Professional Roles in News Content

Claudia Mellado

Published online: 27 Jun 2014.

Submit your article to this journal ⬀

Article views: 389

View related articles ⬀

View Crossmark data ⬀

PROFESSIONAL ROLES IN NEWS CONTENT
Six dimensions of journalistic role performance

Claudia Mellado

Over the past 50 years, a large body of research on professional roles has analyzed the different functions that journalism should fulfill in society. However, an examination of how these professional roles materialize in journalistic output remains mostly absent. This is especially critical because most studies of journalists' attitudes are justified by assuming that they influence news content. By combining the study of news content with research on professional roles, this study proposes a standardized operationalization of how different professional roles can manifest in journalistic performance. Specifically, this paper connects the characteristics of professional roles that have been studied in comparative contexts with different journalistic discourses and reporting styles in news, considering the relationship between journalism and power, the level of presence of the journalistic voice in a story, and the way journalism approaches the audience.

Introduction

Over the past decades, different journalism models have been theorized according to varied expectations about the role of journalism in society. As a concept of research, professional roles have been of great concern to journalism scholars worldwide, who have empirically measured the set of functions journalists give more importance to in informing society, and how these roles have changed over time and across different cultures (Hanitzsch et al. 2011; Patterson and Donsbach 1996; Weaver and Wilhoit 1986, 1996; Weaver et al. 2007; Weaver and Willnat 2012). However, significantly less attention has been paid to empirically measuring professional roles evidenced in journalistic output (Vos 2002). What characteristics in the news can provide linkages between what journalism ought to be and how journalism manifests its roles in practice? Journalism culture consists of both elements—evaluative and performative (Hanitzsch 2007). Thus, scholars have to consider the two sides of a coin, norms and practices (Schudson 2003), in order to examine journalism as an institution.

Ideals and values serve to legitimatize and define journalism. Evaluative ideals are the tools and skill sets that set journalism apart from other fields and guarantee its autonomy from heteronymous forces (Waisbord 2013). However, while role conception applies at an abstract level (ideals of what it is important to do), role performance deals with behaviors (actions, process or gathering of reactions) influenced by reference groups, which leads to performing a task or function in a specific group, organization or society (Burke and Reitzes 1981; Biddle 1979). One has to keep in mind that although its relevant components are inevitably determined in reference to normative criteria, journalistic role

performance is an empirical construct. The distinction between thinking and doing is essential: having internalized a role conception frame does not evoke that frame in every doing situation, because the performance of the roles is situational, as different perspectives from role theory research has shown (Turner 2006; Vos 2013). In this sense, talking about role performance does not necessarily involve the assumption that journalists enact a conceived role (Coyne 1984), but that they may perform a role as part of a collective outcome (Burke and Reitzes 1981). Following this argument, role performance can be seen as an outcome of dynamic negotiations.

To analyze the performative components of journalism, scholars can either look at the news production process and routines, or look at the news product as an outcome.

The performance of roles can take the form of actions performed prior to the output, such as adherence to organizational routines, interaction with sources or styles of data-gathering, and certainly, it is difficult to work backwards from content if the goal is analyzing the means of production. However, while there are other methods to study the process, we are interested in analyzing journalistic performance from the latter perspective, understanding as journalistic role performance the collective outcome of concrete newsroom decisions and the style of news reporting, influenced by different internal and external forces that potentially inhibit but can also enable the practice of journalism (Shoemaker and Vos 2009).

Therefore, we propose a way to systematically measure how different professional roles that have been widely studied in comparative contexts materialize in the news product.

Journalism is decisive in the exercise of power in modern societies, and the way that journalists deliver news information has a profound impact on the shaping of the public and private debate. Since professional roles legitimize journalism in a particular society, and the public evaluates journalism based on what they can see, it is important to know how those roles become manifest in content, in order to understand better how journalism justifies its existence over professional work.

By combining the study of news content with research on professional roles, this article conceptualizes and suggests concrete operationalization of six overlapping but not mutually exclusive empirical dimensions of journalistic role performance in news: intervention, watchdog, loyal, service, "infotainment" and civic. The different proposed role dimensions will help researchers in future studies to analyze the presence of different types of journalistic performance in news content and test its validity across cultures.

From Role Conception to Role Performance

Several aspects have prevented scholars from properly translating roles in news content indicators.

First, the study of professional role conceptions rests on the assumption that the way journalists understand their functions shapes the news content that they produce (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). Nevertheless, inconclusive evidence exists to support that relationship within the journalistic field. While some research has shown a connection between role conceptions and news decisions (Kepplinger, Brosius, and Staab 1991; Patterson and Donsbach 1996; Starck and Soloski 1977), other studies have shown no relationship or only a weak relationship between these aspects (Tandoc, Hellmueller, and Vos 2013; Weaver and Wilhoit 1996; Vos 2002; Van Dalen, de Vreese, and Albæk 2012),

questioning the explanatory power of role conceptions on the practice of journalism. Several scholars have suggested that journalists' professional role conceptions may not fully correspond to their real professional performance (Benson and Neveu 2005).

Indeed, the way professional roles work in journalism is not that straightforward. It is one thing, for example, to be committed to the citizen-oriented role of journalism as an ideal, but entirely another to work in the newsroom, where editors demand five or more stories from a journalist on a daily basis, and where the journalists constantly get feedback on their computer identifying the most-clicked articles on the newspaper website. Indeed, routines may influence the linear role–performance link, with editors dictating how a story should be edited according to the organizations' overall role. At the level of the journalist, cognitive-psychological factors (Kepplinger, Brosius, and Staab 1991), as well as socio-psychological factors (Donsbach 2004) can also determine the news outcome. Journalists' personal attitudes can also originate from various sources linked to various reference groups (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). At the same time, news organizations have specific economic constraints, and the political, social or cultural atmosphere of the specific national context sets limits on news content (Esser 2008).

Second, there has been an important conceptual divorce between the study of professional roles and research on news content (Van Dalen, de Vreese, and Albæk 2012). Journalistic professional roles studies have focused on the evaluative more than on the performative level of journalism culture (Esser 2008, 406), which isolates it from the broader literature on the construction of news (Vos 2005).

Third, despite their pioneering efforts, the available studies of professional roles by means of content analysis have not yet developed a commonly accepted conceptualization and form of methodological standardization. On one hand, studies are not clear regarding the operationalization of their measurements, since they depend on subjective interpretations rather than looking for specific indicators and practices that reveal professional roles in news content (Weaver and Wilhoit 1996; Vos 2002). For example, Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) and Vos (2002) studied role conceptions and separately evaluated news items written by the surveyed reporters. However, the operational definition of roles in news content takes the form of several statements that are the same as the questions that the journalists were asked when surveyed.

