe and Mail staff members are personally responsible for the information they publish on Twitter, Facebook and other social-media platforms, including personal blogs.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
This goal must be balanced against the fact that staff members have rights and responsibilities as citizens.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The question is whether the proposed activity would tend to promote doubt about The Globe and Mail's impartiality in terms both of issues and politics.	Personal and professional	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
If you have a personal account and a work account you must differentiate between the two.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	accounts and profiles
For example, your work Twitter account could say: "I am News Editor on the Daily Express.	Personal and professional	Profiles	accounts and profiles
All views expressed are my own and not those of my employer," and your personal account could say: "This is my personal account and head to @[name] for Daily Express related tweets.	Personal and professional	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
The line between private and public activity has been blurred by these tools.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	accounts and profiles
Information from a Facebook page, blog entries and tweets ,Â even if they're intended to be personal messages to friends or family ,Â can be easily circulated beyond the intended audiences.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

Employees who don't need to engage with social media as part of their job have the option of not using the medium if they so choose. No AP employee is required to post content on social media. For example, some journalists may need to maintain a Twitter account to follow sources and stay on top of breaking news, but it is perfectly acceptable for that person to never tweet if they choose	emerging	emerging	emerging
If in their personal lives NPR journalists join online forums and social media sites, they may follow the conventions of those outlets and use screen names that do not identify who they are.	Personal and professional	Following/Friending/Liking	Conduct and activity
But we do not use information gathered from our interactions on such sites in our reports for NPR without identifying ourselves to those involved and seeking their permission to be quoted or cited.	Personal and professional	Transparency	Conduct and activity
If we get ideas for stories, we treat the information just as we would anything we see in the "real world" ,Â as a starting point that needs to be followed by open, honest reporting.	Personal and professional	Transparency	Conduct and activity
," We consider all social media activity by our journalists to come under this policy.	Personal and professional	non specific	non specific
While you may think that your Facebook page, Twitter feed, Instagram, Snapchat or other social media accounts are private zones, separate from your role at The Times, in fact everything we post or ,"like," online is to some degree public.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
And everything we do in public is likely to be associated with The Times	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

„The reality is that my Twitter account is a Times account The Times does not control it, but the Times is held accountable for what appears on my feed Indeed, the casual reader interprets my social accounts as an extension of our digital platforms, for good and ill I think all of us at the Times need to embrace this as the price of our employment by a major media institution (And in fairness, to the extent my Twitter account is influential or widely read, it is largely because I am employed by The Times	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
2 Hybrid Personal Accounts (Classification 3) This is a personal account that an on-air presenter, reporter or other RTÉ staff member/contractor also uses for work related matters.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Holders of such an account must comply with these guidelines when using a hybrid personal account for all use, including, without limitation, personal and professional use.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
RTÉ accepts that these accounts may be used legitimately in connection with RTÉ business, however the account remains the responsibility of the account owner.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
If RTÉ staff and contractors choose to use personal social media accounts for work purposes they should observe the following:	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You should identify yourself as an RTÉ employee or contractor in the profile/biography	Personal and professional	profile	Accounts and profiles
Staff with existing hybrid personal social media accounts should retrospectively inform their line manager if the account references „RTÉ,' in the account name.	Personal and professional	profile	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

If you wish to start using a hybrid personal social media account (Classification 3), discuss the potential risks and conflicts of interest with your line manager.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
3 Personal Accounts (Classification 4) A personal account (Classification 4) is a social media account set up by an employee or contractor of RTE for personal matters and contains minimal association between the user and RTE (example: a personal Facebook page).	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Nonetheless, these accounts, by nature of the owner,'s contractual association with RTE, are bound by these guidelines.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
RTE reserves the right to instruct RTE staff and contractors to do such acts as are necessary to transfer ownership of such content to RTE.	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
RTE reserves the right to instruct RTE staff and contractors to remove RTE-related content from their hybrid personal and/or personal social media accounts (Classifications 3 & 4)	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
RTE reserves the right to instruct RTE staff and contractors to remove content from hybrid personal and/or personal social media accounts which brings RTE into disrepute (Class 3 & Class 4).	Personal and professional	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You must never simply lift quotes, photos or video from social networking sites and attribute them to the name on the profile or feed where you found the material.	Plagiarism	Sourcing	Newswork
An AP staffer who reports and writes a story must use original content, language and phrasing.	plagiarizing	Plagiarism	Newswork
We do not plagiarize, meaning that we do not take the work of others and pass it off as our own.	plagiarizing	copyright	newswork

