ELECTRONIC PROCEEDINGS

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A study on the ideological tendencies and semantic composition of Korean press: A semantic network analysis of reports related to the American presidential candidates

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ABSTRACT This study has examined the attention on the ‘outsider craze’ during the US presidential election and how the Korean press has reported on this subject. According to the ideologies of different media organizations, Chosun Ilbo and Donga Ilbo have been categorized as the conservative press, while Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang Shinmun have been categorized as the progressive press. These media organizations were analyzed as to how they report on the conservative candidate, ‘Donald Trump’, and the progressive candidate, ‘Bernie Sanders. First, upon analysis on the subject of Trump, there was no significant difference between the conservative press and the progressive press. Upon analysis of the frequency and connection-orientation of the terms used in Trump-related reports, it appeared that the Korean press largely reported on the defense cost in allied Asian countries as well as the withdrawal of the US Armed Forces in Korea, remarks that asserted American imperialism. Such tendencies were similarly displayed in all media organizations, and although ‘Trump’ is a character associated with conservative values as a right-wing US presidential candidate, Korean media organizations did not display a conflict in ideologies, Korean media coverage on Sanders, however, displayed a difference based on ideological tendencies. The conservative press and the progressive press displayed completely different compositions of semantics using the same terms. The progressive press intended to apply Sanders’ criticisms of social problems and established politics on the ‘Korean society with the use of the term ‘Korea’, whereas the conservative press criticized specific parties and specific politicians that saw themselves as resembling Sanders, using the term ‘Korea’ and other blatant expressions. This demonstrates that the two different categories of press have different tendencies of reporting in terms of perspective and context, regardless of the use of the same terms. Thus, it was concluded that there are clear differences in the composition of semantics on issues according to the ideological tendencies of the media organization.

KEYWORDS Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, ideological tendency, reporting frame, semantic network analysis

1. Introduction
Republican candidate Donald Trump and democratic candidate Bernie Sanders, who ran in the 2016 US presidential elections, caused what is known as an ‘outsider craze’. The appearance of outsiders in the US elections is not an unprecedented phenomenon: Jimmy Carter in 1976, Ronald Reagan in 1980, Bill Clinton in 1992, and George Bush in 2000 all advocated themselves as outsiders and gained attention. Regardless of this, the interesting aspect of the outsider craze in this election is that focus was put on two candidates of completely different color at the same time. The yearning of the public, who were angry toward established politics and wanted
change, led to a crazed movement toward Sanders, who asserted the relief of inequality on the left and Trump, who asserted American imperialism on the right.

How is the Korean press reporting on this ‘outsider craze’? The American presidency is an issue that is reported on by the press all over the world due to the strong and far-reaching influence of the American president at a global level.

The public learns what happens in reality and views the world through news. It is not an exaggerated comment that the public accesses all the information that cannot directly be experienced through the media. According to Hall (1982), the reality we wish to know is produced by the ideologies of groups that individually have different understandings on the selection of the specific use of language and symbols used to report such realities. Tuchman (1978; 1995), who analyzed news in a realistic compositional perception also explains that ‘news’ is not a presentation of reality in itself, but a reality that has been newly recomposed by individuals and organizations. The content proposed through reports is naturally affected by the properties of the media organization and journalists, and the method of regulating meaning based on a specific frame is formed during this process. The method of regulating meaning selectively reduces or emphasizes a specific part during the process of composing news, rather than delivering a situation as is. It is important that the same issue can be interpreted differently (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), and there is a need to acknowledge this.

In view of Korean research tendencies, the studies commonly propose that the ideological tendencies of media organizations have an important influence on the composition of news on a specific issue (Go, Y. S., 2007; Kim, K. H., Roh, K. Y., 2011; Nam, I. Y., Park, H. W., 2007; Park, G. So., 2011; Seong, D. K., 2009; Lim, M. Y., Ahn, C. H., Gam, K. S., Yoo, H. S., 2010: Lim, S. M., 2012; Ju, C. Y., 2000; Ha, S. H., Lee, M. K., 2012; Han, D. S., 2001; Hyun, K. M., Kim, W. Y., 2005). These studies categorize the Chosun Ilbo, Jooongang Ilbo, and Donga Ilbo as the key conservative press, and Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang Shinmun as the progressive press, based on their ideological tendencies. The issue that displays the clearest ideological conflict is reports concerning North Korea. The media organizations maintain their ideological tendencies and display firm standings on North Korea-related issues even if the administration changes. Han, D. S. (2001) intended to demonstrate the reality as to how the Korean press report on North Korea by noticing the rapid increase in the amount of articles on North Korea after the South-North Summit in 2000. It was then seen that the Chosun Ilbo had an unfriendly and negative outlook toward North Korea demonstrated by its tone and view. Hankyoreh, however, had an amicable
and positive outlook on North Korea, such as hoping for an improved relationship with North Korea. This identified a clear difference in reports by two media corporations with differing ideologies. In addition to North Korea-related issues, studies that analyze the Korean press verified that the conservative press and the progressive press show clear conflicts concerning governmental policies and economic issues.

In view of the relationship between Korea and the US, there are clear differences of an amicable standing and a critical stance in Korean reports of the US based on the ideological tendencies of the media corporation (Kang, W. T., 2005; Kim, K. H., Roh, K. Y., 2011; Seol, W. T., 2012; Shim, H. S., 2013). However, it is difficult to categorize the issue of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders based solely on the dual ideologies of conservative versus progressive. For Sanders in particular, he is an unprecedented character that poses as a socialist in modern America, the spiritual home of capitalism. It is determined that differing tendencies would be displayed, contrary to existing reports, because Sanders is a character that carries both conservative and progressive values, in that he is an American politician that has left-wing tendencies, rather than a strong candidate in the US presidential elections. Thus, this study aims to examine how the Korean press report on the American presidential candidates ‘Donald Trump’ and ‘Bernie Sanders’, and to investigate the differences on reports based on the ideological tendencies of the media corporations. Furthermore, this study will examine the reports from a social context and the structure of the semantic network using the ‘semantic network analysis’ method. The semantic network analysis is suitable for apprehending and understanding the entre semantic structure by examining the connective relationship between the keywords without the subjective interference of the researcher (Park, H. W. & L Leydesdorff, 2004). It was thus determined to be suitable for achieving the objective of this study.

2. Method
Chosun Ilbo and Donga Ilbo were categorized as the conservative press and Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang Shinmun were categorized as the progressive press. The period of analysis was set from the point that the two candidates declared candidacy until the current date. Thus, articles from April 2015 to April 2016 on Bernie Sanders and articles from June 2015 to June 2016 on Donald Trump were collected. ‘Trump’ and ‘Sanders’ were used as the search terms, and any articles that did not focus on these two candidates were excluded from the subject of analysis. The collected articles were analyzed using the semantic network analysis method. After the
filtering process of removing insignificant postpositions, endings, punctuation marks, articles, conjunctions, suffixes, and numbers in each article, and the keywords were extracted, focused mainly on ‘nouns’. Furthermore, synonyms and terms with similar contexts were substituted with one single keyword. The final data obtained through this process of filtration was used to extract the main keywords through KrKwic, and visualized through a network analysis program called UCINET.

3. Results
First, upon review of the analysis results on Donald Trump, the difference between the conservative press and the progressive press was not clear. In view of the order of the frequency of the terms used in the reports related to Trump as published by each media organization, the terms ‘Korea’, ‘US Armed Forces in Korea’, ‘defense cost’, ‘allied country’, ‘China’ and ‘North Korea’ were the most frequently used, and these terms also displayed a high level of frequency in the semantic network analysis results, along with the terms, ‘diplomacy’, ‘security’, ‘Muslims’ and ‘terror’. This demonstrates that the Korean press reports a significant amount on issues related to the remarks made by Trump, who asserts American imperialism - particularly concerning issues related to Korea, such as defense costs in Asian allied countries, and the withdrawal of the US Armed Forces in Korea.
Furthermore, there was a connectivity between the terms ‘biting remarks’, ‘blunt statements’ and ‘criticism’ in the semantic structure, and it was displayed that the Korean press reported on Trump from a negative perspective. Similar reporting tendencies were seen in all media organizations irrelevant to the ideological tendencies of the media organizations. That is, notwithstanding ‘Trump’ being a character that displays conservative values as an extreme-rightist American presidential candidate, the Korean press did not exhibit such ideological conflicts.
Figure 1. Semantic Network Analysis Result – Trump

Chosun Ilbo

Donga Ilbo

Hankyoreh

Kyunghyang Shinmun

1. Muslims
2. criticism
3. Trump
4. Nuclear Armament
5. North Korea
6. Korea
7. terror
8. US Armed Forces in Korea
9. Defense Cost
10. Diplomacy

1. America
2. China
3. diplomacy
4. Muslims
5. Terror
6. US Armed Forces in Korea
7. Nuclear Armament
8. Biting remarks
9. Defense Cost
10. Diplomacy

1. Defense Cost
2. US Armed Forces in Korea
3. Nuclear
4. Diplomacy
5. terror
6. Muslims
7. Allied Country
8. Biting remarks
9. China
10. North Korea

1. Nuclear Armament
2. Defense Cost
3. Japan
4. Korea
5. Nuclear
6. North Korea
7. Terror
8. Muslims
9. Blunt statements
10. Biting remarks
Meanwhile, the reports of the Korean press on Bernie Sanders displayed a difference according to ideological tendencies. First, there was a noticeable difference in the amount of reports. The Donga Ilbo in particular had fewer articles focused on Bernie Sanders. In contrast, Kyunghyang Shinmun recorded the highest number of articles, where a spotlight was on his political moves during the point of his declaration for candidacy. In contrast, reports on Sanders in Donga Ilbo surfaced from the point of his first caucus victory, which displayed a significant difference in the semantic composition by merely delivering the existing reports on mainstream US press (Washington Post, New York Times, etc.).