On the other hand, studies of news content and reporting styles tend to focus on isolated indicators (Benson and Hallin 2007; Esser 2008; Van Dalen, de Vreese, and Albæk 2012), making establishing the validity of scales and the assessment of reliability difficult.

While a body of literature has conceptualized role conceptions, arrived at operationalizations of role conceptions, and asserted an equivalence between role conceptions and role performance, the purpose of this article is, therefore, to conceptualize role performance in terms that highlight the empirical referents of various journalistic discourses and reporting styles, thus, arriving at operationalizations of role performance in news content and moving forward in the study of professional roles in journalism.

Journalism needs a more thorough understanding of the news in relation to the ideals of professional roles, as well as to assert the different locations that journalism has within the public sphere (Schudson 2003), so expanding the scope of research on professional roles by including the dimension of performance is an important contribution to the field. In addition, given recent technological and economic disruptions of gatekeeping processes, such effort is relevant to examining institutional changes (Shoemaker and Vos 2009). Understanding professional roles as social phenomena allows

us to move from the concept of role conception to the concept of role performance, giving us a real sense of how the rhetoric of journalism roles translates to practice. It informs us how or to what extent news professionals have enough autonomy to materialize their role conceptions in the news product that is made known to the public, and therefore, it helps us evaluate the way that professional role conceptions are being studied.

One of the greatest advantages of facing the study of professional role performance in this way is that it allows for systematical comparison of the intensity of presence of different journalistic performances in different contexts, the future validation of measurement scales, as well as the relationship between the different dimensions of role performance in a more holistic way. Since role performance focuses its attention on specific journalistic news decisions and styles of news reporting, the concept enables us to link directly research on news content with the study of professional roles, filling a gap in current research literature.

Conceptual Dimensions of Professional Role Performance

Journalistic roles have mostly been studied as dimensions of a professional ideology, professionalism and journalism culture (Vos 2005). As part of professional ideology, professional roles have been understood as a shared occupational view of how journalism and the media should operate in society (Cohen 1963). In terms of professionalism, they have been seen as the responsibilities of journalism and the news media in society (Johnstone et al. 1976; Weaver and Wilhoit 1996). As journalism culture, meanwhile, professional roles have been conceptualized as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful (Hanitzsch 2007, 369).

A large number of the studies of professional roles have focused on different typologies and dimensions on which the role conceptions of journalists can be classified: some as ideal types, some as normative standards and some as empirical models (Donsbach 2008). More than five decades of research have produced an outstanding body of work on this topic (Johnstone et al. 1976; Weaver and Wilhoit 1986, 1996; Weaver et al. 2007; Donsbach and Patterson 2004; Hanitzsch et al. 2011; Mellado et al. 2012; Ramaprasad and Kelly 2003).

Although the conceptual equivalence between the specific role typologies proposed so far is not particularly strong, previous literature suggests that journalistic professional roles can be approached from at least three different perspectives: the level of presence of the journalistic voice in the news story, the relationship that journalism has with those in power, as well as the way journalism approaches the audience (Hanitzsch 2007; Donsbach 2008; Eide and Knight 1999; Marr et al. 2001).

These three ways of analyzing professional roles are related to different expectations of the role of journalism in different political, economic and cultural (i.e., media) systems as research on role conception has documented. Therefore, we can analyze different dimensions of journalistic role performance based on these main domains, in order to enable cross-national comparative research.

Undoubtedly, these are not the only perspectives from which role performance can be analyzed in news content, nor are they the only dimensions of journalistic performance

that can be found in news, but we based on them since they cover the main roles that have been empirically studied in different settings.

Presence of the Journalistic Voice

This domain deals with the active–passive stance of the journalists in their reporting. The passive stance has been associated in the literature with the neutral (Cohen 1963) and disseminator (Weaver and Wilhoit 1986) roles; while the active stance has been linked to the participant (Johnstone et al. 1976; Donsbach and Patterson 2004), advocate (Janowitz 1975) and missionary role ideals (Köcher 1986).

From that perspective, the *intervention* dimension of role performance can be identified, dealing with concrete decisions and reporting styles regarding the presence or absence of the journalistic voice in the news product (see operationalization in the next section). The absence of the journalistic voice in the news output refers to a kind of journalism that gives importance to the distance between the journalist and the facts (Tuchman 1973; Donsbach and Patterson 2004). Its more active counterpart is more journalist-centered (Esser 2008), where news professionals have a voice in the story, and sometimes act as advocates for different groups in society. These two ways of reporting conform to a unidimensional structure, whereby a greater level of presence of journalistic voice implies higher levels of intervention, and vice versa.

Power Relations

This way of approaching journalistic roles is connected to the relationship journalists hold with those in power. Power can be based on different forms of resources, such as political power, economic power and also socio-cultural power. Of course, all those forms of power are related, but the influence they have might be different in different contexts. Journalists might defend the idea of monitoring the powerful and denouncing wrong-doings (Waisbord 2000; Weaver et al. 2007). At the same time, journalists might see their primary function as acting as loyal spokespersons for those in power, giving importance to conveying a positive image of them, as well as supporting official policies—all aspects that can be linked to the propagandist (Pasti 2005), lapdog (Donsbach 1995) or 'guard dog' roles of journalism (Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien 1995).

From that perspective, two dimensions of role performance can be identified: the *watchdog* and the *loyal-facilitator*. These dimensions are independent of each other, and the lesser presence of one does not mean the greater presence of the other.

Watchdog journalism—also known as "muckraking", investigative, adversarial or exposé reporting—seeks to hold the government, business and other public institutions accountable, serving as a "fourth estate" (Waisbord 2000). Journalism performance closer to the watchdog model entails being a custodian of conscience, making visible hidden facts by those in power (Ettema and Glasser 1998).

The loyal-facilitator dimension, on the other hand, relates to characteristics such as being submissive, dependent, servile and a defender of the powerful (Sparrow 1999). Nevertheless, the terms attached to this model have sometimes been employed without considering the context in which they develop. Xiaoge (2005) and Ramaprasad and Kelly (2003), for example, have indicated that for different Asian countries, the role of journalism has to do with aiding the government's development efforts, the preservation of social harmony and the strengthening of national unity. In that context, this dimension is also

associated with some variants of the so-called development(al) journalism. Romano (2005), for example, proposes two categories closely linked to ideas of the loyal-facilitator role: journalists as government partners and journalists as nation builders.

Audience Approach

The way journalism approaches the audience relates to the public service–commercial debate about journalism, including the view of the audience as citizens, clients or spectators. From the latter perspective, journalism adopts a more consumer-oriented role (Eide and Knight 1999), different to the citizen (Rosen 1996) or populist mobilizer role (Weaver et al. 2007).