CODEBOOK

Distributed platforms will not always offer these tools for corrections, but we should strive for clarity and transparency in the spirit of these rules, given the options the platform makes available.	platforms aren't perfect instrument	Transparency	Newswork
d) Do not reveal how you vote or express support for any political party.	Politics	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
This is difficult to demonstrate in the social networks,' short forms and under the pressure of thinking-writing-posting in real time.	pressure of twitter	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
But maintaining this posture is critical to our credibility and reputation as journalists.	pressure of twitter	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
The tension is clear: Social networks encourage fast, constant, brief communications, journalism calls for communication preceded by fact-finding and thoughtful consideration.	pressure of twitter	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Journalism has many 'unsend' buttons, including editors.	pressure of twitter	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Social networks have none.	pressure of twitter	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
c) Even if you are posting in what appears to be a 'private,' group, or you have locked down your privacy settings on your accounts, do apply the same standards as if you were posting publicly.	Privacy	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Remember also that even if you restrict your privacy settings there is always a possibility of something being made public	Privacy	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You should also refrain from registering for partisan events on social media.	Partisan groups	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
g) Do not support campaigns, (eg. by using hashtags) no matter how apparently worthy the cause or how much their message appears to be accepted or uncontroversial.	Supporting things	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

News staffers are not permitted to donate money or volunteer time for political candidates or campaigns, or to participate in demonstrations.	Rules on political involvement	Promoting or supporting causes	Conduct and activity
Whenever possible, link to AP copy, where we have the space to represent all points of view	Link to org stories	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Privacy & Confidentiality: Be careful with details of your private life and the private life of others including without limitation the privacy of users on social networking sites; this can affect public perception.	privacy for users	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
That's true even if staffers restrict their pages to viewing only by friends	Privacy on social	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
We recommend customizing your privacy settings on Facebook to determine what you share and with whom	Privacy on social	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
However, as multitudes of people have learned all too well, virtually nothing is truly private on the Internet.	Privacy on social	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
It's all too easy for someone to copy material out of restricted pages and redirect it elsewhere for wider viewing	Privacy on social	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You should customise your privacy settings on social media sites to determine what you share and with whom.	Privacy on social	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Not officially identifying yourself as a CBC/Radio-Canada employee does not negate you from the employee Code of Conduct or any of its accompanying policies.	Private accounts are covered by the policy	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Regardless of how you present yourself on social media, you should act with integrity and with good judgment.	Private accounts are covered by the policy	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

Plus, others may associate you with CBC/Radio-Canada, so ensure how you are presented online is consistent with how you want to be presenting yourself to the public	Private accounts are covered by the policy	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Staffers should be aware that even in private settings on social media, information can become public.	Private setting	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
Profanity should be avoided.	Profanity	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
As we've said before: "We're professional communicators at a major news organization.	professional code	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
What we say and write in public reflects on NPR.	professional code	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
No matter what platform we're using or where we're appearing, we should live up to our own standards.	professional code	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Tweets and posts can be deleted by posters and their existence denied.	proof	verification	newswork
To counteract this, save the material in the form of a screen grab as evidence of its initial existence.	proof	verification	newswork
(Press Ctrl + Alt + Print Scrn, which copies the screen image; paste into Paint, which is on all Windows PCs, in the Accessories folder.	proof	verification	newswork
AP staff are encouraged to link to AP content in all formats.	Link to org stories	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Do not post links to inappropriate material	linking	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
As part of the public broadcaster, each of us is held to a higher standard and that includes how we interact with the public on all of our platforms.	Public broadcasters are held to higher standard	interactions	Audience
We commit to uphold the following in all of our engagement and we expect you to do the same on your personal social media:	Public broadcasters are held to higher standard	interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

