LSE Media and Communications

Media@LSE MSc Dissertation Series

Editors: Bart Cammaerts and Lisa Derand

A Duality of Shifting Values in Journalism

'Responsible Capitalism' and Public Service Mission – An Analysis of the News Trade Press

Hanna Siemaszko

Published by Media@LSE, London School of Economics and Political Science ("LSE"), Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE. The LSE is a School of the University of London. It is a Charity and is incorporated in England as a company limited by guarantee under the Companies Act (Reg number 70527).

ABSTRACT

A duality of values in journalism has been present since the commercialization of the press in the 1800s: news for profit and news as a public service (Coddington, 2015; Pickard, 2019). This tension of values, however, grew more acute during the transition to digital (Scott, 2005). While the clash between enterprise and public service in news has been discussed in empirical studies (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc & Thomas, 2015; Nelson and Tandoc, 2019) and sociological texts (Scott, 2005; Coddington, 2015; Pickard, 2019), what is addressed in this study is the examination of this duality of news values over time in discourse, taking into account the shifting economic and sociotechnical conditions of the newsroom. This research seeks to close another gap in communication scholarship, or the study of journalism industry texts through the lens of social constructivism, as the only major analysis of note on news trade publications assumes a critical realist perspective. Thus, a critical discourse analysis, bolstered by a thematic analysis, is performed on said texts, evaluating the differences in discourse between pre-digital and digital articles.

From this analysis, two newsroom ideologies are defined. Borrowing from Gans (1979), reponsible capitalism 1 and responsible capitalism 2 appear to be the guiding ideologies of the newsroom, which either see the public service mission as married to the profit imperative (1) or severed, assuming the pursuit of profit should be prioritized so that the public service mission can be pursued after (2); which definition is emphasized in the rhetoric is dependent on the economic and sociotechnical conditions in which the newsroom is situated. Thus, the analysis reveals a marked shift in the discourse surrounding this duality of values from pre-digital to digital texts. The utility of these trade texts is indespensable as the discourse gives us a glimpse into the ideological positions of the newsroom and can be, therefore, indicative of news values over time; they should furthermore be considered as vehicles for future study in journalism.

A Duality of Shifting Values in Journalism

Hanna Siemaszko

INTRODUCTION

Schudson has described journalism as having a 'cultural air'; this 'cultural air' has both 'form' and 'content' (1989: 278). The 'form' includes the factors which shape the presentation of news, such as narrative or linguistic choices, among others; the 'content' includes the presumed values of journalism, reflected in the news produced (Schudson, 1989: 278). One notable value, according to Gans, and cited by Schudson (1989), in pre-digital American news[1] is 'responsible capitalism' (1979: 46). Assuming a social constructivist perspective, content is socially contingent (Hershberg, 2014); journalistic content is shaped by its producers and the institutions from whence it came. Therefore, 'responsible capitalism' can be assumed as an ideology of the newsroom, the producers, and further, the society in which the newsrooms and the producers reside. Also foundational to the traditional values of journalism is the notion of journalism as a public good for the public good (McChesney, 2000; Pickard, 2019). According to McChesney, in journalism there is this 'notion of public service' and there should exist 'some motive for media other than profit' (2000: 77). This marks a tension in news-making: news as a commodity and news as a public service. The tension between commercial news and news for public service has been well documented in both empirical studies (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc & Thomas, 2015; Nelson and Tandoc, 2019) and sociological texts (Scott, 2005; Coddington, 2015; Pickard, 2019); what is lacking in the literature is an empirical evaluation of this duality of news values over time in discourse, considering both shifting economic and sociotechnical perspectives in the newsroom. The proposed texts of study, however, pays tribute to another gap in communication scholarship, or the study of journalism industry texts.

'[T]rade publications are spaces where industry professionals negotiate their norms, values, and beliefs' (Corrigan, 2018: 2755). A dilemma has arisen in that the primary mission of the

[1] I am solely discussing US journalism and news publications; for brevity, I will refer to these terms as 'news' or 'journalism' furthermore.

trade press is to report on the industry and, in some cases, act as a support to working professionals (see Appendix B). One scholar who has researched trade publications, Corrigan, describes the primary difference between industry publications and other periodicals as 'their editorial fare and their target audiences' (2018: 2755). Thus, a crucial gap has emerged in media studies, as these publications are essential to reporting on and reflecting the existing trends, technological changes, and successes or failures in news-making over the past 75 plus years – these texts are also understudied. These publications are essential to understanding trends in journalism; this is evident in industry press coverage of ethics and trade best practices (Corrigan, 2018). Corrigan, citing Turow (1997), elaborates on this point further, explaining that 'professional ideologies run throughout the trade press, including attitudes toward technology and consumers, and understandings of 'good work' (2018: 2755). What defines success and failure, therefore, is indicative of the values of the newsroom. Thus, this paper examines articles evaluating the successes and failures in journalism as an indicator of the values of journalism at a given time.

The aim of this dissertation is, therefore, threefold: a) this is a preliminary examination of understudied texts – that of the news press – proving their utility, with prompts for future study; b) investigating evidence from discourse in said publications on the changing values described in academic literature, reflecting the economic and sociotechnical transitions in society; c) highlighting the effects of the transition to digital on this duality of values in news.

THEORETICAL CHAPTER

Industry publications

Trends in journalism and the trade press have an arguably cyclical relationship in that industry publications reflect trends. News producers consume content produced by these publications and adopt the ones that are deemed to be successful and industry publications then report on the successes or misfires of those producers – attempts at replication of these trends. In other

words, these publications are areas in which norms and beliefs are contested and founded for the industries for whom they serve (Corrigan, 2018). Further evidence is still needed to make a claim that (a) these publications have influence, and (b) the discourse emerging from these publications reflects societal values and norms. To support the claim that these publications have influence – and make determinations for sampling – I developed a taxonomy for influence using self-reported metrics by the trade publications, with the inclusion of other metrics which are indicative of influence and longevity. The taxonomy and how publications were determined as objects of study for this report can be found in Appendix B.

Trade publications report on the successes and failures in their respective industry (Corrigan, 2018); the news trade press will, therefore, indicate how journalism is defining success and failure at any given time. Whether success and failure are motivated by profit or public service, or some combination of the two, will provide insight as to the values of journalism during a certain period. Thus, I propose that the language used for describing these successes and failures will also tell us the role that the transition to digital played in changing the dual values of 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism.

Primary Theoretical Framework

The philosophical approach taken by Corrigan (2018) in his report on trade publications is critical realism which assumes that there an objective, 'real' world that exists outside of human perceptions and constructions (Jansen, 2020). This has redefined ontology to mean 'a reality beyond our knowledge' and, thus, one must have 'somehow transcended transitivity to know the reality that lay beyond knowledge' (Cruickshank, 2004: 568). Critical realists contend that while a 'real social world exists […] reality is 'stratified'' (Sayer, 2000 in Corrigan, 2018: 2753). Therefore, citing Fishman (1980), Corrigan claims that 'it is not self-evident from media texts that profit imperatives and journalistic ideologies shape newswork' (2018: 2753). As the trade press is arguably newswork for news professionals (Corrigan, 2018), it can be assumed that a critical realist perspective would draw the same conclusions about the trade press.

In contrast, I approach this paper with a social constructivist perspective to prove that, indeed, ideologies shape journalism industry publications. It is argued that social constructivism 'has its origins in the attempt to establish the ontological distinctiveness of institutions as 'social' (as distinct from natural or 'brute') facts' (Hay, 2016: 520). Hay cites similarities between Searle's definition of reality (1995, 2010) and that of Berger and Luckmann (1966); whereas Berger and Luckmann describe reality as 'a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognise as having a being independent of our own volition', in that ' … we cannot wish them away' (1966: 13), Searle (1995, 2010) expands on this with his differentiation of three types of 'facticity' (Hay, 2012: 522). The first level of facticity consists of that which is 'said to exist independently of our thought (natural or brute facts)'; the second, that which may exist 'largely independently of our conscious thought but whose very existence in the first place is a product of human thought and volition and whose specific facticity today bears clear traces of this irredeemably social origin and evolution,' and thirdly, those things which 'facticity is a product and reflection of our thought and which endure only for as long as our thoughts are of a particular kind' (i. e. consensus or self-fulfilling prophecy) (Hay, 2016: 522).

Social constructivism concerns itself with the second and third kinds of facticity, as these are the ones which can be ascertained of being socially constructed (Hay, 2016: 522). As I will discuss in my methodology section, I am concerned with how discourse from industry publications reflects social norms, both from society, the newsroom, and the author writing the texts. I am concerned with these two levels of facticity, as they parallel very well to a critical discourse analysis which analyzes the text itself, and the encoded ideological position of the author and the institutions they represent, the discursive dimension, which evaluate both the intertextual exchange and building of consensus using other elevated voices, and finally, the social level which examines the ideologies which are promoted within the text – yet another example of an implicit consensus (Richardson, 2007). Therefore, this philosophical approach is better suited to my methodology, and will better assist in the evaluation of my data.

Before discussing my methodology, however, I will review the relevant literature on this duality of values and propose a secondary theoretical framework for my analysis.

Literature Review

Duality of Values

Gans describes 'responsible capitalism' as 'an optimistic faith that in the good society, businessmen and women will compete with each other to create increased prosperity for all, but that they will refrain from unreasonable profits and gross exploitation of workers or customers' (1979: 46). Gans is describing regulated capitalism, a model in which the 'government plays a more active role in managing economic and social outcomes' (Mehrtens, 2004: 343). Dual aims exist under this economic model: the desire for expansion of market growth and the simultaneous concern for social outcomes (Mehrtens, 2004). Gans explains that the origins of news values 'must also be sought in the conditions under which journalists work' (1979: 206); in other words, journalistic values are evident in the social practices of news making.

This can be confirmed by the model of journalism which has been held up as the gold standard of professionalism in the industry since 1956, Social Responsibility journalism (Pickard, 2019). The Social Responsibility model was a rebranded version of the 'libertarian theory of the press' which 'privileges individuals' private property rights over the collective needs of society' (Pickard, 2019:13-14). Pickard contends that since the commercialization of the press, many sought to protect journalism's public service mission from profit imperatives, and ' many of the ideals and codes of professional journalism in the United States developed in direct response to these pressures'; the intended goal was to create a 'buffer' for news from the 'corrosive effects of commercialism, or, at a minimum, to create a veneer of objectivity and social responsibility' (2019:12). Coddington describes this veneer further when describing how the prosperity journalism saw in the mid-twentieth century 'allowed journalists to believe they had resolved the conflict between their news and business purposes' (2015: 70) by creating a 'wall of separation between church and state' (Bagdikian, 2000: xxv-xxvii).

This veneer, however, shattered when the industry ushered in a new economic imperative, or neoliberalism in the 1980s, which later coincided with the digital expansion in the 1990s (Pickard, 2019). The neoliberalist logic, according to Robin Mansell, meant that 'the welfare maximizing pathway is towards economic growth through non-interference by governments in markets' (2011: 2). Here, the assumed logic was that society would prosper through limited interference on the part of the government in the marketplace; corporations, including the newsrooms, would grow, and therefore, improve society (Mansell, 2011). Free-market capitalism, and the later shift to digital, ushered in a new era of values in the newsroom (Scott, 2005; Pickard, 2019). As Scott describes, 'the clash between profit seeking and public service has not been swept away by the internet but rather made more acute' (2005: 121). Kovach and Rosenstiel solemnly address the conflict between commercial imperatives and public service: 'We are facing the possibility that independent news will be replaced by self-interested commercialism posing as news' (2001:13).