The ideological differences in the press can be well-presented on reports concerning Bernie Sanders, as a character that carries both the conservative value of ‘America’ and the progressive value of the ‘relief of inequality’. Upon comparison of the order of frequency in the conservative press and the progressive press, the conservative press used ‘victory’ and ‘support’ as the main keywords, followed by ‘socialist’ and ‘African-American’. The word ‘socialist’ was high in the ranks in Donga Ilbo; however, it displayed a low level concerning the semantic network and centrality. This can be understood as having the intention of imprinting the image of Sanders as a socialist on its audience, even though the word ‘socialist’ did not perform a central role in the entire context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Word Frequency Analysis Result-Sanders</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Chosun Ilbo</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victory</td>
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<tr>
<td>Support</td>
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<tr>
<td>Young Class</td>
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<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
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<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Established Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Socialist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Craze</td>
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<td>Inequality</td>
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<td>Anger</td>
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The progressive press displayed a high frequency of using the words ‘victory’ and ‘support’, followed by ‘inequality’ and ‘problem’. This demonstrates that the reports focus on the messages and pledges made by Bernie Sanders. Furthermore, this displayed a tendency of reporting the problems of the American problems indicated by Sanders in connection with the problems of the Korean society.

Although not a great weight was put on the subject, the media organizations, which had varying ideological tendencies regarding the reporting on Bernie Sanders, displayed a difference in terms of the selection of keywords and the semantic composition. Particularly in Chosun Ilbo and Kyunghyang Shinmun, ‘Korea’ appeared as a keyword, where Kyunghyang Shinmun formed a semantic structure through the word ‘Korea’, and Chosun Ilbo formed a semantic structure through the terms ‘Korea’, ‘The Minjoo Party’ and ‘Ahn Cheol-Soo’. This demonstrates that the two different types of press operations composed their news by combining issues related to Bernie Sanders with Korea’s social phenomena and problems.

However, having differing ideologies, the two different types of press displayed completely different semantic composition with the same word ‘Korea’. The progressive press, Kyunghyang Shinmun, emphasized that the problems in American society as indicated by Bernie Sanders are not different from those of Korea. They then argued for the need of a progressive wind and change in Korea as the progressive craze in the US, which is expanding around Sanders. Unlike Kyunghyang Shinmun, the conservative publication Chosun Ilbo, criticized specific parties and politicians by connecting the word ‘Korea’ with ‘The Minjoo Party’ and ‘Ahn Cheol-Soo’. This illustrates the negative perspective of the opposing party’s path of attempting to connect the movement of the American youth on the problems of income inequality and social polarization as indicated by Sanders with the problems of the Korean society. Furthermore, certain politicians that consider themselves resembling Sanders were criticized with blatant expressions. This demonstrates the difference in tendencies of reporting from completely different perspectives and contexts despite the use of the same terms, and that the semantic composition of different media organizations displays clear differences on certain issues based on their ideological tendencies.
Figure 2. Semantic Network Analysis Result – Sanders

Chosun Ilbo

1. Policy
2. Socialist
3. Ahn Cheol-Soo
4. The Minjoo Party
5. Inequality
6. Sanders
7. Korea
8. African-American
9. Anger
10. Young Class

Donga Ilbo

1. Self proclaimed
2. Problem
3. Wall Street
4. Pledge
5. Middle Class
6. Sanders Syndrome
7. Sanders
8. Craze
9. Victory
10. Jews

Hankyoreh

1. Political Revolution
2. Established Politics
3. We/Us
4. Outsider
5. Sanders
6. Young Class
7. Wall Street
8. Inequality
9. Craze
10. Middle Class
4. Discussion

The outsider craze displayed during the American presidential election process and the Korean media has reported on this topic. Reports on ‘Donald Trump’, the conservatively disposed candidate, and ‘Bernie Sanders’, the progressively disposed candidate, can be analyzed based on the results of existing studies claiming that reporting frames vary according to the ideological disposition of Korean media sources. Based on the ideological disposition of organizations, Chosun Ilbo and DongA Ilbo were classified as ‘conservative press’ while Hankyoreh and Kyunghyang Shinmun as ‘progressive press’. Upon analyzing Trump, there was no significant difference between conservative press or progressive press. A significant portion of the issues reported were related directly to Korea, such as the defense cost for Asian allies, and the termination or removal of US forces. This demonstrates that the korean press applies a significant weight to issues related to Trump’s diplomatic policies, And then the Korean press often reports negatively on Trump known for real estate millionaire. Such a reporting disposition was similar in all forms of press regardless of any predetermined ideological disposition. Although ‘Trump’ espouses conservative values as an extreme right American Presidential candidate, there was no ideological conflict. Meanwhile, the reports by the Korean press on Sanders display differences based on ideological dispositions. ‘Sanders’ promotes conservative values of ‘Americana’ as well as the progressive values of ‘relieving inequality’, and thus, perhaps he is a subject on which ideological differences between the press can be manifest. Upon comparison of the priority of frequency, conservative press used the expressions, ‘socialist’, whereas the progressive press used the expressions,‘inequality’. progressive press
aimed to express the criticism of social problems and established politics identified by Sanders concerning the ‘Korean’ society, whereas conservative press criticized the blunt expressions specifically naming Korean politician like Sanders. A different disposition of reports from different perspectives and context was ascertained, regardless of the use of the same terms. Thus, the semantic composition of the press on a specific issue displays significant differences according to their ideological disposition.

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Reconstructing Rwanda: How Rwandan reporters use constructive journalism to promote peace

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**ABSTRACT** The news media have been remarkably influential in Rwanda, a country where literacy is low and trust in the media is high. Reporters used this power for evil 22 years ago when state-run media houses perpetrated genocide through so-called hate media. Since then, however, Rwanda’s media landscape has changed dramatically and the country has seen tremendous social and economic progress. Building on the tenets of social responsibility and framing theories and on literature regarding journalistic role functions, this study set out to discover how journalists in Rwanda view their roles today and whether they have contributed to the reconstruction and recovery of the country by practicing constructive journalism, which, in keeping with the social responsibility theory of the press, calls for the news media to be an active participant in enhancing societal well-being. In-depth interviews were conducted with 24 Rwandan journalists in May and June 2016. Results revealed that while journalists in Rwanda aim to fulfill traditional roles like informing and educating the public, they value a unique role to promote unity and reconciliation. They carry out this role by regularly practicing constructive journalism techniques, such as solutions journalism and restorative narrative, which involve reporting on stories that foster hope, healing, and resilience, and they strongly believe that this style of reporting has contributed to the country’s recovery and reconstruction since the genocide.

**KEYWORDS** Constructive Journalism, Solutions Journalism, Restorative Narrative, Rwanda

1. **Introduction**

The Hutchins Commission declared 70 years ago that the news media have a responsibility to consider society’s best interest when making journalistic decisions (Hutchins Commission, 1947). Over the decades, journalists have considered this responsibility to varying degrees, with neutral, detached journalists unconcerned about the effects of their stories on one end of the spectrum and more active, participatory reporters who aim to improve society through their work on the other end (Bro, 2008; Cohen, 1963; Johnstone, Slawski, & Bowman, 1972). In recent years, several forms of news reporting have emerged under the umbrella of “constructive journalism,” which, in keeping with the social responsibility theory of the press, calls for the news media to be an active participant in enhancing societal well-being (Gyldensted, 2015).

Perhaps nowhere in the world has societal well-being increased as dramatically as it has in Rwanda the past two decades, since the sub-Saharan African country lost up to 70 percent of
its Tutsi population to genocide (Taylor, 1999). Acting as a puppet for the government, the news media played an undeniable role in perpetuating the mass killings (Bromley, 2007; Kayumba & Kimonyo, 2006; Kellow & Steeves, 1998). Since then, however, Rwanda has seen tremendous social and economic growth, and its media landscape has changed dramatically (Kayumba & Kimonyo, 2006).

The purpose of this study — a series of in-depth interviews with Rwandan journalists — was to determine whether the media played a role in the country’s recovery and redevelopment since the genocide. Specifically, we asked how journalists in Rwanda view their roles in 2016 and if they use constructive journalism techniques in an ongoing effort to seek peace in a country where the media once promoted war.

2. Literature review

In 1994, Rwanda underwent a government-led genocide. In roughly 100 days, from April through July 1994, Hutu residents raped and slaughtered their Tutsi neighbors with machetes and anything else that could be used as a weapon. Women and children were not spared. The killing was senseless and irrational. The genocide ended when the Rwandan Patriotic Front, led by Rwanda’s current president, Paul Kagame, defeated the government-backed militias that spearheaded the killings. In the end, between 500,000 and one million individuals were murdered. In addition, two million fled and lived as refugees in neighboring countries (Taylor, 1999).

I do remember. I was 7. I lost uncles. My dad was attacked, yeah, very bad. And we left the country with the help of some friends. We fled to DR Congo. We stayed there two years and came back with nothing. Houses were down. Yeah, I do remember. I didn’t lose my brothers or sister, my mom, they are still there, but I lost so many of my family members. I survived, as so many Rwandans, but at the time, it was horrible. We don’t want to see that again. It was horrible. (Elisée Mpirwa, personal communication, May 30, 2016)

Rwanda had been engaged in a civil war since 1990. The society was not stable, but instability turned into mass murder when then-President Juvenal Habyarimana’s plane was mysteriously shot down. That incident sparked the killings, but many blame the media for fully perpetrating the genocide (Bromley, 2007; Kayumba & Kimonyo, 2006; Kellow & Steeves, 1998).
State-run media houses exacerbated the genocide through so-called hate media. The most infamous instigator was the government-controlled Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), whose reporters used cultural and religious symbols to effectively spread messages of hate (Kellow & Steeves, 1998). Journalists explicitly called for the Tutsis to be killed, and they aided the hunt by exposing the hiding places of individuals or groups. At the time, the literacy rate in Rwanda was below 50% (The World Factbook) and trust in the media was high — so high that some individuals viewed the voice over the airwaves as a message from God (personal communication, 2016). The journalists, who were not formally trained, inspired average citizens to savagely kill the friends and neighbors they previously lived with in peace. Some journalists themselves took part in the killing. The media campaign was so influential that some believe the genocide would not have occurred without it (Kellow & Steeves, 1998).