m) Do not mistake social media networks as accurate reflections of public opinion; your audience is overwhelmingly elsewhere.	Public opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
As part of the public broadcaster, we are responsible for ensuring that what we post will not compromise CBC/Radio-Canada's integrity, impartiality, independence and reputation.	Public opinion	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
m) Do be careful with rebuttals ,Äi they can feed conflict.	Rebuttals	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
and should serve as an important reference as to how GNM expects employees to behave online.	reference	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
Similarly with Instagram, if you regram, make sure that you say so.	regram	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
However, you may reply to such tweets in order to seek further information,as long as you are careful to avoid repeating the questionabl,Äøe reports	replies	replies	Conduct and activity
And always remember, you represent NPR.	representing your employer	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
You have a responsibility to protect the reputation of the Guardian and Observer.	Reputation	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
You must write respectfully about the Company, its employees, partners and competitors	respect	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
We respect your intelligence, champion your creativity and trust your best judgment.	Respect for ESPN staff	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
All posted content must be consistent with ESPN's employee policies and Editorial Guidelines for Standards & Practices.	Respect for ESPN staff	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
We respect your right to express yourself, and do not wish to diminish your autonomy or individuality	Respect your rights as an individual	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
If you are associated with the Guardian or the Observer, either staff or freelance, and you have a large following on a platform, you have a particular responsibility.	Responsibility to employer	professional obligation	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Your behaviour, more than most, will reflect on GNM and may have a disproportionate impact on those you engage with on social platforms.	Responsibility to employer	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Re-tweeting can be seen as endorsement of the original tweet.	retweet	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
However, you can re-tweet opinionated material if you make clear you are simply reporting it, much as you would quote it in a story. Introductory words help make the distinction	retweet	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
You should never re-tweet any content that we would not be prepared to put on any of our platforms.	retweet	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
If we retweet or otherwise share opinionated material by others, we should add language that makes it clear that we're simply reporting someone else's opinions.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Retweets, like tweets, should not be written in a way that looks like you're expressing a personal opinion on the issues of the day.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
A retweet with no comment of your own can easily be seen as a sign of approval of what you're relaying	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Examples of retweets that can cause problems: RT @jonescampaign: Smith's policies would destroy our schools.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
RT @jonescampaign: Smith's policies would destroy our schools.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
RT @dailyeuropean: At last, a euro plan that works.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
These kinds of unadorned retweets must be avoided	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
However, we can judiciously retweet opinionated material if we make clear we're simply reporting it, much as we would quote it in a story.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Introductory words help make the distinction	Retweets	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
Jones campaign now denouncing Smith on education.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Big European paper praises euro plan.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
RT @dailyeuropean: At last, a euro plan that works	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Staffers should steer clear of retweeting rumors and hearsay.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
They can, however, feel free to reply to such tweets in order to seek further information, as long as they're careful to avoid repeating the questionable reports	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Staff are welcome to retweet and share material posted by official APbranded accounts on social networking sites (e.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
@AP or an AP Facebook or Google Plus page).	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Sharing or retweeting material from other people is part of what social media is all about - but consider that it can give the appearance of endorsement by you or the BBC, so context might well be needed.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
If we are retweeting information, it's because we think it's of value.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
We know that doing this can make it look like NPR is vouching for what's been said.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
That's why we use the quote tweet" function to say more, add context and make clear that we're pointing to something that's been posted by another person or news outlet.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Keep this in mind: A retweet may be seen as an endorsement, don't assume it's not going to be viewed that way	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Many experts believe this protection would extend to retweets.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Citizen Media Law Project co-founder David Ardia put it this way in a Poynter.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
org story: So if a journalist or news organization were to retweet a defamatory statement, they would not be held accountable.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
If, however, they added a defamatory remark as part of the retweet, they could be	Retweets	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
So, in theory NPR would be protected if someone retweets a post that says something defamatory or inaccurate about someone.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
But be careful about adding comments that would make the message your own and destroy immunity.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Be aware that a re-tweet could be perceived as an endorsement.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Consider adding context to your re-tweets.	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
If you re-tweet a statement that is defamatory then action could be taken against you as well as the original tweet	Retweets	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
These cautions apply even if you say on your Twitter profile that retweets do not constitute endorsements.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Many people who see your tweets and retweets will never look at your Twitter bio	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
If you re-tweet someone else's tweet, make sure that it is clear that this is a re-tweet.	Retweets disclaimers	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Journalists should avoid re-tweeting rumours and hearsay.	Retweets disclaimers	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Employees are welcome to re-tweet and share material posted by official Company branded accounts on social networking sites (eg Facebook or Google + page)	Retweets disclaimers	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
You should include language to indicate that shared links, retweets, etc.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
, do not constitute endorsements	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Hybrid Personal Accounts (Class 3) should contain the disclaimer: „The views expressed are my own and do not express the views of RTE	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
This disclaimer should be displayed in the interests of transparency and maintaining trust with the public.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Its purpose is to alert online users to the personal nature of the account.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
However, note that it does not serve as protection and staff and contractors are liable for their accounts and are bound by these guidelines.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
RTE could also be vicariously liable for acts of its employees.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Humorous or arch phrasing of this disclaimer is not appropriate.	Retweets disclaimers	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Remember, CBC/Radio-Canada brands, logos and trademarks can only be associated with social pages and accounts.	Rules on official accounts	use of logos	accounts and profiles
When in doubt, ask	Rules on official accounts	disclaimers	accounts and profiles
Any work related Twitter account username should contain the word „Sky,	Rules on official accounts	profiles	accounts and profiles
On matters of company policy no member of staff is authorised to speak on behalf of Sky News without permission from the Head of Sky News	Rules on official accounts	profiles	accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

Staffers should link to content that has been published online, rather than directly uploading or copying and pasting the material	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
⌘ Not disseminating rumors and unconfirmed reports	rumours	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
⌘ Could your post endanger one of your colleagues or compromise their ability to work?	safety	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Be aware that sharing personal information can carry risks for all staff, not only public figures such as journalists.	Safety in posting	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Save any web pages or links used in the course of researching a story.	save material	Verification	newswork
Exclusive material and important tips should not be shared online before the related story has been published.	Scoops breaking news	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
⌘ Exclusive material: AP news services must have the opportunity to publish exclusive text, photo and video material before it appears on social networks.	Scoops breaking news	Breaking news	Newswork
Once that material has been published, staffers are welcome to tweet and post a link to it on AP or subscriber platforms	Scoops breaking news	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
However, when major news breaks, a staffer's first obligation is to provide full details to the appropriate news desk for use in AP services if the desk isn't tuned in already.	Scoops breaking news	Breaking news	newswork
After providing this information and handling any other immediate AP work, the staffer is then free to tweet or post information about the news development	Scoops breaking news	Breaking news	newswork
When a newsmaker breaks significant news on a social network, a staffer who sees this should report it to the appropriate AP news desk and do any related reporting work asked of him or her.	Scoops breaking news	Breaking news	newswork