Exploited Labor

Sociological studies of newsrooms have thus provided us with both how the transition to digital, coinciding with the shift to a new economic logic of neoliberalism, has affected news-making, providing crucial insights into the mutating news values of journalism over time (Pickard, 2019). Technological change was commonplace within the newsroom, but no shift has ever been more profound than the transition to digital – from mass revenue losses in advertising to staff layoffs; from degraded content quality to the complete restructuring of revenue generation models with the creation of analytics and the increase in non-profit journalism outlets (Scott, 2005; Pickard, 2019). Therefore, the digital era for newsrooms is one which can be best defined by resource scarcity, especially labor shortages (Scott, 2005).

In a capitalist society, certain claims can be made about the mode of production and the labor which is defined by this mode of production; Richardson states, 'as profits and the wealth of the owners (or shareholders) increase, the comparative wealth of the workers must necessarily decrease, because the wealth of the bourgeoisie is taken directly from the labour of the proletariat' (2007: 3, 5). The profundities of the past thirty years or so which coincided with

the shift to digital are issues of exploitation of labor. In journalism, there are two important sources of exploited labor in the digital era: the news workers themselves and, increasingly, the quantified audience (Fuchs and Fischer, 2015). The audience can be understood as a commodity, defined by their ability to pay attention (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101). Advertisers then purchase these audience commodities from news corporations; the members of the audience provide labor for the advertisers by learning to buy specific branded items and spend their money accordingly, or in other words, 'to create demand' (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101). This labor, though unpaid, has conversely been 'empowered' in the digital era with an important task: influencing what is news (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc and Thomas, 2015; Nelson and Tandoc, 2019).

What is News?

Prior to digital, content decisions were made largely by judgements of news producers (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc and Thomas, 2015). Figures were available for monitoring audience feedback for traditional media – surveys, circulation figures, and rating systems were used to track audience preferences (Beam 1995; Gans 1979; Schlesinger 1978 in Tandoc and Thomas, 2015). These metrics, however, were ignored as inaccurate or dismissed entirely, which Tandoc and Thomas explain as 'indicative of journalistic views of audiences as uninformed and lacking the skills and knowledge necessary for evaluation of journalistic performance' (Burns, 1977; Gans, 1979; Schlesinger, 1978 in 2015: 246). Though sometimes verging on paternalism, 'the dominant journalistic values of autonomy and 'writing for other journalists'' were the standard for content decisions; these decisions, however, are increasingly 'being encroached upon by a new set of occupational values, a focus on raw audience data, and a 'culture of the click'' (Anderson, 2011b: 555). Napoli (2011) expands on this point, describing a change in media industries' perceptions of their audience; the metrics increasingly became scientific and data-driven over the course of the twentieth century (Zamith, 2018: 420). In essence, they are 'being encroached upon' by analytics, as is evident in the fact that most newsrooms now utilize analytics (Lowrey and Woo, 2010; MacGregor, 2007; Usher 2013; Tandoc and Thomas, 2015).

The effects of analytics on the newsroom and content decisions have largely been studied in media scholarship (Anderson, 2011b; Zamith, 2018; Nelson and Tandoc, 2019). For example, Anderson (2011b :563) describes news professionals as obsessed with 'traffic' in his 2011 ethnographic study. While earlier forms of journalism required making decisions based on professional codes and news judgments, Anderson's research shows that when newsmakers decide what is and what is not news, they increasingly are influenced by analytics and other quantitative audience measurement tools (2011: 563). Anderson remarks that there is a tension between the 'generative audience' and the 'quantified audience'; the audience is seen as agentic and creative (Gillmor, 2004; Napoli, 2011; Sullivan; 2013), and therefore, responsible for content decisions, while simultaneously reduced to a 'quantifiable rationalizable, largely consumptive aggregate' (2011b: 550). Anderson discusses the increasingly 'empowered audience', and though he articulates the tension between the quantified audience and the 'generative' audience, he fails to critique the romanticism of audience empowerment (2011b: 564).

Tandoc and Thomas, by contrast, argue against romanticizing the audience or 'arguing too strongly against journalistic autonomy'; they continue that it is imperative to differentiate as to what the public is interested in and what is in the interest of the public (2015: 243; 244). This declaration, however, needs to be heavily caveated, as it is a universalist position. Universalism assumes that there are claims which apply to everyone equally, and it is important that positionality be taken into consideration (Zerilli, 1998). Nelson and Tandoc expand on the dilemma regarding a tension of values when they discuss the internal conflict which many editors face involving their 'seemingly competing desires' to attract larger audiences versus producing watchdog journalism, described as the pursuit of 'doing well' versus 'doing good' (2019: 1961). They discussed how newsroom leaders often leveraged the stories which 'do well,' based on analytics' insights, for financial security to ensure that they are able to do stories that 'do good' (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019). Nelson and Tandoc are scratching the surface of a deeper phenomenon, or how news values have changed during the transition to digital – though it is important to note that this paper is not an argument for

determinism. Technologies are not autonomous, neutral entities, but human-operated, politically motivated tools (Feenberg, 2019). How a technology is adopted into a newsroom is, therefore, a discussion of the social values of a newsroom.

Impact Imperative

Some alternatives to analytics have emerged, such as the nonprofit model, as the ability to sustain journalism has diminished under the traditional model of advertising (Mitchell et al., 2013). Non-profit journalism has a business model and legal framework which places a check on profit-making which previously had been lost (Pickard, 2019). Essentially, non-profit outlets must show that they 'meet an educational need in society' and must not operate with the intention of accruing excess profits, by investing 'any surplus revenue back into the organization' (Mitchell *et al.*, 2013: 4). These outlets, however, still operate in a capitalist society and must break even. The primary concerns highlighted by a Pew Research Center Survey of non-profit newsrooms in late 2012 were 'finding the time to focus on the business side of the operation' and 'increasing competition for grant money' (Mitchell *et al*., 2013: 1). This indicates that despite having certain measures in place to ensure that the profit imperative does not serve as the preliminary mission of the newsroom, the necessity to accrue profits – if only for survival – still exists.

One common source of revenue in nonprofit journalism, alongside the traditional revenue generation strategies like online advertising and subscriptions, is philanthropy (Mitchell et al., 2013; Rosenstiel et al., 2016). A growing expectation from funders is for publications to include an impact report (Rosenstiel *et al*., 2016). Having an impact has long been a consideration in the reporting process (Gans, 1979); Gans mentions that while most of the journalists he studied in the pre-digital era did not consider themselves 'reformers' they were 'proud whenever a story resulted in official investigations and in legislative or administrative reform' (1979: 205).

Impact in the modern sense of the word, however, has a multitude of differing metrics – both quantitative and qualitative (Rosenstiel *et al*., 2016). Konieczna and Powers (2016) discuss the desire for impact in the form of policy change, whereas Rosenstiel *et al.* described in the same

year the request from funders for metrics which convey reach in impact reports, such as traffic; however, about a third of funders requested qualitative evidence of increased awareness or for changes in public opinion (2016: 5). For example, one impact tracker, NewsLynx, described the difference between increased awareness versus a societal effect as the difference between a 'citation' and a 'change' (Keller and Abelson, 2015). It is important to recognize, however, that there are ethical quandaries to the philanthropy and grant-funded model. Most nonprofits rely on a relatively small pool of donors for their funding, and like advertising before, it is assumed that a variety of funders would prevent a conflict of interests in content strategy (Konieczna and Powers, 2016: 7).

Secondary Theoretical Framework

The concept of normalization explains how this duality of values in journalism has been reconciled using technology. Journalists, 'rather than accept a form of news production with little need for traditional forms of journalistic expertise, […] instead attempt to fit new technologies to their existing norms and practices' (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019: 1961-1962). If the dominant norms of the newsroom reflect a growing desire to increase profits through advertising, then it is a reasonable assumption that there will be an expansion of metrics which quantify and commodify the audience to enable further advertising online. Zamith explains, 'while contemporary journalism does not appear to be driven by audience metrics, they are now factored to some extent into journalistic attitudes, behaviors, content, discourses, and ethics' (2018: 419). To assume that journalism is driven by analytics would be deterministic in its assumptions, whereas the reality is more nuanced; taking a constructivist perspective, the journalist instead makes content decisions based on the constructed audience (Zamith, 2018: 419). Anderson elaborates on this point further, examining how the audience is reconceptualized through discourse to reflect quantitative metrics (i.e. 'traffic') (2011a). This can help inform content decisions at multiple levels, from 'calculations of newsworthiness (Wallace, 2017) and noteworthiness (Napoli, 2011) to organizational strategy (Turow, 2005)' (Zamith, 2018: 419). Thus, how a technology is normalized is dependent on the existing

practices and norms of the newsroom (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019); what needs further review is whether this is a reflection of the values of the newsroom.

Gaps in the Literature and Research Questions (RQs)

We have seen that tension exists between profit motive and public service journalism; these values have existed in the pre-digital and post-digital era. We have observed that journalism normalizes technologies into existing systems of practice (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019).

What has yet to be examined are discourses by industry publications surrounding this duality of values over time. A study which examines these values would be beneficial to examine the impact of the transition to digital on these values, while accounting for the shifting economic framework. I hypothesize we will see these opposing values of 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism reflected in the discourse in how they discuss success and failure in newsrooms both in the pre-digital era and the post digital era, but the ways in which these metrics will be evaluated will differ depending on the normalized technology at the time; I also propose that the definition for 'responsible capitalism' will reflect the hegemonic economic ideology of the era.

Thus, I propose the following questions to guide my research:

> RQ1: Can we see these arguably oppositional values of 'responsible capitalism' and public service mirrored in the discourses discussing success and failure in journalism, presented by journalism industry publications in the pre-digital era?
>
> RQ2: How have discourses for success/failure in journalism practices changed in these publications because of the transition to digital?
>
> RQ3: How have these changes, if any, manifested and do they hold firm this duality of 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism?

METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

Ethics and Self-Reflexivity

My selection and design of Fairclough's method of Critical Discourse Analysis (referred to furthermore as CDA) supplemented with a Thematic Analysis (abbreviated henceforth as TA) was a highly methodical and systematic process which included rigorous sampling procedures, including a taxonomy for influence when selecting publications to analyze, and ample self-reflexivity.

Selection of these methods was carefully considered after a preliminary pilot study. In this study, I examined the various discourses for success and failure in US journalism in industry publications in the digital era and whether they mirror this duality of news values presented in academic literature. I concluded that if I were to complete this research on a larger scale, I would do a comparative study, examining pre-digital discourses, as well. Both my pilot study and this current study received ethics approval from both the London School of Economics and Political Science, as well as my appointed dissertation supervisor.

I found that my methodology needed improvement in three key areas: first, proving that these publications needed further study and providing credibility to my sampling strategy; and second, increasing my self-reflexivity, transparency, and trust with my readers. I seek to address these two areas for the remainder of this section.