It’s almost unfathomable to believe the progress in the country just two decades later. Rwanda has the highest primary school enrollment rates in Africa (UNICEF), a higher percentage of women in parliament (64%) than any country in the world (Inter-Parliamentary Union), and a soaring GDP rate (African Development Bank Group). Additionally, literacy has increased by more than 20 percentage points since the genocide, to 70.5% (The World Factbook).

The media landscape has also developed. The number of media houses skyrocketed after the genocide, thanks to help from international donors, and many local journalists now receive formal training at the National University of Rwanda’s School of Journalism and Communication, which launched in 1995 with support from UNESCO (Kayumba & Kimonyo, 2006). In 2016, the role of a journalist in Rwanda is very different than it was 22 years ago.

2.1. Journalists’ roles
A half century ago, Cohen (1963) identified a dichotomous classification of journalists - neutrals and participants. One decade later, Johnstone, Slawski, and Bowman (1972) conducted the first of the “American Journalist” surveys, where he sought to determine what journalists thought were the most important aspects of their jobs. Again, they identified the two ideological types, or functions: “Neutrals” preferred detachment and objectivity, while “Participants” favored involvement and advocacy.

Another way to think of “Neutral” journalists is as passive, whereas “Participant” journalists are more active. Peter Bro (2008) suggested the passive journalist is concerned with disseminating stories regardless of their effects and thus is concerned with what information
preceded the news report. Contrarily, the active journalist serves more fully as a participant in interpreting the story and thus is concerned about the effect of the news or what happens after the report. Bro (2008) argues that there is a desire for more active journalism, where reporters try to help community members act upon problems rather than simply learn about them.

Of course journalistic role conceptions are more nuanced than the simple passive-active dichotomy. In the past few decades, many studies have identified more specific roles and looked at how journalists in various countries perceive those roles. Weaver and his colleagues (2007) suggest that American journalists, for example, identify with the roles of adversary, disseminator, interpreter, and populist mobilizer. At the time of the current study, it appeared no academic articles had been published examining the roles of journalists in modern-day Rwanda. However, studies that examined the roles of journalists in other countries indicated that reporters seem to prioritize some of the same functions. Specifically, journalists around the world seemed to be committed to providing the public with factual, impartial information and investigating government misdeeds (Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Herscovitz, 2004; Ramaprasad, 2001; Weaver et al., 2007). Recently, McIntyre, Dahmen, & Abdenour (In press) identified a new role among American journalists — the Contextualist, a socially responsible journalist who aims to go beyond the basic facts by providing context and considering society's well-being during the newsmaking process. This type of journalist would fall into the more active, participatory role classification.

Interestingly, research has shown that journalists in non-western countries, including some nations in Africa, valued more active, interventionist roles than their western counterparts (Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Ramaprasad, 2001). Hanitzsch et al. (2011) defined interventionism as “the active support of particular values, positions, groups and social change” (280). They concluded: “A tendency towards interventionism can be found among journalists from developing societies and transitional democracies. It comes as no surprise that journalists are most willing to promote social change in contexts where such transformation rapidly occurs — or where it seems needed” (281). Given the rapid social and economic change that has occurred in Rwanda in the past 22 years, it would be reasonable to believe journalists there might lean toward an interventionist role.

That said, it’s important to note that journalistic roles are not mutually exclusive. Weaver et al. (2007) said a majority of journalists identify with more than one role function. Ward (2009) found that most journalists see themselves as a “combination of informer,
interpreter, and advocate” (p. 299), and even the most activist reporters usually embrace the traditional value of factual accuracy.

2.2. Constructive journalism

An active, participatory, interventionist style of news reporting, where journalists feel an obligation to improve society, is not a new idea. Lasswell, in 1927, suggested that instead of mobilizing individuals’ anger or conflict, communication techniques (in this context, propaganda) could be used to mobilize peace efforts.

Let us, therefore, reason together ... and find the good, and when we have found it, let us find out how to make up the public mind to accept it. Inform, cajole, bamboozle and seduce in the name of the public good. (p. 5)

Twenty years later, the Hutchins Commission declared that journalists have a responsibility to consider society's best interest when making journalistic decisions. Shortly afterward, Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) formally acknowledged the social responsibility theory of the press, which asserted that publishers operate their media “with some concern for the public good” (p. 77).

In the 1990s, after witnessing the ubiquity of negative and conflict-driven news, newscaster Martyn Lewis publicly argued for more news that promoted the public good:

What I am arguing is this: that when we come to decide the editorial priorities for each day’s news we should be more prepared than we have been in the past to weigh the positive stories – not artificially created, but as they naturally occur in the news agenda, on the same set of journalistic scales on which we weigh the negative stories. (Lewis & Rowe, 1994, p. 34)

The style of journalism Lewis called for has since been practiced in several forms in the industry, but under many different terms, a few of which are discussed below. A cohesive body of academic research surrounding these styles of reporting is lacking. Until more research is published that conceptualizes and links the various forms of socially responsible journalism, one might consider framing, which refers to the way journalists craft a message so that a certain meaning is highlighted, as a relevant theoretical explanation (Entman, 1993).

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition,
causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described [emphasis in original] (p. 52).

We will briefly discuss select forms of news framing that emphasize a journalist’s dedication to the public good. These news forms can be considered under the umbrella term, constructive journalism.

Constructive journalism has been defined as an emerging form of journalism that involves applying positive psychology and other behavioral science techniques to news processes and production in an effort to create more productive and engaging stories, while remaining committed to journalism’s core functions (McIntyre, 2015; McIntyre & Gyldensted, In press). Gyldensted (2015), who published a book on the topic, described constructive journalism as a more comprehensive form of journalism that accurately portrays the world by covering not only stories about conflict and destruction, but stories about collaboration and progress as well (p. 42). Although it has roots in older, similar movements such as civic journalism, constructive journalism is distinct in its approach (McIntyre & Gyldensted, In press). It is also important to note that constructive journalism should not be confused with positive news. The latter involves “fluff,” or feel-good stories that are cute and entertaining but lack widespread social significance, whereas the former involves “rigorous, compelling reporting that empowers audiences to respond constructively, presenting a fuller picture of truth while upholding journalism’s core functions and ethics” (FAQ).

This style of news has been gaining momentum in the industry throughout the world, including various nations in Africa. It has been recently covered in popular media and trade journals such as The Guardian, Huffington Post, and Columbia Journalism Review (Dagan Wood, 2015; Gyldensted, 2014; Hollis, 2015). And in some form, constructive journalism is being practiced on every continent (Gyldensted, 2015). In South Africa, constructive journalism leader Cathrine Gyldensted conducted trainings for journalists employed by publications owned by the large media company Times Media Group (Pilane, 2014). In addition to being practiced by journalists in Africa, constructive journalism has been practiced in western nations about Africa. For example, Swedish National Television has been constructively covering Africa since its head of foreign news learned from a survey that Swedish residents held views of Africa that were 30 to 40 years outdated. The more constructive coverage is intended to inform viewers of the progress many African nations have made in terms of democratic elections and living conditions (Gyldensted, 2015). Other, more specific, forms of journalism share an overarching goal of
contributing to society’s well-being and therefore fit under the umbrella of constructive journalism (McIntyre & Gyldensted, In press). Three such branches are discussed below — peace journalism, solutions journalism, and restorative narrative. It is important to note that the following genres are not mutually exclusive and certainly overlap in their overarching goals.

Similarly to how the media have historically contributed to violent conflict, the media have, in many instances, contributed to peaceful resolutions to conflict (Bratić, 2008). So-called peace journalism occurs “when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report, and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict” (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). Peace journalism has primarily been studied in the context of national or international conflict and has been regarded as an opposite of war journalism (Galtung, 2002). Although some scholars have criticized peace journalism for its non-specific application among other things (Hanitzsch, 2007; Lynch, 2007), efforts to conceptualize the practice have been on the rise (Bratić, 2008; Lynch, 2007; Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2015). Bratić (2008), in a culmination of practical case studies, specifically used the example of Studio Ijambo (Kirundi for “Wise Words”) — a media organization in Burundi that produced programs intended to promote peace after the Rwandan genocide and that has since served as a peace journalism model for other conflicts throughout the continent.

Solutions journalism, another form of constructive news, can sometimes overlap with peace journalism but is more specifically defined as “rigorous reporting about how people are responding to problems” (Solutions Journalism Network, 2016). These stories thoroughly report conflicts or other problems, but they focus their framing on possible responses to such social problems in an attempt to “engage readers, offer a blueprint for change, and alter the tone of public discourse” (Thier, 2016, p. 330). Solutions-based reporting is not new; it was discussed in a Columbia Journalism Review article in 1998 (Benesch, 1998). However, it has blossomed in popularity since the 2013 launch of the Solutions Journalism Network, an independent, nonprofit U.S.-based organization that promotes the practice worldwide. The Solutions Journalism Network compiled a database of 1,459 news stories that showcase solutions-based reporting involving 95 countries, including several countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

Restorative narrative is a final form of constructive news relevant to the current study. Dahmen (2016) said this style of news reporting “intends to cover the story beyond the immediacy of the breaking news and in doing so, to help individuals and communities move forward in the wake of large-impact events” (p. 94). Images & Voices of Hope (ivoh), a non-
profit media group that aims to “strengthen the media’s role as an agent of world benefit,” further defines the practice as a form of journalism that involves stories of “recovery, restoration and resilience in the aftermath, or midst of, difficult times” (Tenore, 2016, n.p.). Restorative narrative proponents lament that traditional news stories are often “confined” to the facts of a tragedy and should be broadened to include stories of recovery and resilience (Tenore, 2016).

Given their emphases on national conflict, a search for solutions, and sustained coverage of the restoration process after a crisis, these forms of constructive journalism aptly apply to news coverage in post-genocide Rwanda.

3. Research questions
Building on the tenets of social responsibility and framing theory and on literature regarding journalistic role functions, the following research questions are posed to understand more fully how journalists in Rwanda view their roles in 2016 — 22 years after journalists in the country helped perpetrate a genocide.