CODEBOOK

The staffer can then feel free to retweet or share the original tweet or post, if the newsmaker account is judged to be authentic.	Scoops breaking news	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
When in doubt about a post, tweet or other action on social networks, we must enlist a second pair of eyes, even at the cost of some delay.	second pair of eyes	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Employees must not post any information that might endanger a colleague, and shouldn't post about a The Associated Press missing or detained AP staffer without clearance from senior AP	Security	confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Beware revealing information that may risk the safety of you or your colleagues.	Security	confidentiality	Conduct and activity
If you're deployed to sensitive or dangerous places, switch off functionality on electronic devices and social media services that reveal your location.	Security	safety	newswork
You are strongly encouraged to seek advice from a trusted colleague or supervisor before tweeting or posting something that may conflict with our guidelines and damage your reputation.	Seek advice before tweeting	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Second, if you or your department covers a subject ,Â or you supervise people who do ,Â you have a special obligation to be even-handed in your tweets.	Self-interest	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
At ESPN, we have a shared responsibility to one another that accompanies the benefits we collectively and individually enjoy.	Shared responsibility	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Staffers are encouraged to share AP content in all formats to social platforms.	sharing	retweeting/ sharing	Conduct and activity
We should do so by using the ,Ûshare,Û buttons on apps, browsers and sites that cause an item to be posted, or by posting a link to the content.	sharing	retweeting/ sharing	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

We should not manually upload or copy and paste published photos, videos or the full text of published stories into social accounts.	sharing	copyright	newswork
Staffers should not upload directly to social networks images they captured that closely resemble those the AP is publishing.	sharing	copyright	newswork
Staffers may share content from other news organizations, but we should be mindful of potential competitive issues and refrain from sharing unconfirmed material.	sharing	copyright	newswork
Staffers may share content from other news organizations but should be mindful of potential competitive issues and refrain from sharing unconfirmed material.	sharing	copyright	newswork
AP staffers may wish to share their work on their personal websites and blogs.	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Staffers may post a sampling of their text stories, photos, videos or interactives once they have been published by AP.	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
When highlighting their work on social networks or other sites and services that are focused on the sharing of content among users, staffers must link to the content rather than uploading it directly.	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
The material must be clearly identified as content from the relevant publication	sharing work	copyright	newswork
Non-AP content created by AP staffers, such as personal photos, videos and writings, can be shared on personal websites, blogs and social networks.	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
If you are linking to other sources, aim to reflect a diverse collection of viewpoints.	Linking rules	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
k) Do not link to anything you haven't read fully.	Links	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Staffers working in a hostile or otherwise sensitive environment should be mindful of security issues, as well as the impact on AP,'s ability to gather the news, when deciding what personal content to share online	Newsgathering	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Sharing a range of news, opinions or satire from others is usually appropriate.	sharing	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
As Canada,'s public broadcaster, sharing information and encouraging conversations is part of why we exist.	Sharing is what we do	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Multiple approaches by BBC News to the same person should be avoided.	Sourcing	sourcing	newswork
AP staffers must be aware that opinions they express may damage the AP,'s reputation as an unbiased source of news.	Staff opinions	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
AP employees must refrain from declaring their views on contentious public issues in any public forum and must not take part in organized action in support of causes or movements	Staff opinions	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Sometimes AP staffers ask if they,'re free to comment in social media on matters like sports and entertainment.	Staff opinions	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
The answer is yes, but there are some important things to keep in mind:	Staff opinions	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
Employees should be mindful that any opinions or personal information they disclose about themselves or colleagues may be linked to the AP's name.	Staff opinions	opinion commentary	Conduct and activity
A note about the safety of AP staff: Staffers must not post on social networks any information that could jeopardize the safety of AP staff ,Â for example, the exact location of staffers reporting from a place where journalists may be kidnapped or attacked.	Staff safety	confidentiality	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

This also applies to reports of the arrest or disappearance of staffers.	Staff safety	confidentiality	Conduct and activity
In some cases, publicity may in fact help a staffer, but this determination must be made by AP managers handling the situation	Staff safety	confidentiality	Conduct and activity
Journalists are encouraged to share work on their personal websites and blogs, Journalists may post a sampling of their text stories, photos, videos or inter-actives once they have been published by the Company as long as you comply with the following:- ,Äç	sharing work	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
When sharing your work, you must link to the content rather than uploading it directly	sharing work	Retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Non-work related content created by the Company's employees, such as personal photos, videos and writings, should only be shared on personal websites, blogs and social networks.	sharing work	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Staying safe online - responding to abuse and harassment and where to get support Controversy and personal opinions	staying safe	interactions	Audience
If you experience abuse on social media we are here to support you.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
We recognise that journalists and other GNM employees can experience online harassment or abuse as a direct result of their work with us, or simply for working at the Guardian, and that these can cause serious harm, both personally and professionally.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
If you are receiving abuse in any form on social media please make sure you are safe.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
If someone is in immediate danger dial 999 (UK), 911 (US) or 000/112 (Australia).	staying safe	interactions	Audience