Evaluating industry publications poses a challenge in that these are understudied texts, however, research has shown that trade publications are environments where industry values and norms are negotiated (Corrigan, 2018). Thus, I developed a taxonomy of influence to determine which publications should hold much of my focus, as those determined to have the most influence by these metrics would make up a larger portion of my sample. The taxonomy included metrics provided by the publications, such as their impact or circulation, but also other metrics which I included (a mixture of quantitative and qualitative), such as their parent organization's total net assets and the year that the organization was established. Older,

legacy organizations tended to be more influential by other metrics, such as circulation or total net assets, and other telling metrics, like number of followers on twitter. By these metrics, I determined that I would sample 16 articles from Nieman Reports (denoted to NR) and Nieman Lab (abbreviated to NL) for TA and 3 for my CDA, 7 articles from Columbia Journalism Review (CJR) for TA and 2 for CDA, and 7 articles from Poynter Institute (shortened to Poynter) for TA and 1 for CDA. The total counts are 30 articles evaluated for TA and 6 excerpts from said articles analyzed for CDA.

I chose CDA to examine these texts as I am evaluating texts of influence; Fairclough's method of CDA was selected because this methodological framework has previously been used to analyze news texts (Richardson, 2007). These texts are consumed by primarily news workers, according to their own self-reported metrics and their mission statements, who use these texts to understand their trade and make decisions about what defines success and failure in the industry (Corrigan, 2018). Additionally, industry publications, though they are written for primarily journalists, are a variant of news publications nonetheless, in that they report on an industry. For further details, see Appendix B. According to Richardson, CDA 'involves an analysis of how discourse (language in use) relates to and is implicated in the (re)production of social relations' (2007: 42). This method, therefore, would allow for a greater understanding of the reciprocal relationship between newsrooms and these content producers. This choice was founded on the idea that this methodology would provide greater insight compared to a quantitative framework (i.e. content analysis) as CDA aims to originate the meanings behind texts, compared to simply counting the occurrences of certain words or phrases within texts and gaining insights from this data (Richardson, 2007). The interpretations of communications, texts, and speech acts are derived while considering the context in which those discourses are produced (Richardson, 2007).

The addition of a TA was for dual purposes: a) to add supplementary evidence of consistent themes over time – initially this was exploratory, but in the results and discussion chapters, we will indeed see evidence of consistency in themes over time, with some important distinctions which will be discussed further; and b) add credibility to the research as TA

requires more self-reflexivity because of its methodological structure than an approach like CDA (Nowell et al., 2017). On the first point, a secondary analysis will lend some additional support to my primary method of analysis, CDA, and potentially find patterns in the texts which I might have otherwise overlooked. The addition of a TA would enable me to better evaluate change (or lack thereof) over time with greater scope, as I would use a larger volume of articles to conduct my analysis – though the analysis would be less thorough than that of a CDA; TA cannot make claims about language use, but merely overall themes (Braun and Clark, 2006: 97).

On the second point, I might be able to reduce my subjectivity bias which comes with the terrain of performing CDA (Aydin-Duzgit & Rumelili, 2019: 300), with the inclusion of a TA. Though this method requires that I design a coding framework with inductive and deductive reasoning, how that framework is implemented within the text has been thoroughly documented throughout the process of my analysis with the intention of establishing trust with the reader (Nowell *et al.,* 2017). Additionally, CDA is qualitative, and the reliability of the analyses is unable to be verified or measured in the same way as quantitative methodologies, like content analyses (Aydin-Duzgit and Rumelili, 2019: 300). Additionally, a second set of analysis might lend more credibility to the analysis. Though some have critiqued that the lack of available scholarship on how to perform a TA can make conducting a TA difficult and inconsistent; this, however, can be counter-balanced with rigorous documentation of how one develops their coding framework (Nowell *et al*., 2017). Finally, my positionality as a researcher entails that I have power in the process of knowledge production (Herzog, 2016: 280). It is my duty as a researcher, therefore, to strive for self-reflexivity while undertaking my analysis and recognize my positionality as a researcher with my own individualized intersections and cynicisms with the potential to influence my findings.

The preliminary research evaluated the available texts for sampling without any general sampling criteria; I began to refine my search around articles from US industry publications which discussed successes and/or failures in American journalism, as these texts would allow me to best address my research questions. Additionally, I refined my search around the time

in which standards were set for journalistic ethics and practices, or the 1950s, and sampled until the present (Pickard, 2019). This kind of purposeful sampling has limitations as it is prone to researcher bias (Sharma, 2017: 751-752). Even if these are 'typical' trade publication texts which discuss success and failure, I have attempted to use multiple sources and sampled within a specific range of years, to gain some variance in time before, during and after the shift to digital, while choosing a cut-off point as to when standards were first established; in other words, I sampled around a certain era and topic around my research question. The word 'typical,' however, can be contested for its ambiguous definition (Aydin-Duzgit and Rumelili, 2019: 300).

Finally, I am evaluating news values, but these news values are indicative of competing ideologies, or 'matrices of beliefs, attitudes and practices that constitute ways of looking at the world and ways of acting in the world, that accept and naturalise the contradictions at the heart of capitalist society' (Richardson, 2007: 116). While news values are abstract ideals (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992), ideologies are systems of attitudes and values surrounding a greater theme (Converse, 1964; McGuire, 1985). As I am evaluating texts from a capitalist country, I kept Richardson's definition in mind as I conducted my analysis, which may have influenced the results. Additionally, Richardson argues that CDA 'requires us to acknowledge and foreground the interaction and inter-relation between economic, political and ideological practices' (Richardson, 2007: 116). Economic models, for example, can also be ideological practices; while capitalism is an economic system, laissez faire capitalism is an ideology (Henry, 2008). Thus, any proposed economic definitions are for ideological practices which reflect changing news values.

Design: Thematic Analysis

After carefully selecting 30 articles which discuss successes and failure in journalism spanning 68 years (from 1954 to 2022) showing how themes change and/or persist over time, I started to develop a rudimentary coding framework. I used an inductive/deductive approach in the development of my coding framework, as I already had a clear epistemological direction and

research questions (Clarke and Braun, 2017). My preliminary themes were responsible capitalism, public service journalism and normalization of technology, with one or two non-specific codes per theme. After coding the first four articles, the coding framework expanded in number and in degree of specificity. Additionally, I added a fourth column, 'Journalism: an industry always in need of repair or under threat.' I realized, however, that the first five articles evaluated were from the 1950s-1970s and from one single publication, NR, because my articles were arranged chronologically and by publication. I next applied the modified framework to five articles to later NL articles and 1 early CJR, 1 late CJR, 1 early Poynter, and one late Poynter to refine and simplify my framework, which had become cluttered with far too many codes that could not be applied easily across all texts. After changing my strategy of coding, I went back to my first five texts, and re-coded these texts to match the simplified framework. I went through the 30 articles again, edited, and refined my codes. Finally, I applied the edited framework across all 30 texts for a final time to ensure that my coding remained consistent.

Design: Critical Discourse Analysis

After completing a preliminary thematic analysis and generating some initial insights into the consistent themes over time, I was able to purposively sample 6 excerpts from the 30 texts I used for my initial thematic analysis for my critical discourse analysis sample. I chose based on three metrics: influence, year, and relevance. Influence was the easiest to sample for: I selected three articles from NR and NL, one article from Poynter, and two articles from CJR. I sought to get relevant texts which discussed the successes and failures in journalism. I also sampled after standards in modern journalism had been established during the mid-1950s (Pickard, 2018). Therefore, the texts I selected came from the following years: 1955, 1987, 2015, 2017, 2017, and 2021. This selection was chosen to examine the transition to the digital era by looking at discourses pre- and post-digital. I used Richardson's guide for conducting a CDA on newspapers and his corresponding definitions for Fairclough's three-dimensional model when guiding my analysis (Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 1995b).

The three-dimensional model is an analysis of the text on three levels: the textual, the discursive, and the social (Fairclough, 1995b). Richardson, citing Fairclough (1995b), states that evaluation of the textual dimension 'involves the analysis of the way propositions are structured and the way propositions are combined and sequenced' (2007: 38). The textual dimension concerns itself with the linguistic forms and content of texts and how they function in direct or indirect relation to the reproduction or resistance of ideologies (Richardson, 2007: 38-39). Also, it is imperative to evaluate what is not present in a thematic analysis, as it is assumed that every content decision is an ideological choice (Richardson, 2007: 38). Discursive analysis 'involves an analysis of texts as they are embedded within, and relate to, social conditions of production and consumption' (Richardson, 2007: 39). To expand on this concept, Richardson equates this dimension to Hall's concept of encoding/decoding (1980), which describes how the 'the producer and mode of production encode meaning into the text' (2007: 41-42). Like Hall's model, however, reading is not passive; the audience does not 'simply receive messages; they decode texts' (Condit, 1989: 494). Readers consume texts with their own perspectives, shaped by their own backgrounds, agendas, and pre-existing knowledge (Condit, 1989). The process used by the content producers of industry texts, like journalists, is to 'construct news texts for an identified (or imagined) target audience' (Richardson, 2007: 112). Therefore, we must assume that some may resist the encoded meanings of industry texts or misunderstand the intended meaning of the reports (Richardson, 2007: 40-42). Finally, the social dimension describes the analysis of the social practices which 'permeate and structure the activities and outputs' of a publication (Richardson, 2007: 114). Such considerations might be economic practices, like labor and production relations, political practices, and ideological practices, among others (Richardson, 2007: 114).

Using these definitions, I conducted my analyses. I will delve into further details in the following section with examples of analyzed texts. The articles I examined, along with their annotations, can be found in Appendix C.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the results of the preliminary TA of thirty industry texts and the CDA of six excerpts from said articles. The analyses consider the research questions throughout and seeks to discuss the results simultaneously.

Four Themes

The TA of the sample concluded that there were four primary themes which spanned over 68 years of reporting on successes and failures in news: 'Responsible Capitalism,' 'Public Service Journalism,' 'Normalization of Technology,' and 'Journalism: an industry always in need of repair or under threat.'

The analysis suggests that 'responsible capitalism' has remained a consistent theme over time, though the meaning for this term has changed, as previously hypothesized. For example, in pre-digital texts, the definition for this term most closely resembles that of regulated capitalism in that there is a pursuit of practices which balance competing aims – to accrue profits while undertaking a public service mission, or funding quality journalism while simultaneously bettering society. Effectively, the discourse appears to indicate that the underlying assumption is that serving the public good would increase profits. This first definition will be termed as *responsible capitalism 1* for the remainder of this paper. The discourses, however, seem to reflect two different definitions of 'responsible capitalism' after the transition to digital in the 1990s. First, there is one logic which can be interpreted as prioritizing the profit motive, with the assumption that the prioritization of profit, as well as the commodification of the audience (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs & Fischer, 2015: 101), will best serve the public – the market, essentially, will correct itself without government interference (Mansell, 2011). The major difference in this definition from its earlier variant is that the public service mission has been divorced from the profit-motive. This definition shall thus be denoted to *responsible capitalism 2* henceforth. The other definition can be discovered when discussing the nonprofit and impact model; the ideology of the newsroom has arguably returned to *responsible capitalism 1*. While there continues to be a need to accrue money to perform journalism, there have been

checks placed on journalism in preventing excess profit-seeking when paired with a renewed emphasis on devotion to public service. In other words, the profit imperative and the public service mission are merged once more.

The theme of Public Service Journalism was frequently mentioned at the start of the sample during the early years (1950s-1970s) and declined in frequency during the transition to Neoliberalism (1980s) and digital (1990s); in the past 10 years, however, there has been a resurgence in rhetoric surrounding this theme. This parallels the trends of 'responsible capitalism' as we will see in my CDA in the following section.

Technology was largely normalized throughout history; however, prior to the advent of digital there was some resistance to technological change before normalization occurs. The code of solutionism, falling under the theme of normalization, is another feature of interest which emerged in the TA. Solutionism is best understood as a concept in which technological solutions are considered for a variety of 'problems' – some of which do not meet the criteria of being considered a problem but are deemed so by solutionists (Morozov, 2013: 32).