Based on this different understanding of the audience, journalistic professional roles can be associated with three independent dimensions of role performance.

The *civic* dimension—also known as public journalism (Rosen 1996), citizen-oriented journalism (Nip 2006) or community journalism (Lauterer 1995)—incorporates some aspects of social responsibility theory, focusing on the connection between journalism, the citizenry and public life (Merritt 1998). Journalistic performance that takes these ideas is concerned with encouraging the public to get involved in public debate, and to participate in social, political and cultural life (Dahlgren 1995). This dimension resonates with one of the several definitions of development journalism, where journalism can raise awareness of profound problems, helping to inform government agents about social needs (Gunaratne 1996).

Service journalism combines the rights and self-interests of the audience, creating a client–professional relationship between the journalist and the public. As an answer to the growing complexity of modernity, this dimension of role performance—also associated with lifestyle journalism (Hanusch 2012)—provides information, knowledge and advice about goods and services that audiences can apply in their day-to-day lives (Underwood 2001). Although service journalism tends to individualize problems, it can politicize issues as well, as it has much in common with social movements and advocacy groups (Eide and Knight 1999, 525).

Finally, *infotainment journalism*, also called tabloid (Grabe et al. 2001) or market-driven journalism (McManus 1994), uses different stylistics, narrative and/or visual discourses in order to entertain and thrill the public. This type of journalism addresses the public as spectator (Atkinson 2011), where the audience's relaxation and emotional experiences become the center of attention.

Operationalization of Professional Roles in News

Each of the six dimensions of role performance introduced in the previous section will be operationalized in terms of their practical manifestations in news content (see Figure 1). Using the analysis categories developed here may allow scholars to construct different indices representing the position of a news product—near or far—from each of these dimensions of journalistic performance.

To develop the operational definition of each dimension of role performance, we refer to the large body of literature on news content using different language-based and stylistic indicators that can be related to the performance of professional roles.
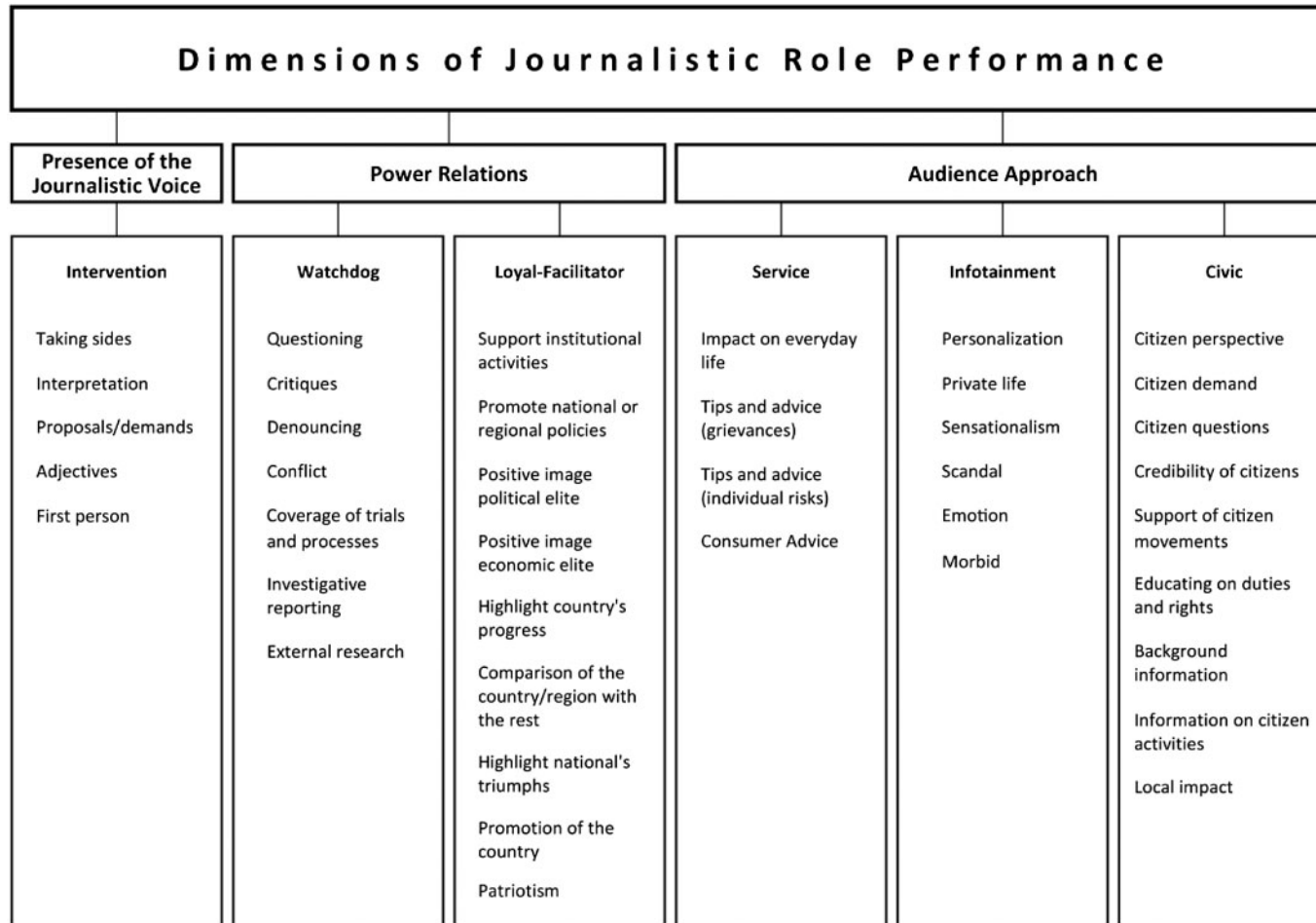
Dimensions of Journalistic Role Performance

Presence of the Journalistic Voice	Power Relations		Audience Approach		
Intervention	**Watchdog**	**Loyal-Facilitator**	**Service**	**Infotainment**	**Civic**
Taking sides	Questioning	Support institutional activities	Impact on everyday life	Personalization	Citizen perspective
Interpretation	Critiques	Promote national or regional policies	Tips and advice (grievances)	Private life	Citizen demand
Proposals/demands	Denouncing	Positive image political elite	Tips and advice (individual risks)	Sensationalism	Citizen questions
Adjectives	Conflict	Positive image economic elite	Consumer Advice	Scandal	Credibility of citizens
First person	Coverage of trials and processes	Highlight country's progress		Emotion	Support of citizen movements
	Investigative reporting	Comparison of the country/region with the rest		Morbid	Educating on duties and rights
	External research	Highlight national's triumphs			Background information
		Promotion of the country			Information on citizen activities
		Patriotism			Local impact

FIGURE 1
Six dimensions of journalistic role performance

The proposal argues that as well as typologies of roles which can occur simultaneously (Weaver et al. 2007), news content may also present attributes of different roles at the same time. Furthermore, these dimensions of journalistic role performance are not discreet and they may overlap in practice.