We support employees,' right to block or mute accounts which are abusive, offensive, discourteous, threatening, or provocative.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
It is quick and easy to lock your account, block problematic followers, and to take a break from social media.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
You may also want to use Twitter,'s conversation settings which provide advice on how to block and mute replies as well as further information about effective management of online conversations.	staying safe	Hostile audience	Audience
In the first instance please talk to your editor or manager about any concerns.	staying safe	Hostile audience	Audience
„Ä If you feel at all threatened or overwhelmed by other users on social media, we have information and support in place to help you.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
If you are the subject of continued or co-ordinated attacks, please take a break from social media and talk to your editor or manager.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
We strongly recommend you take a break from social media when you,'re not working.	staying safe	interactions	Audience
„Ä You can also access the Guardian,'s Employee Assistance Programme (EAP).	staying safe	interactions	Audience
„Ä If you do use social media we advise that you take regular breaks from the platforms.	staying safe	professional obligation	emerging
If you feel your use of social media is affecting your wellbeing, please talk to your editor or manager and take a look at the support we have available.	staying safe	professional obligation	emerging
„Ä If you are a manager or editor and are unsure how to support a member of your team who is suffering online abuse or harassment, please read the managers,' guidelines document for more information.	staying safe	interactions	Audience

CODEBOOK

All employees should read our staying safe online guidance, particularly if they use social media.	staying safe online	interactions	Audience
If you experience online abuse or harassment please talk to your manager/editor.	staying safe online	interactions	Audience
Staying safe online - responding to abuse and harassment and where to get support	staying safe online	interactions	Audience
Neither should behaviour that is likely to put young people at foreseeable risk or harm be tolerated.	staying safe online	interactions	Audience
We expect managers and editors to support their staff and also to help make sure these guidelines are followed and applied consistently.	support and enforcement	interactions	Audience
Sharing our colleagues' work is encouraged.	sharing work	retweets or otherwise sharing information	Conduct and activity
Other content: Other material you have gathered may be shared on social networks.	Cutting room content	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
Consider the implications of each post you make on social media sites/services, people will be able to see what you post for a long time.	Think about what you post	opinion/commentary	Conduct and activity
What is your objective in posting your content and is social media the proper forum?	Think before you post	opinion/commentary	Conduct and activity
Would you feel comfortable with someone surfacing your content and sharing it widely?	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Would you say the same thing in an AP story?	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Use common sense and think before you post.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
It's always worth waiting a while before deciding to post something.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Don't post late at night or if you're angry, unsure or upset.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Put down your phone.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

Think carefully before you quote-tweet.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Tone is important.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Think twice before posting private or personal information, which could be used against you in the future.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
A helpful rule: If you wouldn't say it on live radio or television, reconsider posting it on social media.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Simply put, don't engage in activity that could compromise your ability to do your job.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Think before you tweet, post or otherwise engage on social platforms.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Simple rule: If you wouldn't say it on the air or write it in a column, don't post it on any social network.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
This also applies to re-tweets and other social shares	Think before you post	retweets	Conduct and activity
At all times, exercise discretion, thoughtfulness and respect for colleagues, business associates, the subjects you are writing about, competitors and fans.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
The presentation should be thoughtful and respectful.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Do not post partisan, defamatory or clearly false material.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
You must not post personal attacks and should conduct yourself in a professional and respectful manner.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Staff should be aware that passing along information, through links or otherwise, could be seen as approval or endorsement of that information by The Globe and Mail.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Care should be taken.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity

CODEBOOK

This means content that would not be considered for publication should not be posted.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Assume your post/tweet/comment will be seen by the target of your comment The person or organisation you are deriding may be one that the Company is trying to develop as a partner	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Don't be careless.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
If you don't know whether a social media post conforms to Times standards, ask yourself these questions: 1.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
„Ä Before you post, ask yourself: Is this something that needs to be said, is it something that needs to be said by you, and is it something that needs to be said by you right now?	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
If you answer no to any of the three, it's best not to rush ahead	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
„Ä As always, if you are unsure, please consult with your supervisor or other newsroom leaders about your social media practices	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
In framing this advice we've borne in mind the following principles and encourage you to think about them whenever using social media.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Social networks also raise important questions for us, especially when we are using them to transmit rather than receive.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
The issues around what we can and cannot say there are a subject of constant conversation among us, so as this is not our first word on the subject, it will not be the last.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity

The online world is as full of pitfalls as it was when the Handbook was issued, but the issues are more familiar now, so it makes sense to simplify the guidelines.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
In other words, be careful.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
But before you tweet or post, consider how what you're doing will reflect on your professionalism and our collective reputation.	Think before you post	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
ESPN is a journalistic organization (not a political or advocacy organization).	This is journalism not advocacy	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
I) Do use separate posts on public issues rather than join threads started by others.	Threads	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Your posts about news events and issues require careful thought and editorial discipline.	Tone	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Tone and intent are critical.	Tone	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Words that cut when used in anger may spark laughs in other contexts ,Äi especially when poking fun at ourselves.	Tone	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
,Äç Transparently correcting errors on all platforms on which the erroneous material was distributed	Transparency	corrections	newswork
Transparency is key.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
Editorial colleagues should always identify themselves as journalists when seeking information on social media for a story.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
Make sure you declare any personal interests and be clear about your affiliations.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
Be honest about your intent when reporting.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
They are also useful transparency tools ,Äi allowing us to open up our reporting and editing processes when appropriate.	Transparency	transparency	newswork

CODEBOOK

One key is to be transparent about what we're doing We tell readers what has and hasn't been confirmed.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
Always make clear to listeners and readers what has been obtained from our original reporting and what we've found posted in social media outlets.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
If as part of our work we are doing anything on social media or other online forums, we do not hide the fact that we work for NPR.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
We do not use pseudonyms when doing such work.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
Be transparent.	Transparency	transparency	newswork
If a story originates online from a social media or source, it should be attributed as such	Transparency	copyright	newswork
You must always act with extreme care when contemplating placing such personal information on a social media site	treat people well	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
This extends to the information we tweet, retweet, blog, tumble or share in any other way on social media.	trust	retweets	Conduct and activity
And that's why we don't simply pass along information ,Ä even via something as seemingly innocent as a retweet ,Ä if we doubt the credibility of the source or news outlet.	trust	retweetes	Conduct and activity
We push for confirmation.	trust	sourcing	newswork
We look for other sources.	trust	sourcing	newswork
We reach out to those closer to the story.	trust	sourcing	newswork
This includes material we commonly refer to as ,Äcutting room floor,Ä content ,Ä material that is not needed for a specific AP product	Cutting room content	Retweets/sharing information	Conduct and activity
CAN I PUT A CBC/RADIO-CANADA LOGO ON MY SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNT?	Use of official logos	Use of official logos etc	Accounts and profiles
We must never encourage people to take risks on our behalf, for example to take pictures or video of a news event.	UGC	sourcing	newswork

CODEBOOK

e) Always being polite to potential contributors is a given, but also bear in mind they may be feeling vulnerable or distressed.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
It's normally best to move such conversations to private channels (such as direct or instant messaging, or email) as quickly as possible.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
Consider that public approaches may give credence to rumour or hoaxes.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
d) It's fine to approach potential contributors on social media from either BBC branded or personal accounts, although in some situations the latter might be inappropriate if drawing attention to your social media presence exposes you to potential risk.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
We may also invite our audience to assist in our efforts to monitor and verify what's being reported on social media.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
Such crowdsourcing does not determine what NPR journalists report, but it does add to our knowledge.	UGC	sourcing	newswork
The team can be reached via email (look for "homepageeditors" in the NPR internal email address book).	UGC	sourcing	newswork
Because the social media landscape is constantly changing, there will surely be more updates in coming years.	updates to guidelines	non specific	non specific
The posts already there include:	updates to guidelines	non specific	non specific
This material is generally for the benefit of friends and acquaintances and the uploader retains ownership of such material.	privacy for users	User privacy	Audience
CBC/Radio-Canada brands, logos, and trademarks, including services and programs, cannot be associated with personal accounts.	Use of official logos	use of logos	Accounts and profiles