Much of the solutionist language appears to occur in the digital era, with the advent of analytics, impact, and other digital tools in response to how to best 'fix' journalism. This leads into the final theme of my framework, or 'Journalism: an industry always in need of repair or under threat.' This remained a consistent theme over time, especially regarding resource scarcity. This theme often coincided with the solutionism code, primarily in the digital era, where technological fixes were proposed to solve the 'problems' which journalism faces (Morozov, 2013). We can see this dynamic at work, as well as these two themes, 'Normalization' and 'Journalism: an industry always in need of repair or under threat,' in greater detail in the following section. I will further evaluate how they relate to the duality of values, 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism when I perform CDA on the six excerpts below, examining how the aforementioned 'form' and 'content' of these texts further illustrates this changing tension in values (Schudson, 1980).

Duality of Values: shifting definitions of 'Responsible Capitalism' vs. Public Service

In this section I will discuss the results of my CDA and provide in-depth answers to my proposed RQs. To frame these results, I will interrogate the previously discussed themes, but I will provide evidence that evaluates how discourses have changed over time by examining the texts' 'form' and 'content' (Schudson, 1989). The 'form' includes that which makes up the presentation and construction of news (1989: 279). The 'content' includes the taken-for-granted values of news, which are mirrored in the final product (Schudson, 1989: 278). 'Form' is, therefore, composed of the textual and discursive levels of analysis, whereas the 'content' contains the social dimension (Richardson, 2007). In CDA, the social dimension concerns itself with situating the findings of the textual and discursive dimensions into dominant ideologies within social practice (Dijk, 1996); therefore, 'form' is indicative of the 'content.'

The following is the key to my CDA coding:

Bold: Textual Dimension

Highlighted: Discursive Dimension

Italics: Social Dimension

Balancing Competing Values

Prior to the shift to digital, discourses appear to reflect the ideological view of *responsible capitalism 1*, complimenting my TA. This coexists with the public service mission in journalism, which has been married to the profit imperative. This is exemplified in the following excerpt from NR:

> Lastly, we had an owner and publishers who were not content merely to see their newspaper produce income. The owner wanted it to be the best possible newspaper that could be produced. That was probably the most important thing of all and provided the means by which the other problems could be tackled (Pourade, 1955).

This duality of values can be examined in the 'form' of this text. Pourade employs two rhetorical tropes, designed to persuade the reader (Richardson, 2007): repetition and

hyperbole. Repetition is utilized to indicate commercialism in journalism, whereas hyperbole is emphasizing one value in particular – the public service mission. For example, we see the word 'produce' used in two different contexts, one which describes accumulation of wealth and another which describes the news as a product. The 'form' here is conveying that the mission of the newsroom is the pursuit of profit. Hyperbole is administered in the phrases 'the most important thing of all,' in reference to the owner's desire to produce 'the best possible newspaper.' These passages can be understood as attempts at convincing the audience that the mission of the owners – to produce a paper to serve the interest of the public – is genuine. In the discursive dimension, whose voices are emphasized in the passage are the 'owners and the publishers,' with extra emphasis on the owners. Repetition is utilized once again to persuade the reader of their importance (Richardson, 2007: 100).

This emphasis on the publisher or the institution's authority can be explained by the dominant views in journalism about content creation during this period. The audience was assumed to be incompetent, incapable of evaluating journalistic standards (Burns, 1977; Gans, 1979; Schlesinger, 1978). Audience preference was largely disregarded, and the producer was given primary authority (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc & Thomas, 2015). Pourade states that these figures are 'not content to see their paper merely produce income' but desire to create the 'best possible newspaper that could be produced.' From these statements, we can make some baseline assumptions about the ideological positioning of newspaper producers with regards to balancing profits with public service. Thus, it can be assumed that news producers knew what was best for the public and that these content decisions would be profitable, because what was best for the public was presumably best for the bottom line. Finally, when evaluating the 'content' in the social dimension, the two juxtaposed statements 'The owner wanted it to be the best possible newspaper that could be produced' and 'provided the means by which the other problems could be tackled' shows this tension between responsible capitalism 1 and the public service mission. Before proceeding, it is important to note that this article is about making journalism 'indispensable' by catering to the public good. To underscore this point further, the excerpt below is provided:

> This word, 'indispensable,' became the guiding word by which the publishers set about rebuilding the San Diego Union and the position of the San Diego Union. To us, promotion meant service-doing a good job, filling a definite need and selling it on its value. (Pourade, 1955).

Similar strategies are implemented to emphasize the duality of values both in the 'form' and 'content' of this excerpt: repetition, elevating voices which lend credibility to these dual values, and juxtaposed sentences or phrases which show conflicting ideological perspectives (Richardson, 2007). Repetition was applied differently in this excerpt, but still was meant to emphasize this duality of values, in that the words which were repeated were those of the institution which firmly holds these values, as evidenced in the following statement by this very institution: 'to us, promotion meant service-doing a good job, filling a definite need and selling it on its value.' In this statement which is emblematic of the 'content' of this text, we can see the tension in how promotion is defined as 'service-doing a good job' and 'selling it on its value.' Though this tension exists, these aims are seen as able to coexist. Finally in another analysis of the 'form' of this text, the affirmation of these dual values is seen when they are lent credibility in the discursive dimension (Richardson, 2007); the publisher's voices are elevated and given credibility as authoritative voices for the ethics and decision-making in the newsroom (Anderson, 2011b; Tandoc and Thomas, 2015). Therefore, the analysis indicates that mission of predigital newsrooms was likely reflective of a duality of values, a tension between responsible capitalism 1 and public service journalism. Producing a quality paper to better serve the public had not been divorced from the mission to procure profits in the pre-digital era; these goals were seen as working concomitantly.

Additionally, we see that technologies were normalized but initially resisted in the newsroom in the following excerpt:

> Well, we think we are on the right path. We are convinced that we are on the right path in countering the growth and influence of news magazines, radio and TV (Pourade, 1955).

When evaluating the 'form' of this passage, the textual elements of repetition are employed, perhaps to influence the reader that the mission of the newsroom in 'countering the growth and influence of news magazines, radio and TV' is just. This indicates that there was resistance to the normalization of technology into newsroom practices; however, we know from context (i.e. 'growth and influence') that there was some degree of traction. Thus, we can assume that there was resistance to transformation during this period, but normalization of new technologies was spreading. As previously stated, the 'content' of this passage is indicated by the 'form.' Thus, the analysis suggests resistance to technologies but the inevitable normalization may have been the prevailing logic of this era.

To conclude the analysis of pre-digital texts, I will evaluate the following excerpt from NR in 1987, which is during the expansion of the neoliberalist economic logic, but preceding the proliferation of digital in news (Pickard, 2019):

> I think we all suffer from professional schizophrenia. We are newspaper people and we are business people. We seek to print the truth and we seek to make profits. Sometimes these goals conflict; at all times they compete for our time and concentration. Which comes first? Which is more important? How do we strike a healthy balance between our search for newspaper quality and our need for sufficient newspaper profit to finance that quality (Ottaway, Jr., 1987)?

What we see here appears to be a newsman trying to make sense of a massive transition in ideological positions – the shift from responsible capitalism 1 to responsible capitalism 2, a shift which would de-prioritize the public service journalism mission from the economic mission of the organization. In terms of 'form': first, a metaphor is used to describe this transition, or 'professional schizophrenia,' as referred here by Ottaway, which evokes the image of a journalism that has multiple professional standards simultaneously, which 'compete' and 'conflict'; this is confirmed in the following phrases, which show competing identities and conflicting ideals, or 'newspaper people' versus 'business people' and 'we seek to print the truth' compared to 'we seek to make profits.' It is hard to decipher whether this leans more towards responsible capitalism 1 or 2, as Ottaway seems to be trying to determine

'which should come first' and 'which is more important.' Ultimately, Ottaway seems to determine that profits should be prioritized to finance quality, a trademark characteristic of responsible capitalism 2, rhetorically questioning, 'How do we strike a healthy balance between our search for newspaper quality and our need for sufficient newspaper profit to finance that quality?' What is presupposed in this query is that quality does not beget profit, and therefore, profit needs to be accrued before the acquisition of quality. Quality here is assumed to be that which can better inform the public and fulfill its mission of serving the public; therefore, the public service mission is removed from the economic logic of the newsroom, and we are left with responsible capitalism 2 as the underlying 'content' of our text.

Analytics: A Normalized Technology

During the digital era, the analysis seems to indicate a marked rhetorical shift reflecting a tension between responsible capitalism 2 and public service journalism. The ideological paradigm seen in the discourse suggests that the best way to serve the public is to accrue as much money as possible and serve the public with those funds through the betterment of journalism, severing the public service mission from the aggregation of funds. This is evident following two excerpts from a NL article entitled, 'Chartbeat adds subscriber analytics to its dashboard – the 'single most requested feature.' First in evaluating the 'form' of this excerpt where, on the textual level, (a) neologisms are deployed, or words that have been recently created but are given new meanings (Richardson, 2007: 69); (b) phrases are implemented which indicate both modality, or 'judgments, comment[s], and attitude[s] in text and talk […] specifically the degree to which a speaker or writer is committed to the claim he or she is making,' and presupposition, or 'a taken-for-granted, implicit claim embedded within the explicit meaning of a text' (Richardson, 2007: 59, 63); and on the discursive level, choices are made to elevate certain texts (i.e. intertexuality) to promote certain voices in order to lend credibility to a position and to persuade (Richardson, 2007: 100). In examining the 'content' of this text, we may see an ideological perspective which represents a clash between *responsible*

capitalism 2 and a desire to better journalism mirrored in the discourse – a reflection of the ideological and societal norms of journalism at this time:

> He added that subscriber insights have been the 'single most requested feature' from news organizations. The data can be broken down into traffic from subscribers, registered users, guests, and 'unspecified.' A report by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism last year found that more than two-thirds of the 130 surveyed newsroom leaders use Chartbeat for real-time analytics.
>
> […]
>
> Understanding that subscriber data is key to understanding the next routes in journalism (Schmidt, 2017, August 3).

The neologisms are effective rhetorical tools for normalizing technologies, in this case analytics, and reconstructing the audience into quantified metrics (Anderson, 2011a). Neologisms are also deployed in this excerpt from Poynter, where words like 'viewing,' 'liking,' 'sharing,' 'searching,' and 'platform' have taken on new meanings describing the commodification of the audience (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101):

> The most sustained growth on social platforms comes from organic viewing, liking, sharing and searching within the platform, rather than from paid advertising campaigns (Bean, 2021, January 27).

These neologisms also are words which describe the new exploited labor of journalism (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101). This new 'labor' of journalism is a romanticized ideal of the 'empowered audience,' now responsible for determining content decisions (Anderson, 2011b, Tandoc & Thomas, 2015). Discourses around the audience are articulated through quantifiable measures (Anderson, 2011a): first in the activities that take place 'liking,' 'sharing,' and searching'; second, in the ways the audience is commodified (i.e., 'traffic' or 'insights'). Finally, the environment in which this labor takes place, or the 'platform,' also is a neologism; however, this is not a quantifiable metric.