The six dimensions proposed by this study can be seen as empirical constructs to study role performance in news content in different cultural contexts. Indeed, the long tradition of professional roles research, as well as studies on news content, give us a strong conceptual basis for predicting the number of professional role dimensions we would find across societies among the three selected domains. Nevertheless, taking into account that several concepts are inevitably culturally bound, it is likely that not all indicators that emerge from the literature work in the same way in all societies, over all, considering that the proposed six dimensions can be seen as reflective measurement models—where the dimensions exist independently of the measures used, and where adding or dropping an item does not change the conceptual domain of the dimension (Wirth and Kolb 2012).

This way of analyzing professional roles in news accepts the basic assumptions of quantitative content analysis. As a template for empirical studies, we propose to consider the news story as the unit of analysis. Each of the developed indicators can be measured on a dichotomous scale, where they are coded as present or absent, and also on a continuous scale, where the items are coded in terms of the intensity of their presence within the unit of analysis. Although at the expense of more valid measures, we recommend coding for manifest rather than latent meaning content, in order to increase intercoder reliability.

Intervention

We propose distinguishing between journalist's opinion, interpretation, proposals and demands, the use of qualifying adjectives, and the use of the first-person, as five different indicators of this model of journalism in news content.

Several studies have related a neutral reporting style to excluding the journalist's point of view from the story, leaving out personal values, where any opinion must be attributed to a source (Gans 1980). Blumler and Gurevitch (1995), for instance, argue that journalists who uphold the interventionist role believe it is acceptable to take sides in political disputes. Based on that rationale, we can define *journalist's opinion* as indicating the extent to which journalists include their view or judgments in the news, stating their position on a story. Of course, the journalist's opinion is not limited to political disputes. In fact, journalistic voices can take a specific side related to any event, making themselves into advocates of any group with defined interests.

Within this dimension, journalists may also manifest the need for change in relation to any event or topic: they might *propose or demand* changes as to how a determined action is being carried out by a group or individual.

Research has also linked neutrality versus intervention to the presence or absence of *interpretation* within a news story. Performing in an interpretative reporting style can be understood as something opposed to a descriptive, fact-based journalism (Salgado and Strömbäck 2012). According to this, the journalist can explain, evaluate and/or give the public an understanding of the causes, meanings or possible consequences of certain facts. Nevertheless, interpretation is not the same as opinion. While the latter makes a reference to the author's explicit personal perspective, interpretation deals with the

explanation of a fact, without necessarily giving a value judgment (Benson and Hallin 2007).

Another characteristic that has been associated with this dimension of journalistic role performance is the *use of qualifying adjectives* within the news material journalists produce. Since under the disseminator model "facts speak for themselves", descriptors or rhetorical figures are not necessary (Marauri, Rodríguez, and Cantalapiedra 2011). At the same time, the style of news writing tends to be third-person rather than *first-person*, avoiding nominative, objective and possessive personal pronouns (Fox and Park 2006). The omniscient narrator's perspective can certainly fulfill multiple functions: it could be used for being a witness to a story, appropriating an action or giving an opinion.

It is important to note that characterizing journalistic performance as fact-based, third-person, and devoid of opinion and/or interpretation, does not ensure that a story will be free of bias (Hofstetter 1976). Letting sources talk, for example, forces the journalists to make choices about which sources they keep within the story, and the predominance they give to each one of them.

Unlike the other five dimensions of role performance that we will identify, the intervention dimension is not context based, but is always present in the news content's narrative logic. The more presence or absence of the journalistic voice in the news story always interacts with the other dimensions of role performance used by the journalists in their daily work. For example, watchdog journalism may become adversarial when journalists take sides, promote or use adjectives in their reporting.

Watchdog

We propose seven different aspects to measure the level of presence of the watchdog journalism dimension in news content.

An important element that defines the watchdog dimension is the function of scrutinizing official behavior. This can apply, for example, to cases of corruption, fraud, white-collar crime, political blockading of legal initiatives, harassment, misinformation, human rights violations and corporate abuses.

Following that logic, the journalist may *question* the validity or veracity of what those individuals or groups in power say or do, implying an attitude of doubt or skepticism (Clayman et al. 2007). The journalist can also *criticize* what the individuals or groups in power say or do, using a negative tone and explicit disagreement when referring to the powers being investigated (Pinto 2008). The journalists may also account for, or *denounce* something illegal, irregular or inconvenient, concerning individuals or groups in power (Waisbord 2000). In that way, a news story can show evidence of *conflict between the journalist and those in power* (e.g. physical confrontation, threats or harassment, veto). In some cases, the journalists may even directly invoke a source, an institution or an individual from a sphere of power as an opponent. From this perspective, the presence of negative value judgments by the journalists, as well as explicit conflict between the journalist and the power being investigated, may account for a more participant-oriented performance (Weaver and Wilhoit 1986), closer to an adversarial journalism model (Ettema and Glasser 1998).

In some contexts, however, when the journalist has the intention, but not enough freedom to directly question, criticize or denounce those in power, this journalism model may need institutional partners—e.g. public parties, whistle-blowers—to be able to exist

(Waisbord 2000). When that happens, the *questioning, critiques and accusations of wrongdoings done by people or groups other than the journalist* must also be considered within the operationalization of this model.

Pursuing the commitment to investigate institutional life beyond a single news story (Zelizer and Allan 2010, 170) is another element that characterizes this dimension of role performance. Accordingly, providing *information on judicial or administrative processes against* de facto *powers* is another way that journalists have to perform it, bringing the public up to date on the state of trials that political, economic or other powers have been involved with.

One aspect that has been systematically related to watchdog journalism is the particular use of news-gathering methods (Waisbord 2000), and specifically, the presence of *investigative reporting*, where the journalist informs on abuse of power or wrongdoing of the *de facto* powers based on extensive inquiry and research, beyond reliance on leaks and secondary sources of information (De Burgh 2008). In view of different political, economic, commercial and professional constraints that can affect the possibilities for conducting this type of research, journalists may also use other formulas, including other institutions, in the process of media investigation. Waisbord (2000, xvi) suggests that in South America, for example, the absence of regulations authorizing public access and gaps in the implementation of existing laws excludes the possibility of reporters obtaining official information without help from sources. Under these circumstances, another indicator of the presence of this dimension of role performance is the narration of *external research*, where the news story gives space to investigations that were not carried out by the journalist—such as judicial administrative, specialized/academic research, among others—but that he or she covers extensively.