CODEBOOK

You must not use the Company's logos without express permission from your editor or line manager	Use of official logos	use of logos	Accounts and profiles
If you are using your personal accounts for work, you must seek express permission from your editor or line manager to do so and you must identify yourself in your profile as being from your respective publication	Use of official logos	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
You should use a personal image and not the RTÉ logo	Use of official logos	use of logos	Accounts and profiles
You must always use your real name and be clear about who you are and who you work for	use your real name	profiles	Accounts and profiles
(Such material should not be used without the consent of its owner.	privacy for users	User privacy	Audience
We value the reputation you have helped us build, and preserving it is vital to our business.	Value ESPN staff	non specific	non specific
Policies and best practices on verifying accounts are outlined in more detail below	Verification	verification	newswork
It can be difficult to verify the identity of sources found on social networks.	Verification	verification	newswork
Sources discovered there should be vetted in the same way as those found by any other means.	Verification	verification	newswork
If a source you encounter on a social network claims to be an official from a company, organization or government agency, call the place of business to confirm the identity, just as you would if a source called on the phone	Verification	verification	newswork
Use particular caution if you find a social networking account that appears to belong to a person who is central to a story, especially if you can't get confirmation from that person.	Verification	verification	newswork
Fake accounts are rampant in the social media world and can appear online within minutes of a new name appearing in the news.	Verification	verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Examine the details to determine whether the page could have just as easily been created by somebody else.	Verification	verification	newswork
Many athletes, celebrities and politicians have verified Twitter accounts, identified by a white-on-blue check mark on the profile page, which means Twitter has determined that the account really does belong to that person.	Verification	verification	newswork
The same goes for verified Google Plus pages, which have a check mark ,Äî we need to verify the page through our own reporting	Verification	verification	newswork
Also, before you quote from newsmaker,'s tweets or posts, confirm who is managing the account.	Verification	verification	newswork
Is it the famous person? His or her handlers? A combination?	Verification	verification	newswork
Knowing the source of the information will help you determine just how newsworthy the tweet or post is and how to characterize it	Verification	verification	newswork
To include photos, videos or other multimedia content from social networks in our news report, we must determine who controls the copyright to the material and get permission from that person or organization to use it.	Verification	Copyright	newswork
Any exceptions must be discussed with the Nerve Center and Legal.	Verification	Copyright	newswork
The authenticity of the content also needs to be verified to AP,'s standards	Verification	Copyright	newswork
Most social media sites offer a way to send a message to a user, use this to establish direct contact, over email or by phone, so you can get more detailed information about the source	Verification	verification	newswork
Alongside or as part of checking for authenticity, permission to use must be sought.	Verification	Verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Bear in mind the copyright holder probably won't be the person shown in the content and may not be the person who took it, or distributed it.	Verification	Verification	newswork
It can be difficult to verify the identity of sources found on social networks.	Verification	Verification	newswork
If a source you encounter on a social network claims to be an official source from a company, organisation or government agency, call the place of business to confirm the identity, just as you would if a source called on the phone	Verification	Verification	newswork
Most social media sites offer a way to send a message to a user, use this to establish direct contact, over email or by phone, so you can get more detailed information about the source.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Always make every effort to make contact	Verification	Verification	newswork
Use particular caution if you find a social networking account that appears to belong to a person who is central to a story, especially if you are unable to get confirmation from that person.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Examine the details to determine whether the page could have just as easily been created by somebody else	Verification	Verification	newswork
However, Twitter's verification process has been fooled, meaning you should still do your own checking.	Verification	Verification	newswork
The authenticity of the content also needs to be verified	Verification	Verification	newswork
When we point to what others are saying, in the eyes of many we are effectively reporting that information ourselves.	Verification	Verification	newswork
This is true whether the platform is an official NPR social media account or a post to an NPR journalist's personal account.	Verification	Verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Reporting about what's being posted on social media can give our listeners and readers valuable insights into the day's news We encourage you to do it, with these guidelines in mind	Verification	retweetes	Conduct and activity
We raise doubts and ask questions when we have concerns ,Â sometimes "knocking down" rumors is of enormous value to our readers.	Verification	verification	newswork
And we always ask an important question: are we about to spread a thinly-sourced rumor or are we passing on valuable and credible (even if unverified) information in a transparent manner with appropriate caveats?	Verification	verification	newswork
And to the greatest practical extent, spell out how the information was checked and why we consider the sources credible.	Verification	verification	newswork
Tonal or contextual nuances can be lost in online exchanges.	Verification	verification	newswork
So when appropriate, clarify and confirm information collected online through phone and in-person interviews.	Verification	verification	newswork
For example, when a social media posting is itself news, contact the source to confirm the origin of the information and attain a better understanding of its meaning.	Verification	Verification	newswork
We must try to be as sophisticated in our use of social media as our audience and users are.	Verification	Verification	newswork
The Engagement Team is a key asset in this effort.	Verification	Verification	newswork
In considering whether to use photos and video that are being posted online by individuals, do your best to verify their accuracy and when in doubt, do not publish them.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Images can be manipulated.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Old video can be reposted and made to appear as if it's new.	Verification	Verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Photos or video taken in one part of the world can be repackaged and portrayed as being from somewhere else.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Again, when in doubt, leave them out.	Verification	Verification	newswork
As with all information, bring a healthy skepticism to images you encounter, starting from the assumption that all such images or video are not authentic.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Then, with guidance from NPR's Multimedia and Engagement Teams (and if legal issues are involved, NPR's Legal team as well), work through a series of questions, including: When was it posted?	Verification	Verification	newswork
Do the images or video match what has been distributed by professionals (wire services, news networks, etc.	Verification	Verification	newswork
Is it original work or copies of what others have done?	Verification	Verification	newswork
„Ä Not disseminating rumors and unconfirmed reports, and attributing information.	verifications	Verification	newswork
„Ä Carefully verifying information and content before it is distributed.	verifications	Verification	newswork
„Ä Carefully verifying and attributing information and content before it is distributed	verifications	Verification	newswork
Verify information before passing it along.	verifications	verification	newswork
Can You Use It?	verifications	verification	newswork
Always check the terms and conditions of the relevant social media platform, for example: Facebook „Ä uploaded content remains the property of the person who uploaded it.	verifications	Verification	newswork
1 Information Gathering and Source Material Care should be taken when using material emanating from social media sites and streams.	verifications	Verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Treat source information as you would information from any other source.	verifications	Verification	newswork
There is never any presumption of accuracy until the information is checked and verified.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Principles and Practices Accuracy: Can you independently verify this information as accurate?	verifications	Verification	newswork
If not, don't use it.	verifications	Verification	newswork
: Material on websites may not necessarily produce content that complies with Irish law relating to defamation, privacy or contempt.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Ensure all relevant clearances are obtained prior to publication e.	verifications	Verification	newswork
In the case of Twitter, look at the number of tweets sent by the relevant account.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Examining the number of tweets and their content will give a good idea regarding the veracity of the account.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Some campaigning and activist sites mimic the domain names and lay-outs of official sources for the purposes of satire or misinformation.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Online searches should be carried out to ensure that a social media account on Twitter or Facebook is unique.	verifications	Verification	newswork
If there are two accounts purporting to be from the same user, there is a strong possibility that at least one of the accounts is a fake	verifications	Verification	newswork
You should perform thorough provenance checks before using material from websites or social media streams.	verifications	Verification	newswork