RQ1: Which professional roles do Rwandan journalists value in 2016?
RQ2: Do Rwandan journalists in 2016 tend to embrace a more active or passive journalistic role function?
RQ3: Do Rwandan journalists in 2016 use constructive journalism techniques, such as peace journalism, solutions journalism and restorative narrative techniques, to contribute to the country’s post-genocide development?

4. Method
In-depth interviews have been called “one of the most powerful methods” in qualitative research because they enable researchers to “step into the mind of another person, to see and experience the world as they do themselves” (McCracken, 1988, p. 9). Through interviews, journalists’ opinions can be examined as indicators of their professional values (Cassidy, 2005; Willnat & Weaver, 2014). This study included interviews with current and former Rwandan journalists, who provided unique insights into the roles, opportunities and challenges of working in the media industry during the post-genocide reconstruction of Rwanda. According to Besley and Roberts (2010), “journalists represent excellent candidates for qualitative interview projects” (p. 70) because, due to their profession, they should be able to articulate their
experiences clearly and effectively (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Journalists have a long history of being interviewed for academic research projects (see, for example, Besley & McComas, 2007; Gingras & Carrier, 1996; Tuchman, 1972). With the growth of blogs and social media, it can be difficult to distinguish who should be considered a “journalist.” For the purposes of this study, a journalist was defined as someone who earns the majority of his or her income by working for an established news organization, either in print, broadcast or online. Bloggers who maintain a self-run blog but do not also publish stories in recognized newspapers were excluded.

4.1. Sampling frame

Initially, journalists were identified by conducting searches of Rwandan news outlets’ websites for journalist contact information. A later search of social media sites relating to Rwandan journalists was used to contact more reporters and editors. After initial journalists were contacted, a snowball sample was used — the initial journalists were asked to suggest other journalists who might be interested in participating. See Table 1 for list of journalists included in the sample.

Table 1.
Interviewee name, job title and employer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Job Title</th>
<th>Employer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ally Uwizeye</td>
<td>Radio/TV Presenter</td>
<td>Voice of Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name withheld</td>
<td>Chief Editor</td>
<td>Radio/TV 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janvier Nshimyumukiza</td>
<td>Online News Editor</td>
<td>Izuba Rirashe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mike Karangwa</td>
<td>Senior Producer</td>
<td>Radio/TV 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam Mandela</td>
<td>Former journalist</td>
<td>Organization withheld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themistocle Mutijima</td>
<td>Editor/Reporter/Presenter</td>
<td>Radio Isango Star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan Mugisha</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>Organization withheld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rodrique Rwirahira</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>The New Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley Gatera</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Umusingi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba Umuseke Cyuzuzo</td>
<td>Cofounder</td>
<td>Umuseke.rw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashante</td>
<td>Journalist</td>
<td>Royal FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederic Byumvuhere</td>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>The New Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janvier Kwizera</td>
<td>Editor</td>
<td>Gusenga.org</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21
4.2. Interviewing

Twenty-four in-depth interviews were conducted. All interviews were conducted at locations chosen by the interviewee. Most interviews took place at the office of the interviewee or a nearby coffee shop, but were determined at the discretion of the interviewee. One interview was conducted over the phone and the remaining 23 interviews took place in Kigali and Butare, Rwanda. One interview was conducted in English and French, with one interviewer translating and all remaining interviews were conducted in English. Each interview began with a summary of the study and an informed consent protocol, followed by demographic questions. All interviews were audio recorded with permission from the interviewees. Full transcriptions were created from the recordings.

The interviews were semistructured (Creswell, 2003) and consisted of open-ended questions as well as some demographic questions. Semistructured interviews were selected because of the flexibility they allow with regard to allowing for new ideas to be brought up during the interview should worthwhile focuses surface, but are guided by a predetermined interview map (Leech, 2002; Poe, 2012). Journalists were asked to reflect on their own stories, their role in society and talk about the challenges they faced in navigating the post-genocide societal landscape.
4.3. Analysis

For the 24 interviews that were conducted, verbatim transcriptions were created from the audio recordings of the interviews, which generated 194 pages of transcripts. The shortest interview was 12 minutes and the longest was one hour and 49 minutes, with the average interview length being approximately 45.5 minutes. Upon completion of the transcriptions, each transcript and its accompanying field notes were read multiple times to pull out central themes, phrases, references or terminology in order to make meaning of the diverse perspectives. While reading and rereading the transcripts, the authors engaged in what Baxter and Babbie (2003) refer to as the “iterative cycle” of developing codes by “each time revising the coding categories until they capture all” of the relevant data (p. 367). Themes and trends were identified through this iterative process, which allowed for major emergent categories to be developed.

After an initial set of categories emerged which allowed the data to be organized in a logical and useful way, transcriptions of the interviews were imported as text files into Dedoose, a collaborative, cross-platform application for the management, integration, and analysis of qualitative data (Lieber & Weisner, 2013) to further analyze how frequently and in what capacities those themes, ideas and phrases were used. A combination of the data being analyzed by real people and computer-supported analysis software enabled the interviews to be organized and categorized by themes and terminology used as well account for timing/spacing, tone and body language.

5. Findings and discussion

Analysis of the transcripts yielded 1,207 applications of 53 codes and subcodes in Dedoose, some of which were used in other papers resulting from this data. After analyzing the transcripts and the frequency of each code relevant to this study, four key themes emerged that directly addressed the proposed research questions. The first theme revealed Rwandan reporters’ focus on traditional journalistic values such as informing and educating the public. The second theme focused on the active role that Rwandan journalists take in reporting. The third theme that emerged highlighted the unique role that reporters in Rwanda play; in addition to striving to meet traditional journalism ideals, reporters aim to promote unity and reconciliation in the country. The fourth theme that materialized from the interviews was that Rwandan journalists use constructive journalism techniques and believe that these tactics have positive impacts on individuals and society.
5.1. Rwandan journalists value traditional roles

The first research question asked how Rwandan journalists view their roles in 2016, 22 years after the Rwandan media helped perpetrate the genocide. One theme that emerged from the data revealed that journalists in post-genocide Rwanda view their roles as similar to the roles of journalists in other countries: “It’s no different from anywhere else – public interest, reporting in the public interest,” said Berna Namata, news editor at The East African (Personal communication, June 1, 2016). Mike Karangwa, senior producer at Radio/Tv10, agreed. “Journalism everywhere in the world is just a watchdog, a voice for the voiceless ... even in Rwanda our role is like that” (Personal communication, May 28, 2016). Eugéne Hagabimana, director of Radio Salus, similarly said: “I think the role of a journalist all over the world are the same. Despite sometimes conditions and environment, the role should be the same ... It’s as if you ask me what is the role of a physician in the hospital, the role is the same as if you are working in the US or Rwanda or Europe” (Personal communication, June 2, 2016).

In many ways, the roles Rwandan journalists valued were indeed not unique. Specifically, journalists said their roles were to inform, educate, be a voice for the voiceless, entertain, serve as a watchdog, and act as a bridge between the government and the public.

Journalists unequivocally agreed that they have a duty to inform the public. Reporter Ivan Mugisha spoke of the importance of this role in his country. “The role of a journalist in Rwanda is to first of all inform the public. We don’t have lots of, a developed media platform like you guys have in the USA. It’s pretty much still small so people needs (sic) to know what’s going on in the country” (Personal communication, May 29, 2016). Many journalists echoed this sentiment and expanded on it by saying they not only have a duty to inform, but they have a special responsibility to educate individuals given the country’s history.

You see, our country had a very dark past. And then this time, as a journalist, we have a (sic) very hard work of educating people, not only informing them of what is going on around the world but also educating them – new trends, what is going on, how to get money, how to study hard, how to live, how to leave poverty, those kinds of issues – that’s the main role of media now days because we ... want people to learn how to prosper. That’s our main role right now.” (Elisée Mpirwa, senior reporter at Izuba Rirashe, Personal communication, May 30, 2016)
The traditional idea that journalists should serve the public continued to prevail. About a quarter of interviewees spoke specifically about serving as a voice for the voiceless: “I write my stories to speak for those people who are not able to speak for themselves, so I approached them asking them, ‘How are you living? What are your problems? How the situation in your village?’ And then I speak for them.” (Frederic Byumvuhore, reporter for The New Times, Personal communication, May 30, 2016)

In addition to informing and educating the public and speaking for those who are underserved, Rwandan journalists also acknowledged that they serve to entertain. But even when talking about entertainment media, journalists considered the well-being of their audiences. Ally Uwizeye, a journalist at Voice of America and media personality, discussed how entertainment media can serve the greater good.

That’s the journalism I tell — Celebrities, they are making money ... they can change the lives of other people, they are creating jobs, they are creating the context that gives people jobs, they are getting some contracts from big companies in the country. So you know, we are even the entertainment but we have something we want to give the society. (Personal communication, May 21, 2016)

Further, many of the Rwandan journalists we interviewed said they play a watchdog role, holding power accountable.

I think the first role that we do is to inform, and to, secondly, ensure that we keep our public servants in check as well. Because anything that comes up we have to report it. If it’s about corruption, if it’s about anything that’s not supposed to be done and someone has done, we have to report that. So I think we also do that role of making sure people are in check, both private and public. (Ivan Mugisha, reporter, organization withheld, Personal communication, May 29, 2016)

Robert Mugabe, owner of Great Lakes Voice, went as far as to say holding power to account is “the main purpose of the press” (Personal communication, June 5, 2016). Marie Claire Joyeuse, a reporter for Kigali Today, explained how government officials are receptive to this role:

I think that when a journalist show (sic) mistakes made by some people or from the government, I think that can make changes. Because sometimes there are some mistakes shown by journalists that the government didn’t know. That’s why they are every time reading what we are writing (sic) ... we can show what is wrong and the government can use it to correct it. (Personal communication, June 2, 2016)
Many Rwandan journalists said they felt like they serve as a watchdog on government, which seems inconsistent with the fact that journalists in Rwanda have been jailed for reporting negatively about the government (Rwandan Journalists, 2011) and that Reporters Without Borders ranked Rwanda 161 out of 180 countries on the 2016 World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders, 2016, para.1). Additionally, the Committee to Protect Journalists published an in-depth special report regarding media restrictions that remain in the country as a result of the genocide (Harber, n.d.). It is clear that reporters in Rwanda do not, and cannot, serve as a government watchdog in the same way that Western journalists serve that role.¹

Some journalists who were interviewed described their relationship with the government in a more nuanced way, saying they serve as a bridge between the government and the people. “All journalists' role is being a bridge between policy makers, government and the citizens,” said Janvier Nshimyumukiza, online news editor for Izuba Rirashe (Personal communication, May 27, 2016). Oswald Oswakim, a reporter for City Radio, explained how he serves that role: “For example, when we invite a minister in a live show to interact with the callers, I think that's an area our society needs” (Personal communication, May 31, 2016). Anitha, an editor for Kigali Today, described this relationship in a way that’s more supportive of government that skeptical of it: “Sometimes we talk about their programs for the government and to help them. It’s like we have reach for government and people. So if the government wants to say something we can be a bridge, we are a bridge for government and people” (Personal communication, June 5, 2016).