Loyal-facilitator

This type of journalism can materialize in two ways. In its first variant, journalists cooperate with those in power, and accept the information they provided as credible (Bagdikian 1992). To characterize this facet of this dimension of role performance, we propose four indicators that reflect the packaging of journalists' narrative.

An important aspect of loyal-facilitator journalism is the defense and promotion of actions carried out by *de facto* powers. Two indicators reflect this characteristic: *support institutional activities* carried out by the political or economic elite, and *promote national or regional policies* (Bishop 2000; Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien 1995). Giving a *positive image of the political elite* and giving a *positive image of the economic elite* are other relevant characteristics that distinguish the performance of this model (Donohue, Tichenor, and Olien 1995; Hertsgard 1989). When the journalist gives a positive image of the *de facto* powers, he or she favorably stresses and highlights leadership or management skills, as well as their personal characteristics. This type of support tends to use positive adjectives when referring to these actors at the individual level.

In its second variant, this type of journalism moves the focus from the *de facto* power to the nation-state unit, portraying a positive image of one's country, encouraging the sense of belonging and strengthening national prestige.

We propose five indicators to characterize the performance of this dimension's variant. When the *country's progress and/or success* is present in news content, the journalist emphasizes that the country is progressing, or that it is doing better than before in any

relevant dimension (Verma 1988). When journalists *compare their country/region* to the rest of the world, they highlight the advances and triumphs of the territory where they are based (Verma 1988). Meanwhile, when *national triumphs* are present within the news story, the journalist places relevance on the achievements of national individuals or groups at any level.

The *promotion of the country* is another aspect that characterizes this variant of loyal-facilitator journalism (Bishop 2000). When this indicator is present, the news item refers to activities organized with the objective of promoting a country's image abroad. The final indicator is related to the presence of patriotic elements within the news story. Ward (2010, 216) distinguishes two forms of *patriotism*: communal patriotism, which represents a loyalty to one's land, language and customs, and political patriotism, which is linked to the love of one's country's political values, structure and ideals. When patriotism is present, in either of these two forms, the journalist makes statements positively valuing being from a specific nation.

Service

We propose four indicators to characterize this dimension of role performance in journalism.

The first indicator is *impact on everyday life*, which refers to the focus given to the consequences or meaning that certain facts or events have for people's everyday life (Eide and Knight 1999). For example, a news story on climate change where the journalist stresses that society will have to change the way it produces energy would not fall into this category, while a news story on the same topic which emphasizes that people have to pay more for electricity every month would. Stories in which the journalist denounces examples of bad service or deception by ordinary individuals, which are damaging to or harming people's lives, also tend to be part of this focus.

Another characteristic of this dimension in news is associated with the presence of tips or practical advice on a personal level (Hanusch 2012). Eide and Knight (1999) differentiate two ways in which the journalists can advise the public: as an answer to grievances and as answers to risks. Based on Eide and Knight's conceptualization, we propose two indicators to characterize this aspect of service journalism: the presence of *tips and advice to manage problems that people have with their environment*—how to face noisy neighbors, how to handle wrongful charges, how to deal with inefficient government workers—and the presence of *tips and advice to improve aspects or solve personal* problems that the public could potentially face, such as how to stay healthy, how to be a smart buyer and save money, how to invest or assure savings and a safe retirement. Journalists who perform any of these characteristics tend to include an expert opinion, other than the journalist's, within the news story.

Based on the "promotional culture" associated with service journalism (Wernick 1991), we finally propose looking at the presence of *consumer advice*, where the journalist informs the reader where they can find the best price for different products, the latest trends with products and services in the market, or help them distinguish between products of different qualities.

Infotainment

We distinguish between eight characteristics when describing the level of presence of infotainment in news content.

Research—mostly about political coverage—has studied *personalization* (Sheafer 2001) and *private life* (Van Zoonen 1998) as characteristic of infotainment, and some research has referred to both as the same concept, subsuming private life under the larger umbrella of personalization (Van Aelst, Sheafer, and Stanyer, 2012).

Nevertheless, we consider personalization and private life as different characteristics of this dimension of journalistic performance. The presence of personalization will be observed when the narrative of the journalist centers on one or more people and their different intellectual, physical, mental, social or basic personal characteristics. Private life, meanwhile, includes those aspects of a person's life that do not correspond to areas of public interest, and that people normally prefer to maintain in their personal sphere, like a story on the president of the country as a father, or a famous business man's youth and past. Other examples could be related to hobbies, affairs and romantic life, past, finance or vacations.

Sensationalism has been operationally defined as the presence of news content features that stimulate media audiences' senses, triggering emotional responses or arousal (Grabe et al. 2001), for example, through the use of narrative and visual resources that highlight the unusual, spectacular or unexpected. Among the language tools used to perform this characteristic are exaggeration, hyperbole, the use of dramatic superlative adjectives or the use of metaphors (Benson 2002).

The presence of *scandal* has been defined as "actions or events involving certain kinds of transgressions which become known to others and are sufficiently serious to elicit public response" (Thompson 2000, 13). Within the frame of political news coverage, scandal has been related to the publication of information that includes both legal transgressions and violation of social norms (Canel and Sanders 2006). Considering that framework, but assuming that scandals can also happen in non-political situations, we propose understanding this characteristic as an illegitimate or immoral event, but that does not have to do with actions associated with a public role. In that context, scandal is present when journalists focus on events such as an extra-marital affair, divergent sexual behavior, domestic violence and poor conduct in public areas, among others. If a news item refers to a political scandal (e.g. the Watergate case), it should not be considered to be a scandal in the context of infotainment journalism. But, if the news item mentions a politician's sex scandal (e.g. Berlusconi's love affairs), then it should.

As a distinct category of infotainment journalism, *emotions* have been conceptualized as a reaction of great intensity produced by different feelings (Aust 2003). When verbal emotions are present, journalists make explicit references to feelings within the narrative of a news story. Elements typically included within this category are general descriptions of different emotions, such as being anxious, angry, sad, confident, embarrassed, happy, disgusted, scared, euphoric, among others. When visual emotions are present, the news content includes images that show strong feelings from the actors in the story. Typical images in this category include somebody crying, yelling, expressions of anger, roaring with laughter, among others.