CODEBOOK

Check the 'About Us,' section on websites, for instance, or the IP search engines (http://who.is/ or similar tools provide domain information such as domain registrar, status, administrative and technical contact information for the owner of any domain name, IP and IP location information).	verifications	Verification	newswork
Twitter accounts that have considerably fewer followers than are being followed should be treated with extra caution	verifications	Verification	newswork
As with any medium, hidden commercial or political agendas can shape social media content.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Checking links from a website can often reveal political or commercial affiliations.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Out of Date Information: Even trustworthy sources can contain pages that are not updated.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Always use recognised sources to corroborate that information found online is current.	verifications	Verification	newswork
Journalists and all GNM staff should know how to protect themselves and how the company can support them if they are the target of online harassment or abuse.	Victim resources	interactions	Audience
It's important to keep in mind that the terms of service of a social media site apply to what we post there and to the information we gather from it Also: The terms might allow for our material to be used in a different way than intended Additionally, law enforcement officials may be able to obtain our reporting on these sites by subpoena without our consent , or perhaps even our knowledge Social media are a vital reporting resource for us, but we must be vigilant about keeping work that may be sensitive in our own hands	vigilance	legal concerns	newswork

CODEBOOK

We respect your right to share your views on issues you are passionate about, as long as you aren't going against the spirit of the Code of Conduct or your professional responsibility.	We respect your right to debate	opinions	Conduct and activity
WHAT IF MY SOCIAL MEDIA ACCOUNT IS PRIVATE?	What if my account is private?	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
CAN I POST WHATEVER I WANT?	What if my account is private?	Personal/Professional Accounts (includes private accounts)	Accounts and profiles
In all those contexts, reporters should avoid saying things they wouldn't say in a news article or broadcast, that is, statements they can't back with reporting.	What not to say	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
When in doubt, talk to colleagues, your editor or your supervisor.	when in doubt	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
There are two cases in which deletions may be necessary: First, on some distributed platforms, editing content is not an option, in which case content may be deleted and in some cases edited and reposted, with an explanation on that platform in either case.	Why deletions might be necessary	Corrections	newswork
This policy does not form part of any employee's contract of employment and we may amend it at any time	work contract	non specific	non specific
All postings must be consistent with the terms and conditions of your contract of employment and with this policy.	work contract	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
We sometimes want to write about NPR on social media.	writing about your employer	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
Pointing to NPR's coverage of news events is of course perfectly fine.	writing about your employer	professional obligation	Conduct and activity
We are accountable for our actions on- and offline.	You are accountable	opinions/commentary	Conduct and activity
These guidelines complement and reinforce corporate policies on privacy, security, Code of Conduct and ethics, including:	You are accountable	non specific	non specific

CODEBOOK

) A balance needs to be struck between appropriate use of material that an individual may have unthinkingly put in the public domain and respect for their privacy even if they have become part of a news story.	privacy for users	user privacy	Audience
The objective of this policy is to make you aware of your responsibilities when using social media, either personally or on behalf of the Company, so that you can use it safely. This policy will affect those within the corporate business of the Company in different ways for example, a journalist with OK! or Express Newspapers, as opposed to an employee who works solely in the accounts or sales department. Everyone needs to read this policy carefully.	your conduct	non specific	non specific
This policy not only encompasses social media sites such as Twitter, Facebook, Tumblr, Pinterest and Instagram but also the comments sections of the websites of publications of the Company, for example OK! , Daily Star and Daily Express.	your conduct	non specific	non specific
If in doubt about whether to use material consult your line manager.	privacy for users	user privacy	Audience
You must not publish photographs where the subjects have a reasonable expectation of privacy if you are unsure, speak to the legal department	protect others' privacy	user privacy	Audience
Huge numbers of individuals post material "including pictures, audio and video" which may reveal information about themselves.	protect others' privacy	user privacy	Audience