From the previous excerpt from NL, we can infer that Schmidt presupposes that a data-centric solution is necessary from the passage 'understanding that subscriber data is key to understanding the next routes in journalism.' Additionally, the modality of the author can be presumed in the previous statement with phrases like 'data is key.' This presupposition and modality have undertones of dataism, a philosophy which assumes that data offers endless potential for advancement, opening up new frontiers in research because of a plethora of untapped data and metadata (van Dijck, 2014); this in its very essence is another form of solutionism (Morozov, 2013), as it is assumed that a data-centric solution, or a technological solution, is the 'gold-standard' of enlightenment (van Dijck, 2014: 201). Effectively, the pursuit of a data-centric solution is assumed to be logical, as it is the pursuit of a higher level of perceived knowledge.

The discursive dimension also supports the emphasis on solutionism through the selection of texts which support impact's utility, referred to as intertextuality (Richardson, 2007). In the 2017 NL excerpt, two texts are referenced: a hyperlinked report by Reuters Institute (Neuman, 2016), published by another trade press organization (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2022), and a statement from the leader of an analytics firm, Chartbeat – this is not evident from the excerpt, but can be found in Appendix C. These two texts may ultimately serve the same purpose: to normalize analytics and to 'empower' the audience. The statement from Josh Schwartz, Chartbeat's head of product, data, and engineering, was from a post on Chartbeat's blog, saying that 'subscriber insights have been the 'single most requested feature' from news organizations' (Schwartz, 2017, August 3). This may persuade the reader that this technology is (a) naturalized into the news ecosystem, and (b) that this new feature is in high demand, reaffirming that this technology is normalized (Nelson & Tandoc, 2019). What the author, Schmidt, does not do is critically evaluate why this feature is in high demand or talk about viable alternatives to analytics. The next text discussed is the report by Reuters (Neuman, 2016), which offers evidence of the normalization of analytics into newsrooms (Nelson & Tandoc, 2019) – this normalization is potentially leveraged to convince the reader that Chartbeat and its new feature are positive contributions to the field of journalism.

From the 'form' of this text, we can make further assumptions about the ideological positions of the newsroom based on the effort to normalize analytics (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019). As previously mentioned, the theory of normalization of technology assumes that journalism will adopt a technology to fit within its existing practices and ideologies (Nelson and Tandoc, 2019); thus, we can assume that the existing practices are those which promote technological solutions. Given that the true function of these proposed technological solutions for understanding human behavior is to commodify the audience (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015), we can deduce that the dominant ideological stance would be r*esponsible capitalism 2,* as the profit-imperative is the primary mission, with the intention of funding journalism after. This comes at the expense of a public service mission, which has no supporting rhetoric in the excerpt; the absence of rhetoric communicates as much meaning as that which is present in an analysis (Richardson, 2007: 93). From this we can assume that responsible capitalism 2 has been divorced from the public service mission in that they are no longer assumed to work in tandem.

The final phrase, 'Understanding that subscriber data is key to understanding the next routes in journalism,' may be a reflection of the norms of journalism at the time, and therefore, indicative of the 'content' of this text. First, as previously mentioned in the textual analysis of this excerpt and holding onto the assumption that these texts are socially constructed, this excerpt normalizes analytics. This statement, however, goes further – this is perhaps a dataist declaration which assumes that a data-centric solution is fundamental to uncovering a supposed 'problem' (van Dijck, 2014; Morozov, 2013), or the unknowns of the future of journalism. The assumption that analytics will discover the next routes in journalism is solutionist in origin, but also emblematic of responsible capitalism 2 and the presupposition that the pursuit of profit, through subscriber data insights, will assist in journalism's self-actualization.

We also can see this assumption made in title of a CJR article, 'Can Tony Haile save journalism by changing the metric?' (Fitts, 2015, March 11); in terms of 'form,' this title asks a question to prompt the reader about whether Tony Haile, Chartbeat's CEO, will save journalism by

changing the metric. This question, however, employs a positive referential strategy when asking if this figure will 'save journalism' to convince the reader that this change will indeed be for the better (Richardson, 2007). Additionally, there is an implicit presupposition made is that analytics are normalized (Nelson & Tandoc, 2019); a plausible solution to fixing this crisis of 'saving journalism' is a technological fix – 'changing the metric.' As aforementioned in my thematic analysis, two themes can be seen working simultaneously here: journalism in disrepair and normalization of technology, seen in the code of solutionism. The proposed solution is a shift in analytics from clicks to 'time-on-site,' with the true intentions being revealed in the following excerpt:

> This September, Chartbeat finished a six-month audit by the Media Ratings Council, the company that verifies measurements of audience for advertisers. This certification allows a publisher to sell advertising based on Chartbeat's measurements of time-on-site, making Chartbeat the first company licensed to measure attention (Fitts, 2015, March 11).

What can be deduced from this excerpt is that the proposal to 'save journalism' is a profit-driven solution, where the labor force is the commodified audience (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101). In terms of 'form,' we see the rhetorical device of repetition used with words like 'Chartbeat,' 'advertising/advertiser,' and phrases which discuss measuring or capturing audience attention, such as 'measurements of audience,' 'time-on-site,' and 'measure attention.' The repetition of an analytics firm's name, when combined with rhetoric that casts a positive light on its reputation, 'the first company licensed to measure attention,' portrays the firm as a protagonist (Richardson, 2007). The supposed protagonist appears to have intentions to monetize the audience for the salvation of journalism, as is evident in that which was also repeated; thus, we can deduce that the ideological positioning of the writer of this text is responsible capitalism 2. We can further infer that this is not just a reflection of the author's position, but that of the institution in which he works, because, as previously mentioned, the trade press are environments where news professionals 'negotiate their norms, values, and beliefs' (Corrigan, 2018: 2755). This is perhaps a mirror of the dominant values or

'content' of journalism, as the texts created by these publications are socially constructed (Hay, 2012).

The Impact Alternative

Competing trends with resisting ideologies emerge as an alternative to analytics (Mitchell *et al.*, 2013). What I will show in the following excerpts is what seems to be a shift to responsible capitalism 1 with a renewed marriage to the public service mission while pursuing profits to sustain journalism. This is achieved through rhetoric which normalizes existing analytics technologies, while proposing an alternative technological solution, impact, to fix a dilapidated and failing journalism (Morozov, 2013).

First, we see a discussion about non-profit media's difficulty in assessing their 'impact,' a term that we will see holds competing definitions:

> The media–and especially nonprofit media – has spent the past few years struggling to measure the impact of its work. Some outlets are compelled to do so by counting their philanthropic supporters; others see their impact as foundational to audience development and engagement, and still others are beginning to experiment with the role of impact measurement in advertising and other revenue streams. Of course, at its core, journalism is intended to have an effect: to inform the public so we can be civically engaged and hold the powerful to account (Pitt & Green-Barber, 2017, June 7).

Despite being written by the same publication as the last excerpt evaluated (CJR) and published only two years later, this appears to take a different position to that of Fitts in 2015. In evaluating the 'form' of this excerpt gathered at the textual level of analysis, the public service mission appears to be intertwined with the pursuit of profit, or accruing money and bettering society can be accomplished simultaneously. This is evident in the multiple ways impact has been enumerated: 'counting their philanthropic supporters,' 'impact as foundational to audience developments and engagement' and 'experiment with the role of impact in advertising and other revenue streams.' These are profit-driven metrics, which can be compared with the later statement that the goal of journalism is 'to inform the public so we

can be civically engaged and hold the powerful to account.' These two goals are seen as coexisting. Thus, this can be seen as indicative of the ideological positioning of *responsible capitalism 1*, which assumes public service journalism can be a part of the profit-imperative of the company; and if assuming that the production of a text is socially contingent, it can be deduced that these texts reflect the 'content' of nonprofit journalism (Hershberg, 2014).

In the next excerpt, impact is further described as a solutionist response to the problems which journalism faces. Additionally, more evidence is surfaced for responsible capitalism 1 as an alternative economic logic in journalism, primarily visible in the nonprofit model's appliance of impact within its business strategy:

> Having lost their dominance over channels of communication, and as consumers of news look to new and unconventional sources for information, legacy companies are coming to grips with the fact that evolution is now necessary for their survival. They have started to attend to what happens post-publication: Audience engagement, especially via social media, is an accepted practice in newsrooms, and engagement editors are common in media companies across the United States. The proliferation of nonprofit media has allowed for a wave of experimentation in the co-creation of news, and deep audience and community engagement by media.

> An increasing number of both nonprofit and commercial media organizations are betting that impact—that is, any change in the status quo as a result of an intervention on their part (content, engagement, etc.)—is key to their long-term sustainability […] The more impact a news organization has, the more people will trust that brand and the greater affinity they will feel for it; thus, they'll return more regularly to the organization's website/broadcast program/newspaper, ultimately generating more revenue for the organization (Pitt & Green-Barber, 2017, June 7).

What is first apparent from this excerpt is the focus on journalism as an institution under threat, as legacy companies have 'lost their dominance' and as 'consumers of news look to new and unconventional sources for information.' Pitt and Green-Barber use aspects of the 'form' by creating a narrative, a textual element, which illustrates how the vacating audience is leaving these legacy institutions in a state of disrepair (Richardson, 2007). As a result, a hyperbolic statement is deployed to persuade the reader that 'evolution is necessary for their

survival' (Richardson, 2007). The next line examines what this evolution entails: 'audience engagement, especially via social media, is an accepted practice in newsrooms' and the employment of engagement editors as 'common in media companies.' According to this passage, a technological solution appears to already have been deployed (Morozov, 2013); this 'solution,' however, does not seem to be sufficient, made clear from the following phrase telling how the 'proliferation of nonprofit media' has allowed for 'experimentation' both in content creation and 'engagement.' Further experimentation may not be required if a problem was 'fixed'; however, solutionism seeks to find fixes to problems that may or may not be truly 'problems' in need of fixing, or where technological solutions may not be the answer, yet still are imposed (Morozov, 2013).

A new solution that builds upon this existing (normalized) technological infrastructure is, therefore, necessary. This is made transparent in the second part of this excerpt, where 'impact' is assumed to 'an increasing number' of outlets, both 'nonprofit' and commercial entities, as 'key to their long-term stability.' Impact here is very loosely defined as 'any change in the status quo because of an intervention on their part (content, engagement, etc.)'; the word 'engagement' here is particularly telling, as it is a commonly used neologism used to describe audience analytics; or discourse to convey the constructed audience in quantified terms (Anderson, 2011a). To confirm what this kind of engagement means in the 'form' of this text, the next phrase must be evaluated, which describes how the greater the impact of an entity, the greater the trust on the part of the audience; therefore, 'they'll return more regularly to the organization's website/broadcast/program/newspaper' which will generate 'more revenue' for said entity. Engagement can be best understood here as a romanticized notion of the 'empowered audience' (Anderson, 2011b) or better understood as commodified attention, a continuation of analytics (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015: 101). Thus, a seemingly crucial part of impact, based on the evaluated discourse, is the quantification and commodification of the audience, alongside it's public service mission.

This argument is reaffirmed and given credibility with the intertextual use of citations (Richardson, 2007). In this excerpt, another trade publication's article is hyperlinked; the article

by the Center for Investigative Reporting, 'Impact: From Gold Standard to Convertibility,' was written by Green-Barber (2014), one of the co-authors of this article. The use of this article, is therefore, self-referential, simultaneously elevating this author's expertise on this subject matter and lending credibility to the co-authors' argument for impact as a viable alternative.