Finally, the literature has analyzed *morbidity* in the context of a more commercial and entertaining role of journalism. The morbid has generally been linked to an obsessive tendency towards the unpleasant, cruel and prohibited (Mason and Monckton-Smith 2008). When a verbal form of morbidity is present, the journalists exacerbate the reader's attention through the text, describing in concrete detail acts of violence, crime or sex

scenes. A visual form of morbidity is present when journalists exacerbate the reader's attention, including in the explicit story images of crime, sex or violence.

Civic

We propose nine indicators to measure the level or presence of civic journalism in news content.

The first three indicators—*citizen perspective*, *citizen demand* and *citizen questions*—have to do with listening to citizens' stories and ideas, giving a voice to ordinary people and community leaders to express their views on public affairs (Kurpius 2002; Voakes 2004).

When the citizen perspective is present, the journalist includes one or more citizen's voices within the news story, showing how they perceive different institutional decisions. When citizen demand is present, the journalist takes citizens' requests or proposals into account, showing how they believe different political decisions should be handled. Finally, a citizen question is present when the journalist includes concerns and inquiries from common people for those who are in power. In the three cases, citizens may be included via direct or indirect quotes, or references made of what they think, demand or ask.

Paying systematic attention to the credibility of the public's messages (Lambeth 1998, 17) has been another feature linked to civic-oriented journalism. In connection with this, we propose measuring the presence of two indicators. One is related to the *credibility of citizens*, or the validity journalists ascribe to citizens regarding what they perceive, denounce or demand. The other has to do with giving *support to citizen movements*, that is, when a news story explicitly supports an organization as a positive example to follow.

An important aspect that characterizes this dimension is the idea of stimulating citizen deliberation, and building an understanding of issues (Voakes 2004). One way of achieving this purpose is *educating in duties and rights*. The presence of this indicator is reflected when the journalist seeks to instruct people on their economic, social and/or political responsibilities (McMillan et al. 1998). For example, when the government gives a subsidy and the news item informs them about where to go, or how to justify voter absenteeism. Another way of achieving this purpose is providing the citizen with *background information*, which can be distinguished from current facts, primarily on a temporal basis (Benson and Hallin 2007). This might include explaining politician's positions or decisions (how they have voted, how they have previously behaved), the reasons behind demonstrations or protests, or the objectives of citizen groups, among others.

Delivering *information on citizen activities* is also an element used to engage individuals as citizens (Moskowitz 2002). When this indicator is present in the news product, the journalist gives information about citizen acts such as campaigns, collective actions, protests, commemorations, marches and protests. In this way, the journalist can also motivate readers to participate or emphasize the importance, relevance and/or implications of cultural activities for society.

Finally, highlighting the impact of political decisions on local communities is another way to perform this type of journalism (Blazier and Lemert 2000). When *local impact* is said to be present, journalists need to deal with the consequences that such decisions could have on specific towns, provinces, villages or other specific areas.

Conclusions

By combining the study of news content with research on professional roles, this article proposed a way to measure systematically how different dimensions of professional roles materialize in journalistic outputs. The dialogue between both perspectives gives a solid basis for evaluating the practice of journalism, and makes it possible to develop standardized scales to measure journalistic role performance in news content.

We distinguish six dimensions of role performance: intervention, watchdog, loyal-facilitator, service, infotainment and the civic model. Although independent, these dimensions may overlap in practice, since news content may include characteristics from different journalism models simultaneously.

Undoubtedly, at the individual level, negotiations in relation to reference groups (organizational and societal factors) may allow journalists to switch or combine roles in a more situational way (Lynch 2007). Thus, these six dimensions allow for establishing trends in terms of the intensity of the presence of specific role performances within the same news story.

Rather than analyzing journalism in terms of what stories are told, we argue for both models that focus on how news stories are told, identifying the components that characterize different dimensions of role performance, regardless of classical differentiations of media type. Indeed, this operationalization can also be useful to content analyze role performance across and within different kinds of news media, both written and broadcast.

In spite of the heavy influence of the Western model on assumptions about how journalism should work in society (Wahl-Jorgensen and Hanitzsch 2009), our work does not evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of each dimension from a normative perspective; rather, it is focused on the conceptualization and operationalization of specific characteristics that define those dimensions of role performance.

However, more work must be done to optimize cumulativity and comparability.

First, future studies should contribute to the study of role performance in journalism by designing measures at the organizational level of analyisis, as well as focusing on the development of the theoretical link between ideals and practice.

Second, focusing on the development of quantitative standardized scales does not mean that each of these dimensions cannot be analyzed using a qualitative approach. On the contrary, qualitative analysis might be necessary to analyze aspects that are difficult to reach through a quantitative study (Van Aelst, Sheafer, and Stanyer, 2012). Having this in mind, future studies must be able to complement the development of these scales, integrating qualitative assessments into the analysis of role performance.

Finally, although the six dimensions of role performance analyzed in this study can be seen as empirical constructs to study role performance in different cultural contexts, they can play out very differently across countries. For that reason, it is fundamental that future studies test and validate these six proposed dimensions controlling for factorial invariance across cultures.

FUNDING

REFERENCES

Atkinson, Joe. 2011. "Performance Journalism: A Three-Template Model of Television News." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (1): 102–129. doi:10.1177/1940161210381646.

Aust, Charles. 2003. "Factors in the Appeal of News." In *Communication and Emotion: Essays in Honor of Dolf Zillmann*, edited by Jennings Bryant, David Roskos- Ewoldsen, and Joanne Cantor, 511–530. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Bagdikian, Ben. 1992. *The Media Monopoly*. Boston, CA: Beacon Press.

Benson, Rodney. 2002. "The Political/Literary Model of French Journalism: Change and Continuity in Immigration News Coverage, 1973–1991." *Journal of European Area Studies* 10 (1): 167–185. doi:10.1080/14608460220148437.

Benson, Rodney, and Eric Neveu. 2005. *Bourdieu and the Journalistic Field*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Benson, Rodney, and Daniel Hallin. 2007. "How States, Markets and Globalization Shape the News: The French and US National Press, 1965–97." *European Journal of Communication* 22 (1): 27–48. doi:10.1177/0267323107073746.

Biddle, Bruce. 1979. *Role Theory: Expectations, Identities and Behaviors*. New York: Academic Press.

Bishop, Ronald. 2000. "To Protect and Serve: The "Guard Dog" Function of Journalism in Coverage of the Japanese-American Internment." *Journalism & Communication Monographs* 2: 64–103. doi:10.1177/152263790000200201.

Blazier, Thomas, and James Lemert. 2000. "Public Journalism and Changes in Content of the Seattle Times." *Newspaper Research Journal* 21 (3): 69–80.

Blumler, Jay, and Michael Gurevitch. 1995. *The Crisis of Public Communication*. London: Routledge. doi:10.4324/9780203181775.