5.2. Rwandan reporters more active than passive

Another theme that emerged from the data clearly addressed RQ2, which asked whether Rwandan journalists tended to take a more active or passive approach. No matter whether they were serving as educators, entertainers, or watchdogs, Rwandan journalists valued the more active, participatory style of reporting.

Robert Mugabe, owner of Great Lakes Voice, said it is unrealistic to think journalists should be detached observers. “I don’t believe in this journalist from the books, from which you happen to ask questions and to just be like — I call them textbook journalists, who are kind of

¹ Through these interviews, it became clear that Rwandan journalists have a complex relationship with the government. This relationship is beyond the scope of this paper. See Sobel and McIntyre (Under review) for a fuller understanding.
like machines,” he said, describing the typical passive journalist who sees him or herself as a mirror, simply reflecting the world’s facts onto society (Personal communication, June 5, 2016).

Many journalists talked about creating social change through their work, while remaining dedicated to their traditional roles. Janvier Kwizera, an editor at Gusenga.org, said the stories at his news outlet “aim to change somebody’s mind/spirit at the same time to be informed” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016). Similarly, Marie Claire Joyeuse, a reporter for Kigali Today, said she aims to expose and educate, but also to write for change. Themistocle Mutijima, a journalist for Radio Isango Star, discussed how he simultaneously seeks to play an active role while maintaining traditional journalistic standards:

The role of the media, first of all is to inform people. To make them aware of things or issues that are not true, that they don’t have knowledge about ... And then the other is the advocate. I like this one - advocating for people. It is a very interesting thing. Advocating makes change through the media even though we had not yet achieved it here in Rwanda, but we are doing in great (sic) in times of advocating for change, we have not yet get where I think we could be. But I like it, advocating. It is another role of the media. (Personal communication, May 29, 2016)

These findings are consistent with Hanitzsch et al. (2011), who found that the interventionist-style journalist is more common than the so-called neutral journalist in developing societies and societies in political transitions. Journalists are more willing to promote change in places where change is needed, Hanitzsch et al. (2011) said, and this assertion was supported in the current study. Janvier Kwizera, the Gusenga.org editor, put it clearly: “In Rwanda, journalism is a tool to change the mind of people (sic)” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).

5.3. A unique role: Rwandan reporters promote unity and reconciliation

In keeping with their more participatory, active mindset, and in addition to their traditional roles, Rwandan journalists highlighted one role they value that is atypical in Western countries: Every interviewee said it is a journalist’s duty to promote unity and reconciliation.

“Our first responsibility is to unite people and make sure what media did during the genocide never happens again,” said a reporter for Radio/TV 10, who requested his name be withheld (Personal communication, May 27, 2016). Samba Umuseke Cyuzuzo, cofounder of Umuseke.rw, agreed. “As a media house we always try to participate in the unity and reconciliation, and we are very sensitive about that” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).
Sensitive, he said, because this role is a direct result of the country's history. “One of the biggest, I think, objectives for most of the newspapers are to make sure the society get united, like maybe Hutu and Tutsi,” said Ignatius Suunna, reporter for the Associated Press (Personal communication, June 1). Eugéne Hagabimana, director of Radio Salus, reiterated that it is the mission of every journalist, and every Rwandan citizen, to promote unity and reconciliation.

We have a responsibility to build and to rebuild a united society, a forward society, even if we lost a big number of our citizen (sic). But our responsibility is just promoting everything which can make our country forward, not become returning (sic) where we were 22 or 25 years ago. (Personal communication, June 2)

Journalists expanded on why they felt such a strong obligation to promote unity. Their reasons ranged from practical to personal. Oswald Oswakim, a reporter for City Radio, brought up the social responsibility theory of the press — the idea that the media has a responsibility to consider society’s best interest. He also acknowledged a financial reason to promote unity and reconciliation:

We work for the society, and if we are a commercial radio, so we are attracting advertisers – where are we going to get advertisers when the society is not well, when the economy is not good? You see, we promote unity and reconciliation so as to develop the country and when the country is developed you are going to get more adverts, you see, so it’s our role, and it’s our society. Even though we are journalists, we are part of society. And we have the most powerful tool to promote reconciliation, so we use that tool to rebuild the nation.” (Personal communication, May 31, 2016)

Sam Mandela, a former journalist, talked about the need to change the media’s image in the minds of the public. “People seeing what the media’s role was in the genocide, they kind of mistrusted the media, so it was our role as, again, journalists to kind of bring back their trust” (Personal communication, May 28, 2016). Mandela also mentioned that a unified community would benefit he and his family.

Some people think media or journalists, they are aliens ... I don’t think so. We are part of the community ... So, when it [a story] is something to do with genocide ideology, if I promote it, it produces, it culminates into, like, as you know, a conflict. I will automatically be affected with my family. I have my kids, I have my daughters back home. So ... as a media practitioner, I’d always want something that would contribute to
the well-being of, you know, the community where I live. (Personal communication, May 28, 2016)

Berna Namata, news editor at The East African, said “We feel we have a second chance at life, you know, to build a new country. So, somehow in everything we do – it doesn’t have to be written somewhere – you just feel that your role is to promote peace and reconciliation” (Personal communication, June 1, 2016). Indeed, journalists mentioned this role more often than any other role. See Figure 1 for a word cloud of journalistic roles valued by Rwandan journalists.

Figure 1.
A word cloud of the journalistic roles Rwandan journalists mentioned during their interviews.

5.4. Rwandan reporters use constructive journalism techniques
To fulfill their duty to promote unity and reconciliation, journalists overwhelmingly employed constructive journalism techniques, starting soon after genocide and continuing today. “When we started our approach was a different one, just like most of the country, so what we focused
on was now development journalism ... bringing back the hope.” (Sam Mandela, personal communication, May 28, 2016). Ally Uwizeye, radio and TV presenter for Voice of America, agreed there was a need for more constructive reporting immediately after the genocide.

We listen to the radio – what is going to happen -- and we want to hear the good message. We want to listen to something new. Something that can bring peace in your heart because we, people lived with hatred, people want to get revenge, people want to kill, so we needed a new message. The message that they heard [during the genocide] was to kill – ‘hey, kill these guys! Kill these guys! Kill this one!’ So after, just like one month, everything changed and the radio came back and it was saying ‘hey, you can’t kill anybody. Killing is bad. Hey, you need to support the victims.’ All of those radio shows I think helped a lot in Rwanda reconciliation to bring peace today. (Personal communication, May 21, 2016)

Rwandan journalists continue to publish messages of hope and peace in 2016. Responding to RQ3, while Rwandan journalists rarely used the terms peace journalism, solutions journalism or restorative narrative, many of the techniques they described using would fall into those categories. In particular, numerous journalistic techniques used by Rwandan reporters and editors can be seen as examples of solutions journalism and restorative narrative at play.

5.4.1. Solutions journalism

Solutions journalism, again, is defined as “rigorous reporting about how people are responding to problems” (Solutions Journalism Network, 2016). It includes stories about conflict, but frames the discussion in terms of possible solutions. Although Rwandan reporters don’t use the term “solutions journalism,” they described the practice. Frederic Byumvuhore, reporter for The New Times, said “Journalists can be the promoters of peace. Whenever they report problems or disputes among in the society, they can also ... include some examples of how those conflicts can be solved” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).

Journalists consistently described ways that they practiced solutions-based news reporting. Berna Namata, news editor at The East African, said the day prior to our interview her news organization hosted the chairperson of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission to discuss ongoing issues surrounding the Catholic Church’s role in the genocide. Some argue that priests who were arrested for participating in the genocide should be stripped of their titles. Additionally, the country demanded an apology from the Church, and no apology had
been given. But instead of solely focusing on the conflict, Namata talked about how her news outlet shifted to a more forward-looking, solutions-oriented debate: “So when you invite the guests to discuss that, you explore, ‘Ok, is there a way that you can live with the Church today despite, you know, the past? What lessons can we take from the past?’” (Personal communication, June 1, 2016). In this way, she said, the media can help push society forward by encouraging a productive discussion.

Samba Umuseke Cyuzuzo, cofounder of Umuseke.rw, also provided examples of how he has practiced constructive, solutions-focused news reporting. He said during the 20th anniversary of the genocide, for example, his news outlet published a series of about 15 stories covering people who did not succumb to the pressure to murder their neighbors during the genocide, but rather courageously hid victims. “We showed how those people are heroic, what they did, how they saved thousands of people. So by doing this, you’re also changing some mindsets” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).

Cyuzuzo further provided an example of actual change that occurred in early 2016, after his organization covered a solutions-oriented story about a woman who hid around 400 people during the genocide in an effort to save their lives.