In summation, the analysis appears to indicate that impact is a solutionist response to the issues arising in journalism (i.e., resource scarcity), built on the foundation which has been laid by analytics, resulting from the transition to digital (Pickard, 2019). This scarcity includes a diminished supply of labor, which in turn, will lead outlets to seek alternative solutions to fill the void of resources. As previously seen in the last section, the commodified audience served as a new pool of labor (Smythe, 1997: 6 in Fuchs and Fischer, 2015); this very logic applies with impact, though a fundamental change appears to have taken place. There seems to be a shift in the 'content' of the text back to the ideological positioning of responsible capitalism 1, as an alternative model in primarily nonprofit journalism with the inclusion of impact as a core metric for both profit-seeking and public service has emerged. This re-marries public service journalism and the profit imperative and assumes that these values can and will work as one.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This analysis has sought to evaluate an under-researched body of texts in media scholarship, propose a method of evaluation through an inquiry into a proposed duality of news values over time, and draw conclusions based on the results which may prompt future study. By evaluating the 'form' and 'content' of these texts, some preliminary findings suggest that this duality of values may indeed be evident trade texts and there is a noticeable shift during the transition to digital. This self-consciously counters the critical realist claim that 'it is not self-evident from media texts that profit imperatives and journalistic ideologies shape newswork' (Fishman, 1980 in Corrigan, 2018: 2753).

This study, however, was limited in certain capacities. Firstly, I would suggest that the breadth of articles needing to be evaluated to make a judgment about news values over time needs to be higher. Secondly, my analysis was limited by my word count. There was more that could have been analyzed from these texts; though I strive for self-reflexivity, I selected the articles that would best answer my questions within the allotted word count. I worry, however, that I had a hypothesis in mind that may have influenced my results. Finally, I am analyzing two understudied fields: impact and the trade press, which may have hindered my analysis.

Thus, I propose that the journalistic trend of impact needs greater study, especially with regard to its relationship to these duality of news values. This tension in values has been studied somewhat in ethnographic studies of newsroom's utilization of analytics by Nelson and Tandoc in 2019, in terms of how stories which 'do well' are used to provide financial stability for accomplishing the stories which 'do good,' where the impact model fits in with this concept in nonprofits has largely remained unchartered territory. I suggest that further research needs to be conducted into the many ways in which impact bridges journalism's competing values of 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism.

Additionally, news trade press texts need further study as they are suggestive of journalism's values over time. More research needs to be conducted into the influence of these publications as the only source that I was able to come across in my study which examines the news trade press was that of Corrigan (2018); his evaluation studied the trade press using a political economy of communication approach with a critical realist framework. I argue that a variety of methods and theoretical frameworks, both qualitative and quantitative, should be used to better access the scope of influence of the journalism trade press.

In conclusion, by assuming a social constructivist perspective, this analysis indicates that the discourses within these texts appear to reflect a duality of values: 'responsible capitalism' and public service journalism; how 'responsible capitalism' is defined is dependent on the prevailing sociotechnical and economic conditions of the era.

REFERENCES

About the Reuters Institute (2022) Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, URL: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/about-reuters-institute

Anderson, C. W. (2011a) Deliberative, Agonistic, and Algorithmic Audiences: Journalism's Vision of Its Public in an Age of Audience Transparency, *International Journal of Communication* (5): 529-547.

Anderson, C. W. (2011b) Between creative and quantified audiences: Web metrics and changing patterns of newswork in local US newsrooms, *Journalism* 12(5): 550–566.

Aydin-Duzgit, S. and Rumelili, B. (2019) Discourse Analysis: Strengths and Shortcomings, *All Azimuth* 8(2): 285-392.

Bagdikian, B. H. (2000) *The media monopoly*, Beacon Press.

Bean, A. (2021) An audience-first approach: Cultivating Community Through Social Media Video, *Poynter*, 27 January, URL: https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2021/audience-first-approach-cultivate-community-social-media-video/

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Doubleday.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2): 77–101.

Burns, T. (1977) *The BBC: Public Institution and Private World*, Macmillan.

Clarke, V. and Braun, V. (2017) Thematic analysis, *The Journal of Positive Psychology* 12(3): 297-298.

Coddington, M. (2015) The wall becomes a curtain: Revisiting journalism's news–business boundary, pp. 67-82 in *Boundaries of journalism*, Routledge.

Condit, C. M. (1989) The rhetorical limits of polysemy, pp. 494-511 in Lucaites, J. L., Condit, C. M., and Caudill, S. (eds) (1999) *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader*, The Guilford Press.

Converse, P. E. (2006) The nature of belief systems in mass publics (1964), *Critical review 18*(1-3): 1-74.

Corrigan, T. F. (2018) Making implicit methods explicit: Trade press analysis in the political economy of communication, *International Journal of Communication*, 12: 2751-72

Cruickshank, J. (2004) A Tale of Two Ontologies: An Immanent Critique of Critical Realism, *The Sociological Review* 52(4): 567–585.

Dijk, T. (1996) *Discourse studies : A multidisciplinary introduction*, Sage.

Fairclough, N. (1995a) *Media Discourse*, Arnold.

Fairclough, N. (1995b), *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Longman.

Feenberg, A. (1999), *Questioning technology*, Taylor & Francis Group.

Fisher, E. and Fuchs, C. (2015) *Reconsidering value and labour in the digital age (Dynamics of virtual work series)*.

Fitts, A. S. (2015) Can Tony Haile save journalism by changing the metric?. *Columbia Journalism Review*, March 11, URL: https://www.cjr.org/innovations/tony_haile_chartbeat.php

Gans, H. (1979) *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time,* Pantheon Books.

Gillmor, D. (2004) *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism by the People, for the People*, O'Reilly.

Green-Barber, L. (2014) Impact: From Gold Standard to Convertibility. Center for Investigative Reporting. URL: https://cironline.org/blog/post/impact-gold-standard-convertibility-6187

Hall, S. (1980) Encoding/Decoding, pp. 51– 61 in P. Marris, and S. Thornham (eds) (1996) *Media Studies: A Reader,* Edinburgh University Press.

Hay, C. (2016) Good in a crisis: The ontological institutionalism of social constructivism, *New Political Economy* 21(6): 520-535.

Henry, J. F. (2008) The Ideology of the Laissez Faire Program, *Journal of Economic Issues* 42(1): 209–224.

Hershberg, R. (2014) Constructivism, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Action Research,* 1: 182-186.

Herzog, B. (2016) Discourse analysis as immanent critique, *Discourse & Society* 27(3): 278- 292.

Schwartz, J. (2017) Announcing Subscriber Engagement [web log]. Chartbeat, 3 August, URL: https://blog.chartbeat.com/2017/08/03/announcing-subscriber-engagement/

Keller, M. and Abelson, B. (2015) NewsLynx: A tool for newsroom impact measurement. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 4 June, URL: https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/newslynx_a_tool_for_newsroom_impact_measurement.php

Konieczna, M. and Powers, E. (2017). What can nonprofit journalists actually do for democracy?, *Journalism Studies* 18(12): 1542-1558.

Kovach, B. and Rosenstiel, T. (2001) *The Elements of Journalism*, Crown Publishers.

MacGregor, P. (2007) TRACKING THE ONLINE AUDIENCE, *Journalism Studies* 8(2): 280–298.

McChesney, R. W. (2000) *Rich Media, Poor Democracy*, New Press.

McGuire, W. J. (1989) The structure of individual attitudes and attitude systems, pp. 37-69 in *Attitude structure and function*,.

Mehrtens, F. (2004) LAISSEZ-FAIRE VS. REGULATED CAPITALISM: A CROSS-NATIONAL ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL COSTS, *Sociological Spectrum 24*(3): 341-368.

Mitchell, A., Jurkowitz, M., Holcomb, J., and Anderson, M. (2013) *Nonprofit journalism: A growing but fragile part of the US news system.*

Morozov, E. (2013) *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*, PublicAffairs.

Mosco, V. (2009) *The political economy of communication* (2nd ed.), SAGE Publications.

Napoli, P. M. (2011) *Audience Evolution: New Technologies and the Transformation of Media Audiences*, Columbia University Press

Nelson, J. and Tandoc Jr, E. (2019) Doing "Well" or Doing "Good": What Audience Analytics Reveal About Journalism's Competing Goals, *Journalism Studies* 20(13): 1960-1976.

Neuman, N. (2016) *Media, Journalism and Technology Predictions 2016*.

Ottaway, Jr., J. H. (1987) Quality, Profit, and the American Newspaper, *Nieman Reports*, 8-10.

Pickard, V. (2019) *Democracy Without Journalism?*, Oxford University Press.

Pitt, F., and Green-Barber, L. (2017) The Case for Media Impact. *Columbia Journalism Review*, 7 June, URL: https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/the-case-for-media-impact.php#executive-summary

Pourade, R. F. (1955) "Make it Indispensable" The San Diego Union Answers the Question: How to Promote a Newspaper, *Nieman Reports*, 3–7.

Richardson, J. E. (2007) *Analysing newspapers : An approach from critical discourse analysis*, Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Rokeach, M. (1973) *The nature of human values*, Free press.

Rosenstiel, T., Buzenberg, W., Connelly, M., and Loker, K. (2016) *Charting new ground: The ethical terrain of nonprofit journalism*, American Press Institute.

Sayer, A. (2000) *Realism and social science*, SAGE Publications.

Schudson, M. (1989) The sociology of news production, *Media, culture & society* 11(3): 263-282.

Schmidt, C. (2017) Chartbeat adds subscriber analytics to its dashboard – the "single most requested feature", *Nieman Lab*, 3 August, URL: https://www.niemanlab.org/2017/08/chartbeat-adds-subscriber-analytics-to-its-dashboard-the-single-most-requested-feature/

Schwartz, S. H. (1992) Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries, *Advances in experimental social psychology* 25: 1-65, Academic Press.

Scott, B. (2005) A Contemporary History of Digital Journalism, *Television & New Media 6*(1): 89–126.

Sharma, G. (2017) Pros and cons of different sampling techniques, *International journal of applied research* 3(7): 749-752.

Schlesinger, P. (1978) *Putting "Reality" Together: BBC News*, Constable.

Smythe, D. W. (1977) Communications: blindspot of western Marxism, *CTheory* 1(3): 1-27.

Sullivan, J. (2013) *Media Audiences: Effects, Users, Institutions, and Power*, Sage.

Tandoc Jr, E. C. and Maitra, J. (2018) News organizations' use of Native Videos on Facebook: Tweaking the journalistic field one algorithm change at a time, *New Media & Society 20*(5): 1679-1696.

Tandoc Jr, E. and Thomas, R. (2015) The Ethics of Web Analytics. *Digital Journalism* 3(2): 243-258.

Turow, J. (1997) *Breaking up America*, University of Chicago Press.

Turow, J. (2005) Audience Construction and Culture Production: Marketing Surveillance in the Digital Age, *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 597(1): 103–121.

Usher, N. (2013) AL JAZEERA ENGLISH ONLINE, *Digital Journalism* 1(3): 335–351.

van Dijck, J. (2014) Datafication, dataism and dataveillance: Big Data between scientific paradigm and ideology, *Surveillance & Society* 12(2): 197–208.

Wallace, J. (2018) Modelling Contemporary Gatekeeping, *Digital Journalism* 6(3): 274–293.

Zamith, R. (2018) Quantified Audiences in News Production, *Digital Journalism* 6(4): 418–435.

Zerilli, L. M. G. (1998) This Universalism Which Is Not One [Review of *Emancipation(s)*, by E. Laclau], *Diacritics* 28(2): 3–20.