Burke, Peter, and Donald Reitzes. 1981. "The Link between Identity and Role Performance." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44 (2): 83–92. doi:10.2307/3033704.

Canel, María José, and Karen Sanders. 2006. *Morality Tales: Political Scandals in Britain and Spain in the 1990s*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Clayman, Steven, John Heritage, Marc Elliott, and Laurie McDonald. 2007. "When Does the Watchdog Bark? Conditions of Aggressive Questioning in Presidential News Conferences." *American Sociological Review* 72 (1): 23–41. doi:10.1177/000312240707200102.

Cohen, Bernard. 1963. *The Press and Foreign Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Coyne, Margaret. 1984. "Role and Rational Action." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 14 (3): 259–275. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.1984.tb00497.x.

Dahlgren, Peter. 1995. *Television and the Public Sphere. Citizenship, Democracy, and the Media*. London: Sage.

De Burgh, Hugo. 2008. *Investigative Journalism*. New York: Routledge.

Donohue, George A., Philip J. Tichenor, and Clarice N. Olien. 1995. "A Guard Dog Perspective on the Role of Media." *Journal of Communication* 45 (2): 115–132. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1995.tb00732.x.

Donsbach, Wolfgang. 1995. "Lapdogs, Watchdogs and Junkyard Dogs." *Media Studies Journal* 9 (4): 17–30.

Donsbach, Wolfgang. 2004. "Psychology of News Decisions: Factors behind Journalists' Professional Behavior." *Journalism* 5 (2): 131–157. doi:10.1177/146488490452002.

Donsbach, Wolfgang, and Thomas Patterson. 2004. "Political News Journalists: Partisanship, Professionalism, and Political Roles in Five Countries." In *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*, edited by Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch, 251–270. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Donsbach, Wolfgang. 2008. "Journalists' Role Perception." In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication*, edited by W. Donsbach. London: Blackwell.

Eide, Martin, and Graham Knight. 1999. "Public–Private Service: Service Journalism and the Problems of Everyday Life." *European Journal of Communication* 14 (4): 525–547. doi:10.1177/0267323199014004004.

Esser, Frank. 2008. "Dimensions of Political News Cultures: Sound Bite and Image Bite News in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (4): 401–428. doi:10.1177/1940161208323691.

Ettema, James, and Ted Glasser. 1998. *Custodians of Conscience*. New York: Guilford Press.

Fox, Julia, and Byungho Park. 2006. "The "I" of Embedded Reporting: An Analysis of CNN Coverage of the "Shock and Awe" Campaign." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 50 (1): 36–51. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem5001_3.

Gans, Herbert. 1980. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York: Vintage.

Grabe, Maria Elizabeth, Shuhua Zhou, and Brooke Barnett. 2001. "Explicating Sensationalism in Television News: Content and the Bells and Whistles of Form." *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 45 (4): 635–655. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4504_6.

Gunaratne, Shelton. 1996. "Old Wine in a New Bottle: Public Versus Developmental Journalism in the US." *Asia Pacific Media Educator* 1 (1): 64–75.

Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2007. "Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Towards a Universal Theory." *Communication Theory* 17 (4): 367–385. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2007.00303.x.

Hanitzsch, Thomas, Folker Hanusch, Claudia Mellado, M. Anikina, R. Berganza, I. Cangoz, M. Coman, et al. 2011. "Mapping Journalism Cultures Across Nations: A Comparative Study of 18 Countries." *Journalism Studies* 12 (3): 273–293. doi:10.1080/1461670X.2010.512502.

Hanusch, Folker. 2012. "Broadening the Focus. The Case for Lifestyle Journalism as a Field of Scholarly Inquiry." *Journalism Practice* 6 (1): 2–11. doi:10.1080/17512786.2011.622895.

Hertsgard, Mark. 1989. *On Bended Knee: The Press and the Reagan Presidency*. New York: Schocken.

Hofstetter, Richard. 1976. *Bias in News. Network Television News Coverage of the 1972 Election Campaign*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Janowitz, Morris. 1975. "Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate." *Journalism Quarterly* 52: 618–626, 662. doi:10.1177/107769907505200402.

Johnstone, John, Edward Slawski, and William Bowman. 1976. *The News People: A Sociological Portrait of American Journalists and their Work*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Kepplinger, Hans Mathias, Hans-Bernd Brosius, and Joachim Friedrich Staab. 1991. "Instrumental Actualization: A Theory of Mediated Conflicts." *European Journal of Communication* 6 (3): 263–290. doi:10.1177/0267323191006003002.

Köcher, Renate. 1986. "Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role Definitions of German and British Journalists." *European Journal of Communication* 1 (1): 43–64. doi:10.1177/026732318600 1001004.

Kurpius, David. 2002. "Sources and Civic Journalism: Changing Patterns of Reporting?" *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 79 (4): 853–866. doi:10.1177/107769900207900406.

Lambeth, Edmund. 1998. "Public Journalism as a Democratic Practice." In *Assessing Public Journalism*, edited by Edmund Lambeth, Philip Meyer, and Esther Thorson, 15–35. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Lauterer, Jock. 1995. *Community Journalism. The Personal Approach*. Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Lynch, Karen. 2007. "Modeling Role Enactment: Linking Role Theory and Social Cognition." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 37 (4): 379–399. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5914.2007.00349.x.

Marauri, Iñigo, María del Mar Rodríguez, and María José Cantalapiedra. 2011. "Style and Journalistic Genres in Accident and Crime Reports in Spanish Quality Newspapers (1977–2000)." *Zer* 16 (30): 213–227.

Marr, Mirko, Vinzenz Wyss, Roger Blum, and Heinz Bonfadelli. 2001. *Journalisten in der Schweiz. Eigenschaften, Einstellungen, Einflüsse*. Konstanz: UVK Medien.

Mason, Paul and Jane, Monckton-Smith. 2008. "Conflation, Collocation and Confusion: British Press Coverage of the Sexual Murder of Women." *Journalism* 9 (6): 691–710. doi:10.1177/1464884908096241.

McManus, John. 1994. *Market-Driven Journalism: Let the Citizen Beware*. London: Sage.

McMillan, Sally, Macy Gupppy, Bill Kunz, and Raul Reis. 1998. "Public Journalism. What Difference Does it Make to Editorial Content?" In *Assessing Public Journalism*, edited by Edmund Lambeth, Philip Meyer, and Esther Thorson, 178–190. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press.

Mellado, Claudia, Claudia Lagos, Sonia Moreira, and María Elena Hernández. 2012. "Comparing Journalism Cultures in Latin America: The case of Chile, Brazil and Mexico." *Gazette* 74 (1): 60–77. doi:10.1177/1748048511426994.