She got a national medal, like 10 years ago I think, but then she was like forgotten. She’s old, she doesn’t have anyone to take care of her, and she went back in poverty. And she was having the medal always with her, and she was really living a terrible life. So when we cover her back, we bring her again on the surface, so now they [the government] are building a house in southern Rwanda. So they say, ‘wow, it’s amazing’ and she, when they told her she cried, because she’s getting good house.” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016)

Another common way in which journalists attempted to cover the reconstruction of the country in a solutions-based way was by reporting the stories of genocide survivors and perpetrators living together successfully. Oswald Oswakim, reporter for City Radio, talked about how the media cover stories about genocide perpetrators who have been released from jail and are living peacefully in society.

You see on TVs, you hear on radio stations people giving testimonies on how they manage to reconcile, how they manage to live together, and what they do – they live in the same cooperative, you see, they make profit together. That’s a sexy story. You can’t
miss it to air. And I think when we bring those kind of sexy stories out, they help others. 
(Personal communication, May 31, 2016)

5.4.2. Restorative narrative

Restorative narrative is another technique Rwandan journalists commonly use in their effort to aid in the country’s redevelopment. This technique, which can overlap with solutions journalism, focuses on reporting the restoration process long after the immediate impact of a tragedy. Decades after the genocide, Rwandan journalists are regularly doing just that.

“Stories about the recovery and reconstruction or resilience of the genocide, they are still being reported,” said Frederic Byumvuhore, reporter for The New Times. Most often, journalists engage in this practice during genocide commemoration — the annual 100-day-long anniversary of the tragedy, which overlapped with the time these interviews were conducted.

“Most of stories during and after commemoration period are about resilience of genocide survivors, mentioning their problems and even what they have achieved after genocide” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016). Berna Namata, news editor for The East African, echoed this practice. “During genocide commemoration – actually we are still [in the commemoration period now], because it’s 100 days, until July – we have programs around reconciliation, talking about how can you help survivors. On the print side what we do is find survivors, talk about their stories, how are they surviving, look at their welfare, do articles around the welfare of genocide survivors” (Personal communication, June 1, 2016). For example, a two-page spread published in The New Times during the period these interviews were conducted was titled “Mothers and children born of rape: The agonizing struggle for acceptance” and featured women working to overcome the struggle and shame of being raped during the genocide and having their children therefore not accepted in society. See Figure 2.
Ivan Mugisha, another reporter, further explained that media tell the stories of genocide survivors in an effort to promote unity and reconciliation. Most of the media now, they talk about the genocide, talking about togetherness, talking about how we are all Rwandan, talking about, ‘let’s go visit a survivor family, find out how are they doing, give them some food, build them a house.’ So yeah, journalists talk about the platform to give survivors to come and talk about their life stories, how they managed to cope since the genocide, what government has done in rebuilding their lives, what the civil society has done, yeah, and what different private people are doing on behalf to help survivors. So that’s our role now. That’s what we do.” (Personal communication, May 29, 2016)

Giving people a platform to tell their genocide stories helped others to feel like they weren’t alone, said Mike Karangwa, senior producer at RadioTv10. And the reporters maintained balance in this effort. In addition to telling the stories of genocide survivors, Rwandan reporters
also talked about how they tell the stories of genocide perpetrators. For example, Eugéne Hagabimana, director of *Radio Salus*, said his station collaborates with a local NGO that promotes unity and reconciliation to air a weekly program called “Healing.” “In such program, we have some example asking pardon for those who are convicted for genocide and giving forgiveness,” he said. Themistocle Mutijima, a journalist for *Radio Isango Star*, agreed that the media offers a place for people, both genocide perpetrators and survivors, to ask for peace or redemption.

People managed to ask for mercy through the influence of the media. The media provided a platform for some people who come and give their testimony - how they managed to get back together, how they are now intermarrying to the family. Then, others would feel bad for that one who lost maybe 10 family members [and] has managed to cohabitate with his neighbors; ‘why can’t I, if I’ve lost 3 or 4, why can’t I?’ And this is how it worked. Yeah, people asked for mercy and they were forgiven.” (Personal communication, May 29, 2016)

Another theme that emerged was how journalists highlighted stories about genocide perpetrators and survivors making peace with each other.

In the Southern Province you have some cooperative for those who have come from prison, convicted of genocide, and victim of, survivors from genocide. If they are working together and they have one cooperative and we broadcast such program, it is just our one example of unity and reconciliation. If you can find for example a group or a cooperative with the enemy because if one is a former killer, another is a survivor, and they are working together, it’s a good example. (Eugéne Hagabimana, Personal communication, May 28, 2016)

By publishing stories about forgiveness, resilience and collaboration, the media inspired individuals to forgive. These restorative narratives remain a powerful way that the media in Rwanda help individuals recover and help society redevelop.

Media played a big role, yeah. They could give platform to religious people, you know, to the survivors and the criminals to give their testimonies because here in Rwanda we have survivors living together with the criminals – those who killed their people in the genocide. So they could, you know, go and visit those families and you follow radio and, you know, you hear that kind of testimony, and even you can change your behavior. (Jean Baptiste Micomyiza, Personal communication, June 2, 2016)
5.5. Constructive journalism impacts individuals and society

Journalists interviewed in this study overwhelmingly believed that the media have played a major role in the recovery and reconstruction of the country since the genocide. “People were still sad [after the genocide]...we don’t have a future, we don’t have parents,” said Ashante, a journalist at Royal FM. “But now everyone is happy, thinking there is another mood. They are thinking positively, thinking that after this there is a future.” Janvier Kwizera, editor at Gusenga.org, agreed. “Many people are reconciliated, many people are in a good condition; we have a good atmosphere, they are unified” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).

This current mood that journalists described is different, they said, than it was shortly after the genocide. “People would meet others and not greet them, and of course it was obvious we could not greet someone who had maybe killed members of the family and you have been left alone. How could it be? It was very difficult,” said Themistocle Mutijima, a journalist for Radio Isango Star (Personal communication, May 29, 2016). But the media, and specific radio programs that some called “radio dramas,” changed people’s lives, according to reporter Ivan Mugisha (Personal communication, May 29, 2016). Mutijima agreed.

Radio drama has been very important tool which worked or contributed to unity and reconciliation. It worked in terms of bringing back the people who had exited the countries ... I can remember the Voice of America and the BBC contributed very much in the bringing back of those people. (Personal communication, May 29, 2016)

Through radio dramas and through news stories documenting the lives of those who survived the genocide and those who learned to live productively with individuals who killed their family members and friends, the media made a difference. Samba Umuseke Cyuzuzo, cofounder of Umuseke.rw, talked about the impact of one story he covered — the wedding of a couple whereby one came from a family of genocide victims and the other came from a family of genocide perpetrators. “By showing this, the society started to see that it can happen, it can happen that people can be united again” (Personal communication, May 30, 2016).

Journalists talked about how these types of constructive stories affected not only their audiences, but them personally. “The newspapers played a big role. I used to read some articles from the newspapers and they inspired me. They inspired me how to forgive my enemies. They showed me, ‘oh wow, this guy did this? Why not me? I can do it, me too’” (Ally Uwizeye,
Personal communication, May 21, 2016). Janvier Kwizera, editor at Gusenga.org, echoed this sentiment.

After the Rwandan genocide, I had mind to revenge or to hate extremely someone who tried to kill my family members or my father, and right now I am telling you the truth that we are in good atmosphere, we are changed, we are reconciliated. There are few of them who are not yet changed, but many people are changed because of journalism or because of that mass media. (Personal communication, May 30, 2016)

6. Conclusion

This study showed that journalists in modern-day Rwanda value many of the same traditional roles valued by journalists in Western countries, such as to inform, educate, and entertain, with one major exception — Rwandan journalists feel a strong obligation to promote unity and reconciliation. And since the genocide, reporters have been fulfilling that duty by practicing constructive journalism. They have employed solutions journalism and restorative narrative techniques, regularly covering stories that inspire and foster forgiveness, and they believe these stories have helped individuals recover and have helped restore a peaceful society.

“In the post-genocide Rwanda, that is our journalism, you know, that is our attitude generally toward journalism ... So if you look at our coverage over time it’s been trying to reemphasize that there’s hope, there’s resilience,” said Berna Namata, news editor for The East African.

The journalistic duty to promote peace in Rwanda is not idealistic; it’s vital, given the county’s past. Therefore this role often supersedes traditional role functions. “As a result, for most people there is no media freedom in Rwanda – that is how people perceive it – because we don’t focus on the negative, which is the traditional Western way of, you know, the media” (Berna Namata, Personal communication, June 1, 2016). It is very difficult to play the watchdog role in Rwanda, Namata said. The stakes are too high.

I can understand why somebody else would look at it and say, ‘but this is not really professional journalism, you know, because you’re supposed to be the watchdog and, you know, focus on criticism as opposed to, you know, just pointing out, this is working, this is working, this is working.’ But I think, for me, coming to that conclusion would sort of not take into account the history of the country. (Berna Namata, Personal communication, June 1, 2016)
References


(Non)constructive frames for disease and ageing in popular science journalism

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ABSTRACT This paper characterizes the dominant frames in popular science-oriented reports devoted to disease and ageing. In popular science journalism, framing often consists in the discursive construction of newsworthiness, i.e., foregrounding features of events/issues considered by science editors to be relevant or attractive for audiences, despite the alienating nature of some types of news. A sample of most-read health-related articles from New Scientist (2013-2015) is subjected to content analysis, keyness analysis, concordance analysis and news value analysis to demonstrate how bioscience tends to be framed through consistent and strategic linguistic choices. The analyses reveal that most frames for disease and ageing in popular science coverage work as vehicles for the celebration of medical science as a domain of reporting, and thus forward the media outlet’s market-driven agenda rather than discuss the deeper implications of bioscientific findings.

KEYWORDS Framing, Science journalism, Newsworthiness, Popularity, Public understanding of science

1. Introduction

The concept of framing is used to highlight “persistent selection, emphasis and exclusion” in communication (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). While framing social reality people comprehend, negotiate and manage it. Frames are also sometimes defined as “cognitive windows” through which readers follow stories (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 59) or “maps” which they use while travelling through multiple realities (Gamson, 1992, p. 117). According to Kitzinger (2007, p. 133), “framing refers to the process whereby we organize reality (...). The term is used to refer to how we interpret our everyday encounters with the world around us. It is also used to refer to how (...) a newspaper frames a story.” Framing analysis can be seen as part of critical discourse analysis, as it reveals “the way in which content of the text is presented to its audience, and the sort of perspective, angle and slant the writer or speaker is taking. Related to this is what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded in the text; that is, what the author has chosen to emphasize or de-emphasize” (Paltridge, 2013, p. 100).