APPENDIX A – SAMPLED TEXTS

Awner, M. (1954) Liberalism and the Labor Press, *Nieman Reports*, 29–30.

Bean, A. (2021) An audience-first approach: Cultivating Community Through Social Media Video, *Poynter*, 27 January, URL: https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2021/audience-first-approach-cultivate-community-social-media-video/

Brucker, H. (1960). What's News, *Nieman Reports*, 5-9.

Clark, R. P. (2021) What makes a story good? Lessons for all public writers, *Poynter,* 29 June, URL: https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2021/what-makes-a-story-good-lessons-for-all-public-writers/

Cohn, D. (2022) What is the 'product' of journalism?, *Poynter,* 6 May, URL: https://www.poynter.org/commentary/analysis/2022/what-is-the-product-of-journalism

Edmonds, R. (2020) R.I.P. Civil - Lessons from a failed startup, *Poynter,* 2 June, URL: https://www.poynter.org/business-work/2020/r-i-p-civil-lessons-from-a-failed-startup/

Edmonds, R. (2020) At the BBC, impartiality remains an unshakeable policy, *Poynter,* 6 July, URL: https://www.poynter.org/ethics-trust/2020/at-the-bbc-impartiality-remains-an-unshakeable-policy/

Edmonds, R. (2022) Quartz is dropping its paywall - back to where it started with most content free, *Poynter*, 19 April, URL: https://www.poynter.org/business-work/2022/quartz-

Fitts, A. S. (2015) Can Tony Haile save journalism by changing the metric?, *Columbia Journalism Review.* 11 March, URL: https://www.cjr.org/innovations/tony_haile_chartbeat.php

Isaacs, N. E. (1968) The Meaning of Responsibility, *Nieman Reports*, 15-18

Hazard Owen, L. (2022) Journalists are increasingly partnering with outside organizations. A new report offers a glimpse at how that's going, *Nieman Lab,* 30 March, URL: https://www.niemanlab.org/2022/03/journalists-are-increasingly-partnering-with-outside-organizations-a-new-report-offers-a-glimpse-at-how-thats-going/

Hickey, N. (2001) Where TV Has Teeth, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 46-50

Karp, R. (1971). Newspaper food pages: credibility for sale, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 36-44.

Keller, M., and Abelson, B. (2015) NewsLynx: A tool for newsroom impact measurement, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 4 June, URL: https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/newslynx_a_tool_for_newsroom_impact_measurement.php

King, M. (1994) Three Worries Behind the Dazzling Promise, *Nieman Reports*, 42.

Kramer, J. (2009) The New Front Page: The Digital Revolution, *Nieman Reports*, 5-8.

Lowrey, W., and Woo, C. W. (2010) The News Organization in Uncertain Times: Business or Institution?, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 87(1): 41–61.

Maloney, J. (1998) Why Wired Misfired, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 10-11.

Maynard, R. C. (1980) New News is Good News, *Nieman Reports*, 4-6.

McLellan, M. (2010) Categorizing What Works–So We Can Apply Those Lessons to Future Endeavors, *Nieman Reports*, 40-42.

Murray, J. E. (1984) Quality News Versus Junk News, *Nieman Reports*, 14-19.

Murray, S. (2022) The ad lab experiment created an advertising network for independent media. here's what we learned, *Nieman Lab*, 31 January, URL: https://www.niemanlab.org/2022/01/the-ad-lab-experiment-created-an-advertising-network-for-independent-media-heres-what-we-learned/

Ottaway, Jr., J. H. (1987) Quality, Profit, and the American Newspaper, *Nieman Reports*, 24 (1): 8-10.

Pitt, F., and Green-Barber, L. (2017) The Case for Media Impact, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 7 June, URL: https://www.cjr.org/tow_center_reports/the-case-for-media-impact.php#executive-summary

Pourade, R. F. (1955) "Make it Indispensable" The San Diego Union Answers the Question: How to Promote a Newspaper, *Nieman Reports*, 3–7.

Regan, T. (2000) Technology Is Changing Journalism, Just as it always has, *Nieman Reports*, 6-9.

Rosenstiel, T. (2006) The Future of News: Sense-Making and Other Strategies for Survival, *Poynter*, 9 June, URL: https://www.poynter.org/reporting-editing/2006/the-future-of-news-sense-making-and-other-strategies-for-survival/

Schmidt, C. (2017) Chartbeat adds subscriber analytics to its dashboard – the "single most requested feature", *Nieman Lab*, 3 August, URL: https://www.niemanlab.org/2017/08/chartbeat-adds-subscriber-analytics-to-its-dashboard-the-single-most-requested-feature/

Scire, S. (2021) Now nonprofit, the Salt Lake Tribune has achieved something rare for a local newspaper: Financial Sustainability, *Nieman Lab*, 29 November, URL: https://www.niemanlab.org/2021/11/now-nonprofit-the-salt-lake-tribune-has-achieved-something-rare-for-a-local-newspaper-financial-sustainability/

Swartz, A. (1974) Ads for outgroups, *Columbia Journalism Review*, 12-15.

Wolseley, R. E. (1961) Newspapers Should Be For Highbrows, *Nieman Reports*, 21-23.

APPENDIX B – TAXONOMY FOR INFLUENCE

Institution	Columbia Journalism Review	Poynter Institute	Nieman Foundation/Nieman Reports/Nieman Lab	Center for Investigative Reporting/Reveal	USC Annenberg/Lear Center: Media Impact Project
Year Founded	1961	1975	Foundation founded in 1938; Nieman	1977	2012

			Reports around since 1947; Nieman Lab founded in 2008		
Current Reach or Circulation	515,000 unique pageviews monthly as of 2015-2018; 27,000 subscribers to The Media Today daily email	10.5 million people turned to poynter.org to understand the media coverage shaping our world [in 2021/2022]; Poynter's Senior Media Writer Tom Jone celebrated journalism success stories and called out journalistic failing with his daily analysis and critique to 16,000 subscribers; The Collective (written by journalists of color) helped build a community of 2,500 to discuss issue of equity in journalism; Newsletter Covering COVID-19 had 7,000+ subscribers	The Lab's most important social outreach platform remains email, with its daily and weekly email newsletters reaching nearly 85,000 people.	As of 2021: 571 Public Radio Stations Airing Reveal; Podcast/Radio Audience: Over 2 Million Listeners - but this is journalistic content	N/A

International or Local Audience	International	International	International	National	Local/National
Number of Followers on Twitter	2022: 157,500	2022: 221,300	2022: 304,600	2022: 45,200	2022: 2,163
Number of Followers on Instagram	2022: 6,994	2022: 4,870	2022: 1,818	N/A	N/A
Current Worth of Organization (or Parent Organization)	Columbia University's total net assets in 2021: $24,698,782	Poynter Institute's total net assets in 2019: $46,379,860	Nieman Foundation's total net assets in 2020: $144,080,404	CIR total net assets in 2020: $1,699,473	USC total net assets in 2021: $11,317,657
Example of Self-Proclaimed Impact	Climate initiative included 350 media partners and reached over 1 million people.	Poynter trained 55,187 journalists, educators and students in 2021/2022 from all 50 USA states and 163 countries around the world; 10.5 million people turned to **poynter.org** to understand the media coverage shaping our world [in 2021/2022]; Poynter's Senior Media Writer Tom Jone celebrated journalism success stories	Shraddha Chakradhar recently appeared on CBS News to discuss research she had written about, and we have a republishing partnership with RQ1, a newsletter focused on academic journalism research. "If there is one organization single-handedly responsible for translating academic research on polcomm and journalism to the interested public, it's Nieman Lab," Nikki Usher, a journalism professor at the University of Illinois, tweeted this year; Nieman Lab stories are also regularly cited by	571 Public Radio Stations Airing Reveal; Podcast/Radio Audience: Over 2 Million Listeners - but this is journalistic content	N/A

		and called out journalistic failing with his daily analysis and critique to 16,000 subscribers; With Poyner's help, 80 public media outlets built digital-first strategies to better connect with their communities.	dozens of leading publications; this year our coverage was mentioned by The New York Times, The Atlantic, CNN, NPR, Bloomberg and The New Republic, as well as industry press outlets like CJR, Pew, API, Poynter and the Knight-Cronkite News Lab.		
Mission of Organization	CJR's mission is to be the intellectual leader in the rapidly changing world of journalism. It is the most respected voice on press criticism, and it shapes the ideas that make media leaders and journalists smarter about their work. Through its fast-turn analysis and deep reporting, CJR is an essential venue not just for journalists, but also for the thousands of professionals in communications, technology, academia, and other fields	The Poynter Institute is a global leader in journalism. It is the world's leading instructor, innovator, convener and resource for anyone who aspires to engage and inform citizens. By supporting the Poynter Institute, you fortify journalism's role in a free society. Poynter champions freedom of expression, civil dialogue	Nieman Reports Mission: Its editorial mission mirrors that of the Foundation itself: "to promote and elevate the standards of journalism."; Nieman Lab Mission: The Nieman Journalism Lab is an attempt to help journalism figure out its future in an Internet age.	At Reveal, we pour the necessary time and resources into unearthing original stories that hold people and institutions accountable for the problems they've caused or benefited from. Our investigative reporting consistently contributes to real-world impact, from civil and criminal investigations to new laws and policies, better-informed conversations and community-driven solutions. As a nonprofit, our bottom line is	Our mission is to understand the social impact of media and effects of media on audiences. We study projects that serve the social good, and strive to be a thought leader in our field. This means we assume two distinctly different roles: as evaluator, we offer impartial judgement on a project's success towards meeting its desired goals; as research partner, we develop innovative new

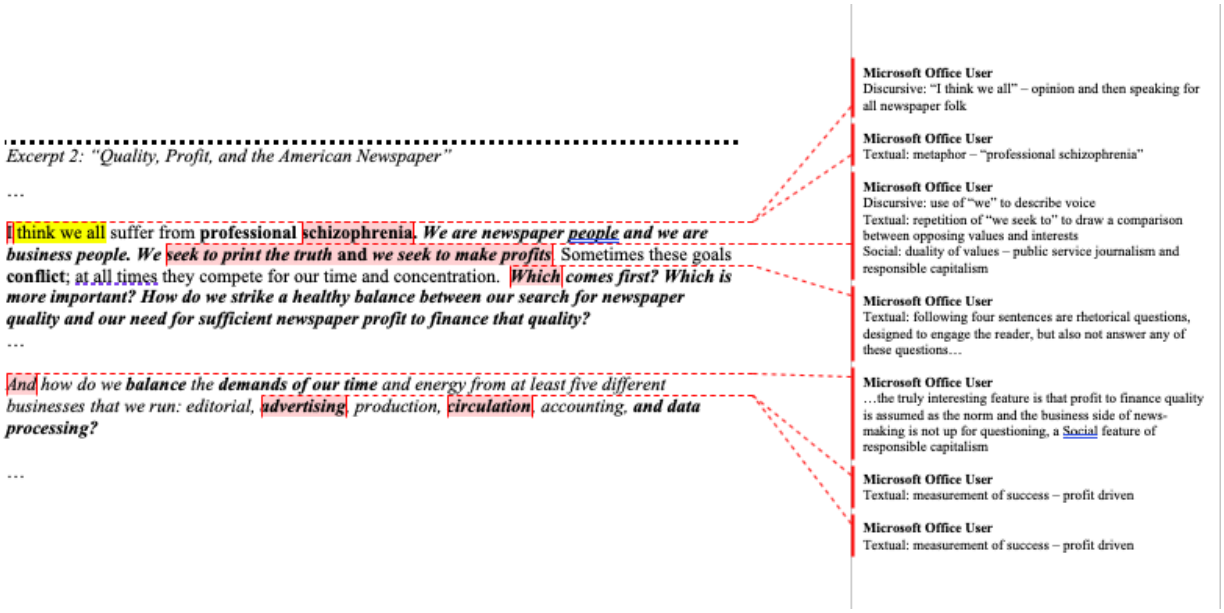
	reliant on solid media industry knowledge.	and compelling journalism that helps citizens participate in healthy democracies. We prepare journalists worldwide to hold powerful people accountable and promote honest information in the marketplace of ideas.		the public interest. We have the courage, freedom and independence to dedicate our entire newsroom to this work because we're powered by support from foundations, individual donors, and readers and listeners like you.	ways to study media and illuminate how media has impacted audiences.
Number of Articles Evaluated TA (30 total)	7	7	16	0	0
Number of Articles Evaluated CDA (6 total)	2	1	3	0	0