Merritt, David. 1998. *Public Journalism and Public Life. Why Telling the News is Not Enought*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Moskowitz, Leigh. 2002. "Civic Approach Not so Different from Traditional Model." *Newspaper Research Journal* 23 (4): 62–75.

Nip, Joyce. 2006. "Exploring the Second Phase of Public Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 7 (2): 212–236. doi:10.1080/14616700500533528.

Pasti, Svetlana. 2005. "Two Generations of Contemporary Russian Journalists." *European Journal of Communication* 20 (1): 89–115.

Patterson, Thomas E., and Wolfgang Donsbach. 1996. "News Decisions: Journalists as Partisan Actors." *Political Communication* 13 (4): 455–468. doi:10.1080/10584609.1996.9963131

Pinto, Juliet. 2008. "Muzzling the Watchdog: The Case of Disappearing Watchdog Journalism from Argentine Mainstream News." *Journalism* 9 (6): 750–774. doi:10.1177/1464884908096244.

Ramaprasad, Jyotika, and James Kelly. 2003. "Reporting the News from the World's Rooftop: A Survey of Nepalese Journalists." *Gazette* 65 (3): 291–315. doi:10.1177/0016549203065003005.

Romano, Angela. 2005. "Asian Journalism: News, Development and the Tides of Liberation Andtechnology." In *Journalism and Democracy in Asia*, edited by Angela Romano and Michael Bromley, 1–14. London & New York: Routledge.

Rosen, Jay. 1996. *Getting the Connections Right. Public Journalism and the Troubles in the Press*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press.

Salgado, Susana, and Strömbäck Jesper. 2012. "Interpretive Journalism: A Review of Concepts, Operationalizations and Key Findings." *Journalism* 13 (2): 144–161. doi:10.1177/1464884911427797.

Schudson, Michael. 2003. *The Sociology of News*. New York: WW Norton.

Sheafer, Tamir. 2001. "Charismatic Skill and Media Legitimacy: An Actor-Centered Approach to Understanding the Political Communication Competition." *Communication Research* 28 (6): 711–736. doi:10.1177/009365001028006001.

Shoemaker, Pamela, and Stephen Reese. 1996. *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Shoemaker, Pamela, and Tim Vos. 2009. *Gatekeeping Theory*. New York: Routledge.

Sparrow, Bartholomew. 1999. *Uncertain Guardians: The News Media as a Political Institution*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Starck, Kenneth, and John Soloski. 1977. "Effect of Reporter Predisposition in Covering Controversial Story." *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1): 120–125. doi:10.1177/107769907705400117.

Tandoc, Edison, Lea Hellmueller, and Tim Vos. 2013. "Mind the Gap: Between Role Conception and Role Enactment." *Journalism Practice* 7 (5): 539–554. doi:10.1080/17512786.2012.726503.

Thompson, John. 2000. *Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age*. Cambridge: Polity.

Tuchman, Gay. 1973. "Making News by Doing Work: Routinizing the Unexpected." *The American Journal of Sociology* 79 (1): 110–131. doi:10.1086/225510.

Turner, Ralph. 2006. "Role Theory." In *Handbook of Sociological Theory*, edited by Jonathan Turner, 233–254. New York: Springer.

Underwood, Doug. 2001. "Reporting and the Push for Market-Oriented Journalism: Media Organizations as Business." In *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, edited by Lance Bennett and Robert Entman, 99–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Van Aelst, Peter, Tamir Sheafer, and James Stanyer. 2012. "The Personalization of Mediated Political Communication: A Review of Concepts, Operationalizations and Key Findings." *Journalism* 13 (2): 203–220.

Van Dalen, Arjen, Claes de Vreese, and Erik Albæk. 2012. "Different Roles, Different Content? A Four-country Comparison of the Role Conceptions and Reporting Style of Political Journalists." *Journalism* 13 (7): 903–922. doi:10.1177/1464884911431538.

Van Zoonen, Liesbet. 1998. "The Ethics of Making Private Life Public." In *The Media in Question. Popular Cultures and Public Interests*, edited by Kees Brants, Joke Hermes, and Liesbet Van Zoonen, 113–124. London: Sage.

Verma, Yugeshwar. 1988. *The Press in Nepal: An Appraisal*. Kathmandu: Pratibha.

Voakes, Paul. 2004. "A Brief History of Public Journalism." *National Civic Review* 93 (3): 25–35. doi:10.1002/ncr.58.

Vos, Tim. 2002. "Role Enactment: The Influence of Journalists' Role Conceptions on News Content." Paper presented at the 85th AEJMC Conference, Miami, FL, August 5–8.

Vos, Tim. 2005. "Journalistic Role Conception: A Bridge between the Reporter and the Press." Presented at International Communication Association (ICA) conference, Journalism Studies Division, New York, NY, May 29.

Vos, Tim 2013. "Journalistic Roles and Revisiting Gatekeeping." Paper presented at the 63rd Annual ICA Conference, London, June 17–21.

Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin, and Thomas Hanitzsch. 2009. "Introduction: On Why and How We Should Do Journalism Studies." In *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, edited by Karin Wahl-Jorgensen and Thomas Hanitzsch, 3–16. London: Routledge.

Waisbord, Silvio. 2000. *Watchdog Journalism in South America*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Waisbord, Silvio. 2013. *Reinventing Professionalism: News and Journalism in Global Perspective*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Ward, Stephen. 2010. *Global Journalism Ethics*. Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press.

Weaver, David, and Cleveland Wilhoit. 1986. *The American Journalist: A Portrait of U.S. News People and Their Work*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Weaver, David, and Cleveland Wilhoit. 1996. *The American Journalists in the 1990s: U.S. News People at the End of an Era*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Weaver, David, Randal Beam, Bonnie Brownle, Paul Voake, and Cleveland Wilhoit. 2007. *The American Journalist in the 21st Century: U.S. News People at the Dawn of a New Millennium*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Weaver, David, and Lars Willnat, eds. 2012. *The Global Journalist in the 21st Century*. New York: Routledge.

Wernick, Andrew. 1991. *Promotional Culture: Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression*. London: Sage.

Wirth, Werner, and Steffen Kolb 2012. "Securing Equivalence: Problems and Solutions." In *The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research*, edited by Frank Esser and Thomas Hanitzsch, 469–485. New York: Routledge.

Xiaoge, Xu. 2005. *Demystifying Asian Values in Journalism*. Singapore: Marshall Cavendish.

Zelizer, Barbie, and Stuart Allan. 2010. *Keywords in News and Journalism*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Claudia Mellado, School of Journalism, University of Santiago, Chile. E-mail: claudia. mellado@usach.cl