Media framing is a process that leads news readers to accept one meaning over another, or provides a consistent, even though simplified or biased, understanding of an issue. Also science journalism has become a discursive domain where science-related content is

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1 This is a draft version of paper presented at the conference Constructed/Constructive Journalism (Institute for Journalism Studies, Brussels, 8-9 December 2016)
expressed in ways that are accessible to a broader public rather than to a narrow elite. In popular journalism, framing often consists in foregrounding perspectives or features of events considered by science editors to be attractive for audiences. Studies show that the stylistic shift towards tabloid-like forms of journalism in the market-driven environment has involved discursive strategies aimed at presenting news as newsworthy, relevant and entertaining (Conboy, 2006; Bednarek & Caple, 2012). It is claimed here that the construction of newsworthiness in science journalism may also be realized in framing science-related events through strategically chosen language to foreground a particular aspect or to take an angle that is likely to engage the target readers.

This paper aims to characterize the dominant frames in science-oriented reports devoted to disease and ageing by identifying the devices used to engage readers, despite the alienating nature of such topics. The choice of this thematic domain is not incidental: biomedical coverage has displaced other domains of reporting when it comes to attracting readers’ attention, as medical progress has speeded up in unprecedented ways while the developed societies have grown more health-aware (Weitkamp, 2003). Recent research on science-related coverage indicates a gradual reorientation away from physics, astrophysics, chemistry and engineering (popular at the time of nuclear proliferation, arms race and space exploration in the 1960s and 1970s) towards biology, medicine and biotechnology by the end of the twentieth century (Bauer, 1998; Calsamiglia & van Dijk, 2004; Bucci & Mazzolini, 2007). Especially prominent have been stories involving news on AIDS and other epidemics, sequencing of the genome, advances in neuroscience and stem cell research, and the development of genetically modified organisms. Many mainstream news outlets have started to feature a regular “biomedicine/health” column or supplement and even made scientific news items appear in front pages (Bucci & Mazzolini, 2007). Biomedical issues are regarded as being of rising relevance to news consumers and often are framed in terms of “must-know” information that will guarantee sufficient awareness of medical advances, and health-oriented lifestyle choices.

The approach applied in this study is an adaptation of the newsworthiness framework that has been applied in news discourse studies (cf. Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Molek-Kozakowska, forthcoming). The material subjected to a critical framing analysis is a collection of 54 most-read articles (according to online traffic) sampled from the website of the popular international science magazine New Scientist between 2013 and mid-2015. The texts are subjected to content analysis, keyness analysis, concordance analysis and newsworthiness
analysis in order to identify the discursive strategies that function as framing devices, which highlight the relevance of the coverage adding a pinch of entertainment (drama, mystery and speculation). The analyses reveal that some frames for disease and ageing in popular science coverage work as vehicles for the celebration of medical science as a domain of reporting, and thus forward the outlet’s market-driven agenda. In this sense they might be counterproductive or non-constructive, since they fail to enhance the public understanding of biotechnology and medicine.

2. Discursive conventions of popular science journalism

Journalism, at any point in time, can be perceived as a set of dominant conventions and inherited traditions for relating information within a particular institutional framework and with the aid of available technologies of mediation. Driven by technical and social developments, journalistic practices have been constantly evolving (Conboy, 2011, p. 109-124). That is why contemporary scholars need to problematize any preconceptions about the current state of the news media, acknowledging the complex constellation of economic factors, technological developments, political influences and cultural expectations that have oriented journalism towards a popular, mass-appeal medium.2

Given this, the study explores the discursive aspects of the trend towards the naturalization of “the ideology of newsworthiness” in science reporting (cf. Bednarek & Caple, 2014). Indeed, although popular journalism is viewed as a result of the shift in content and focus of presented news items towards more human-interest entertaining soft news, scandal and drama (McLachlan & Golding, 2000), there has also been a significant change of style (Conboy, 2006). It can be noted, for example, that popular journalism involves not only shorter texts, more visuals and emotional headlines, but also more consumerism-oriented features, more personalization of reporting and domestication of abstract issues, more dialogical formats, as well as more “negative, journalist dominated points of view” (instead of expert or witness accounts) (Conboy, 2011, p. 119). However, strictly discursive facets of popular reporting had not been systematically explored until recently (cf. Bell, 1991; Montgomery, 2007; Bednarek & Caple, 2012), and rarely did they concern popular science reporting in particular. Yet, science journalism can no longer be claimed to have remained untouched by this stylistic shift: first

indignant at the trivialization and simplification of news, science writers distanced themselves from popular coverage, before finally incorporating some of its features (Bowler 2009; Broks 2006). These new features include looking for “sellable stories,” selection and framing of science news, as well as brevity and color in reporting (cf. Bauer & Gregory, 2007).

To bear relevance to audiences, and to sell, news items have to fulfill some criteria of newsworthiness. Although the concept of newsworthiness (news value) has so far been applied to offer a systematic account of mainstream news discourse, it is productive in the study of science journalism too, as it enables looking at how market-driven agendas of media outlets influence the professional practices and outcomes of science journalism (Molek-Kozakowska, 2016). Drawing on the varied literature on news values, Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 41-44) postulate the following typology of news values: negativity (i.e., negative aspects of events), timeliness (i.e., temporal relevance), proximity (i.e., geographical/cultural nearness), prominence (i.e., status/eliteness), consonance (i.e., alignment with expectations/stereotypes), impact (i.e., effects), novelty (i.e., newness/unexpectedness), superlativeness (i.e., large scale/scope/intensity), and personalization (i.e., human aspects), and demonstrate how these values are realized through the choices in language and image, rather than being inherent attributes of events.³

As negativity seems to be important to create newsworthiness, there is some evidence that mainstream news media have framed medical and biotechnological topics in critical and challenging ways, often accusing scientists of unethical and harmful activities. The negative framings of science in the media can be divided into five major types, according to Fjaestad (2007, p. 127)

Firstly, scientists sometimes create dangerous knowledge and products (e.g., weapons, toxins, genetic engineering). Secondly, scientists sometimes use methods that can be unethical or even illegal (e.g., painful experiments on animals, humans as guinea pigs, research on aborted fetuses, integrity-threatening registers of individuals, also accepting financing from questionable partisan organizations, and instances of self-enrichment and downright fraud). Thirdly, scientists sometimes waste public funds on meaningless projects. Fourthly, scientists sometimes express opposite opinions on important

³ The notation of identified frames in italicized capitals is designed to help distinguish them from key terms.
matters; each of them claims to be right and on the other hand, dissident scientists are sometimes stigmatized by mainstream scientists. And finally, scientists sometimes withhold and repress information that ought to be made public.

One can infer that these framings in the mainstream news outlets can give biomedical coverage an aura of negativity and controversy that attracts attention. This, however, would not be productive in a science-exclusive outlet, since it could decrease readers’ appreciation and engagement. By contrast, popular science journalism, with less demanding content and more positive, celebratory style seems to be an alternative for audiences yearning for breakthroughs and more certainty in health-related issues. However, only celebrating science may foster uncritical attitudes towards science funding policies and a tendency to legitimize science-related activities without due consideration of the merits.

Finally, science newsworthiness may also be rooted in a discursive oscillation between “the rhetoric of hope” and “the rhetoric of fear” (Kitzinger & Williams, 2005). Arguably, it might be claimed that vocabularies, metaphors and images that both highlight risks and celebrate benefits in science reporting represent what Jensen terms “a framing device that science journalists use to the detriment of a clear and coherent presentation of a controversial scientific development and its realistic implications” (2012, p. 44). They seem to be strategically designed to motivate continuous engagements with the outlet. As confusion breeds uncertainty, readers might be drawn to an outlet only to calm their fears, which fits in well with the market-driven interests of media outlets (McManus, 1994). Unless confronted critically, such frames representing bioscience could further feed into the overall sense of uncontrollability and anxiety characteristic of postindustrial risk societies (Beck, 1992).

3. Frames in the coverage of bio-medical research

Extant studies on the mediated representations of biotechnological research explore, among others, the coverage of the new pandemics, human genome, nanotechnology, genetically modified organisms, neuroscience, cancer research, and embryo stem cell research or therapeutic cloning. Some studies reveal how the knowledge of the given issue is shaped for public understanding and acceptance through discursive devices and discuss the possible implications of such portrayals. For example, Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004) demonstrate how the representation of the human genome is shaped in the popularizations available in the
Spanish press. By referring to epistemic universals, common-sense schemas, and tangible metaphors, reporters frame the sequencing of the human genome as a process of “decoding a hidden message,” which results in geneticists being finally able to “read it like a text.” With this semi-technical and culturally acceptable metaphorical representation, it is possible to elicit public acclaim not only for the project but also for genetics as a discipline and genetic engineering as a therapeutic solution. However, according to a different study on a televised documentary on cancer therapies in the UK (Potter, Wetherell & Chitty, 1991), public expectations as regards advances in cancer research may well be inflated by charity organizations, which have to justify collecting money for their causes. The use of quantification rhetoric to frame cancer research as advancing (despite the lack of new available therapies) has been exposed in the study.

Through a study on the levels of acceptance of medical and agricultural GM technologies in Denmark, Mielby, Sandoe and Lassen (2012) have found that for the publics whose level of knowledge and education is higher, acceptance correlates with the judgments of relative risks and benefits of a given technology. Meanwhile, receivers with lower levels of knowledge of the issue tend to express their acceptance depending on their perception of how “natural” or “unnatural” a given biotechnology is presented. It seems that the more the public knows about the biotechnology the more complex frames would be needed to discuss it. In a similar vein, positive attitudes towards nanotechnologies have taken root in Germany, as reporters tended to frame the scientists’ inventions in terms of possible benefits rather than risks, and when they associated them with commonly held beliefs and cherished values, such as progress and welfare (Guenther and Ruhrmann 2013). The work of the scientists is also likely to be celebrated within the coverage of epidemics, particularly if the popular representations of diseases metaphorically frame them as fighting viral “adversaries,” “attackers,” “criminals,” or “murderers,” or as the ones who try to stop the “flood” or “intercept dangerous viral parcels,” as was documented by Dobrić and Weder (2015) in the case of the mediated conceptualizations of flu pandemics within 1990-2010.