Key

First
Second
Third

APPENDIX C – ANNOTATIONS: CDA

Key
Bold: Textual Dimension
Highlighted: Discursive Dimension
Italics: Social Dimension



APPENDIX D – ANNOTATIONS: TA

Coding Framework

Theme	Responsible Capitalism	Public Service Journalism	Normalization of technology	Journalism: an industry always in

				need of repair or under threat
Codes	- measuring or predicting success/failure in terms of metrics which drive profits (or simply profits alone), such as circulation, subscriptions, advertising, promotions or awards, marketing, grants, funding; engagement metrics like clicks, reach, time-on-page, etc. - often quantitative measurements - emphasis on presentation, specialized topic content, spectacle, formatting, branding, 'less substance, more flair' – to drive profits or expand audience reach - news as a business or a product – either direct references, allusions, or indications (i.e. increased efficiency, streamlining, optimization)	- measuring or predicting success/failure in terms of the amount of good (or bad) an outlet/story (or lack thereof)/journalist accomplishes because of content in society at large (i.e. impact) - often qualitative measurement, but can be quantitative - discussing production of high quality and trustworthy content which can better inform the totality of the audience; conditions under which this can occur (i.e. secure newsroom, benefits for workers, steady employment, diverse staff) - objective journalism as the best way to serve the public good - non-traditional media ventures and revenue structures (i.e. non-profit media, collaborative media, self-reliant systems)	- new technology is resisted but accepted as natural - new technology adopted into newsroom practices - solutionism	- scarcity of resources or revenue (i.e. money, training, space, time, quality personnel, etc.) - practices which contribute to and/or the creation of low-quality content (i.e. poor reporting, lawsuits, limits to press freedoms, misrepresentation of audience, problem of bias or slant) - needing to stay relevant/failure to engage audience/diminished trust with audience - poor working conditions (overworked or overtired labor, contract work, lack of diversity or discriminatory practices)

Poynter Institute

"The Future of News: Sense-Making and Other Strategies for Survival"

By Tom Rosenstiel

This article is adapted from remarks the author gave at Poynter's Future of News conference May 22. Additional reports from that conference will appear soon on Poynter Online.

The challenge of American journalism today is managing transition. It is not, I believe, supervising decline, though if journalists define it by the second construction, they can ensure that decline will occur.

What America's newspaper leaders need to figure out, in other words, is how to move from a business financed largely by printing ink on paper to one financed by delivering news electronically to computers, phones, PDAs and other devices still unknown.

That transition is going to happen, with or without newspapers. And how successfully that transition is managed will determine not only whether healthy newsrooms come out on the other end – but also how well important newsroom values endure.

This is not a short-term issue, weathering the storm for a year or two. It is a question of five years, or ten or more. It is a question that will define journalism for the next generation. Survival will depend on the vibrancy of the journalism that newsroom leaders create for the business side to sell. It does not depend on the newsrooms waiting for the business side to invent a new business model. This, in a nutshell, is the future of news.

The first step in managing that transition is coping with the idea that news is becoming a commodity in oversupply. People have access to basic facts from many sources today. That is why The New York Times can charge for its opinion columns and editorials – which cost little to produce – but not for its newsgathering – which costs a great deal.

So news people today need to think harder about what we mean by news. There is no longer a single definition. And we need to figure out what kinds of news can build brand, can define a franchise, and in which the public will find special value. I want to suggest five distinct kinds of news that I think journalists should think about in managing this transition. There may be five others I haven't imagined. Or people may be able to refine these ideas into still better concepts. My goal is get people thinking.

1. Sense-making News

This is the kind of news that most news people gravitate to in thinking about the new media culture. This is the kind of news that helps citizens navigate through all the other media to which they are exposed. It is the news that helps people figure out what to believe. It helps them make order out of random facts. If information is in oversupply, knowledge becomes harder to create because it requires more sifting and sorting. Help me do this.

Sense-making news might be an analytical piece. But it just as easily might be a story that contains one major new piece of the puzzle that helps the picture become suddenly clear. Or it may be a story that adds a piece of contextualizing insight. Or it might be a story that uncovers one new source who hasn't spoken before. It might be a story that tells me what I

have read that is wrong, that I should not believe. Or it might be the story that sorts through all the other stories. It is the story that helps me authenticate what I should trust.

I can think of several examples, though new ones appear everyday. The Wall Street Journal did a memorable piece during the war in Iraq that explained how the American definition of a war hero had evolved from Sgt. York in WW I and Audie Murphy in WW II to Jessica Lynch today. We were no longer as comfortable with heroes who have killed a lot of people. The celebrated soldiers of contemporary America are closer to victims, or survivors.

Or it might be a piece in The Washington Post about how anonymous President Bush's second term cabinet is. The West Wing makes most of the decisions and the President's agenda has shrunk. Or it might be an op ed by direct mail specialist Richard Viguerie about why staunch conservatives are disaffected from the President today.

They are stories that you remember a week later, a month later, a year later. They are stories that help you think and understand. A good editor should recognize them in an instant. They are easier to recognize, however, than to create.

Producing sense-making news also will mean raising the level of expertise among reporters and assigning editors – and probably making your reporting more transparent. It will mean creating journalism that will give the public reason to trust you.

In every community we have studied, newspapers have more boots on the ground covering news than other media, and they contain much that is available nowhere else in the media in that community.

2. Things No One Else Covers

Our content analysis at the **Project for Excellence in Journalism** bears out one thing repeatedly over the years about newspapers. In every community we have studied, newspapers have more boots on the ground covering news than other media, and they contain much that is available nowhere else in the media in that community. It might be stories about zoning boards, community groups, bowling leagues, prep sports or county commissions. But they are the stories that are nowhere else. They are stories that perhaps no more than 10 percent of the audience might want to read. But if you cover enough of them, you have something everyone wants.

The warning here is to tread carefully in cutting back what you do that is unique. Do not fall for what I call The Fallacy of 30 Percent, of covering only the Big Stories that you think everyone wants to know about. Those stories are covered everywhere. This is the lesson that television has learned the hard way, especially network shows and prime time magazines. If you cover only those stories you know will garner a big crowd, you can actually shrink your audience. You have driven everyone else away.

You may need to do this in new ways, figuring out how, for instance, to employ your audience, citizens in your communities, as sentinels of some of this news. Those reports may be interactive. That can be more involving, and more exciting, than the old way of just doing it yourself.

3. Uncover Things – Be a Watchdog

Investigative work remains something the public respects. It gets us very close to why we have a free press in the first place. The criteria of how to spend those resources should center around what will create new public knowledge and what will keep the powerful honest. Serving as a watchdog, the data from public opinion surveys and years of journalism experience both show, involves courage. In the news of the future, the watchdog role – expensive, difficult, time-consuming – will continue to have a central place.

Note that successful watchdog work needs both to be significant and to tell people what they didn't know already. There is enough faux watchdog journalism already in the land. Anyone watching local TV may have been told, for instance, that there is bacteria in yogurt.

4. Create a Local Forum

There is plenty of opinion out there, on radio, TV, online. But relatively little of it is focused on community. And it is not yet clear how much of it will be conducted in ways that elevate expertise and knowledge or comport with the values that traditional news gatherers are comfortable with.

The new technology opens up the possibilities here in powerful ways. We can go well beyond Letters to the Editor. We can go well beyond community meetings. There can be places on your Web sites, list serves, and many other means. The notion that journalists create a forum for public discussion is the principle. How we fulfill it should change with the times. Traditional journalism has already been slow to react. Time is wasting.

5. Identify your News Organization's Deeper Role in your Community. Expand that Role on the Web.

Every news organization has a special personality in its community. This is by parts a function of history, of community culture, of other media in town. It is even partly a function of the image a community has of itself, and how the news organization has shaped that image. Part of journalism, inevitably, is creating the concept of a community, part myth, part hope, part tough love. This is the brand of the news organization, in the deepest sense of the word. This role is always evolving, though that evolution is gradual.

The notion that journalists create a forum for public discussion is the principle. How we fulfill it should change with the times.

A successful news organization, a successful editor, knows what that history is, what that function is. Part of the job of news leaders during the transition to the new age of news is to understand this deeper role of your news organization and not only to transfer that to the Web, but to expand on it, deepen it.

If these are five areas of news where journalists should concentrate, I would like to add a word about how they do it. The term that has become popular of late is to be platform agnostic. I don't like that nomenclature for a couple of reasons. First, agnosticism sounds like you aren't sure what you believe. Second, I think this will invite old legacy media to be slow and ineffective in embracing new technology. I think agnosticism suggests that you will do what you have always done, but transfer it to the Web.

That is a prescription for extinction. The winners in the next age, those who manage the transition successfully, will be those who recognize the potential of the new technology and exploit it. Not those who merely do what the old technology allowed, and maybe add a few bells and whistles. That is the difference between a wagon company and a transportation company.

You can look at the next few years in different ways. One is to imagine how to put out a newspaper with fewer people than you used to, have fewer pages to fill.

Another way to look at the future is to see that the new technology offers remarkable potential. The story that may have five elements in print – a narrative, a headline, a picture, a graphic, a pull quote – could have any one of 30 elements online – including background profiles of major actors, full transcripts of interviews, links to documents, photo galleries and flash, archives, audio, video, and more.

One way looks back and sees what is lost. The other looks forward at what can be done better. One way leads to low morale, and low levels of innovation. Another leads to high morale, and new levels of excitement. One way is nostalgic. The other way is dynamic. One way will also lead your newsroom to invent a journalism that your business side can sell.

We have seen this in our own training in newsrooms at the Committee of Concerned Journalists. Tell a disgruntled newsroom to take 40 minutes, and imagine what their Web site could be in five years, and you can see people come to life. You can be astonished at the creativity and excitement, and you will discover ideas you can put in place in five days, not five years.

Or you can say to yourself, I am a print person. I'm too old for the Web.

A man I have learned a great deal from in recent years, Gregory Favre, often tells young journalists that they are part of a continuum. They owe something to every journalist who has

come before them. And they owe something to those who will come after. That was never more true than today. What is the future of news, and news values?

Whatever it is, it lies in the hands of those who sit in newsrooms today.

Tom Rosenstiel is director of the Project for Excellence in Journalism and vice-chairmain of the Committee of Concerned Journalists.

Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series

The Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series presents high quality MSc Dissertations which received a mark of 75% and above (Distinction).

Selected dissertations are published electronically as PDF files, subject to review and approval by the Editors.

ISSN: 1474-1938/1946