The uptake of science journalism as regards the key bio-controversies needs to be closely monitored. In a review article on how neuroscience influences common conceptions of personhood and human agency, O’Connor and Joffe (2013) show that the public awareness of neuroscience is relatively low (even though media frames of neuroscientific advances present them as a revolutionary transition from psychological to biological understanding of the self),
and the ideas that happen to be assimilated tend to reinforce old folk-psychological conceptions rather than challenge them. What this study also shows is that the proliferation of the images of brain scans in the media is motivated by their perceived “truth value” and is used to enhance the credibility of journalism (O’Connor & Joffe, 2013). Also, the public is shown to be mostly interested in everyday applications of neuroscience (e.g., criminal uses for lie detection, applications in marketing and public policy), which means that to engage audiences, science news items should be framed as offering concrete solutions (even though available only in the future) and not as an unresolved scholarly debate.

By contrast, when the public does pay attention to science news, the reporting can do some deeply ideological work. Kitzinger and Williams (2005) use frame analysis and detailed linguistic analysis to illustrate how the framing of embryo stem cell research in British national press and televised reports in 2000 helped to mitigate doubts about this controversial biotechnological procedure (also known as therapeutic cloning). The media materials abounded in hype frames that heralded innovation and breakthrough, authority appeals foregrounding the approving collective opinion of the scientific community, and emotional appeals on behalf of the patients with incurable diseases, who would profit the most from the future possibilities of organ replacement. The authors point to the fact that the stem cell regulations ultimately accepted by the government were compatible with the dominant frames and assessments foregrounded in the mainstream media.

In summary, it can be observed that biomedical research tends to be conventionally framed in a range of ways: the advances in biotechnology and medicine can be represented as Benefit³ or Risk, as Breakthrough or Failure, and as Revolution or in terms of Continuity. At the same time the state of knowledge in a particular field can be framed as unresolved Debate or, more often, as advancing towards Application in a foreseeable future. As regards guiding public acceptance, useful frames involve (Un)Naturalness or (Un)Desirability of specific inventions. These typically occurring frames will be traced in the sample material in the following sections; at the same time, evidence for other framings will also be sought.
4. Framing disease and ageing

4.1. Material

The sample for this analysis of the dominant frames of disease, ageing and death in popular science journalism had been collected for 22 months (between 2013 and mid-2015) from the online version of one of the most widely circulated international science magazines - New Scientist (NS henceforth). The main selection criterion was that the text should have been popular with readers and generated their engagement. Thus, instead of a random sample from the health column, the corpus was created by downloading articles every week from the list of five “most read” articles as listed on the NS website. Sometimes the list did not feature any medicine-oriented items, sometimes there were a few articles, sometimes the same article persisted in the list for a few weeks (but was included only once). The text was included in the sample if its headline included such terms as disease (or a specific term for a disease), ageing (or death). Articles on drugs, therapies, discoveries and experiments related to treating diseases and improving health were also included. The sample is thus made up of 54 articles (listed in the appendix) with the total word count of over 26,700.

4.2. Content analysis

The first step in the analysis was to code all articles (whole texts) with respect to dominant content categories. The total sample (n=54) has been shown as inclusive of one large category of content, namely “announcing new drugs/therapies” (n=30) and one smaller content category, namely “explaining causes of diseases/designing diagnostic tools” (n=17). This division could be roughly mapped onto the distinction between two frames: APPLICATION and DEBATE, with the number of former twice as large as of the latter. This indicates the NS readers’ preferences for learning about actual solutions to health problems when it comes to selecting news, and confirms the role of the APPLICATION frame as regards forging engagement. The remaining articles (n=7) consist of miscellaneous content, such as “discussing psychological/social aspects of illness, or relating individual’s stories of dealing with disease.” The articles were also coded

4 In 2014, the Audit Bureau of Circulations estimated NS’s global print circulation at 129,585 and its readership at 807,388, while according to Adobe Reports & Analytics, its online version was subject to over 8 million page impressions with over 3.6 million unique visitors. NS was listed as one of the top ten science-related periodicals in Australia, the UK and the US and offered an online database of over 100,000 articles. On social media, NS had 1.47m+ Twitter followers, 2.3m+ Facebook likes and 365,000+ Google+ followers as of January 2015 (cf. http://mediacentre.newscientist.com/audience-and-brand).
for the prevalent evaluation of the subject, thus yielding the following distribution: positive news (BREAKTHROUGH) – 33 items, neutral news – 11 items, negative news (FAILURE) – 10 items (validated by two coders). Importantly, the dominant evaluative stance could be usually determined already at the level of headline/lead, which confirms the significance of headlines for framing the reception of popular scientific news (cf. Molek-Kozakowska, 2016).

Also, according to the currently held evidence-based model of medicine, medical discourse distinguishes between disease and illness. Disease is a term that denotes a state of presence of manifestations indicating a given pathological change at various levels of medical description (e.g., whole patient, part of the body, system, organ, tissue, cell, molecule), while illness is defined as a subjective perception of the state by the patient. This model privileges the discursive representation of disease (rather than illness) and is noted for the “evacuation” of the patient as a person from presentations of medical cases, mainly by focusing on organs, symptoms, procedures and outcomes (cf. Murawska, 2011, p. 191-192). The conducted content analysis confirms that NS’s coverage of medical issues reproduces the model, as it also focuses on diseases rather than people who are affected by them (with only a handful of texts dealing with individuals experiencing illness in a peculiar way, e.g., (15) and (43)). Many articles also foreground the activity and agency of scientists who are shown to relentlessly and creatively manipulate data and substances, and conduct experiments to be able to diagnose, control or eradicate diseases, slow ageing and save lives (cf. CONTINUITY, DESIRABILITY frames).

4.3. Keyness analysis

Keyness is a parameter of the relative salience of a term in a given sample vis-à-vis a reference corpus (RC) – here the British National Corpus. Table 1 illustrates the 50 first keywords in the sample sorted in the order of decreasing positive keyness value (last column). The baseline frequency included was 10 occurrences in the sample to exclude cases when multiple occurrences of the term in one article could skew the results. This ensures a shorter but more representative list of items that characterize the sample.
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The analysis of keyness values in the sample reveals the marked salience of medical and biological terminology, which, nevertheless, is part of general science literacy, rather than experts’ jargon. Apart from biomedical register, with terms denoting parts of the human body, pathogens, conditions and treatments, there are also words typical of journalistic discourse (e.g., attribution of sources with says), as well as items that describe scientists’ activities and pertain to doing research (researchers, study, team). The keyness values of the words disease and ageing are high (139.92 and 106.07 respectively). These and many other key terms may have negative valence because they denote UNDESIRABLE or UNNATURAL processes or conditions; however, when compared with the results of content analysis (above), many articles
in fact use them to frame scientific findings in opposition to these and show how researchers and doctors work to help patients counter these undesirable conditions.

4.4. Concordance analysis

Concordance analysis enables a less atomized and decontextualized analysis of “semantic prosody” of selected terms. It can point to salient meanings and strategic evaluation-laden collocations and may even reveal the prevalent ideological stances behind the routine usages of salient terms. For example, in the case if the word *ageing* (n=16) the most common collocations with verbs include *slow down, explain, tackle* and *contribute to*. This demonstrates that many articles on aging are actually devoted to elucidating the biological/biochemical mechanisms of aging in order to intervene in them to counter ageing. Ageing is represented negatively: it is either pathologized as a *collection of diseases*, or simply seen as an unwanted process that scientists should strive to understand to a sufficient degree to be able to slow or stop it. Ageing, framed as an *UNDESIRABLE* phenomenon to be first *explained* and then *managed*, is discussed in NS both in the context of *DEBATE* (free radicals theory of ageing) and in terms of *APPLICATION* (longevity drugs that can fix oxidative damage, exercises that prevent muscle atrophy and thus metabolic degeneration).

Concordance analysis of the term *disease* (n=33) demonstrates a variety of common pre-modifications (*heart, liver, skin, autoimmune, Alzheimer’s, incurable, rare*), as well as such positive collocations as *treating, alleviating, diagnosing, managing, slowing the progression of*. Such collocates constitute frames that mostly inspire optimism and hope for the ability of bioscientists to control or eradicate some diseases (*BENEFIT, BREAKTHROUGH* frames). However, the word *disease* is often a relatively abstract hypernym, and more attention should be paid to how particular diseases are represented in the sample. As a result, concordances of *diabetes* (n=23), *Alzheimer’s* (n=19) and *cancer* (n=35) have also been studied.

The term *diabetes* occurs in common collocations describing *diabetes’ types, drugs, medication, risks and causes*. One article ventures to claim a symptomatic similarity between diabetes and Alzheimer’s disease and discusses how the doctors’ knowledge of diabetes management and medication can be used to diagnose early onsets of Alzheimer’s (7). As diabetes is a complex condition that affects the whole body and that cannot be cured, it is likely that the most common collocations of *diabetes* with verbs are *managing, assisting, controlling and preventing*. In one article a breakthrough study is announced with information that diabetes
can be fought with light (2). Here, one can find the only instances of collocates such as healing/fighting diabetes (in mice). One more article – Bionic pancreas frees people from shackles of diabetes (24) – uses an elaborate metaphorical construction to suggest that people can be cured of diabetes, which on closer reading turns out to be about freeing them only from the exhausting regime of glucose level monitoring, and thus realizes CONTINUITY rather than REVOLUTION frame. It can be concluded that the gradual progress in the studies on diabetes, which is a prevalent but relatively undramatic condition, is framed as newsworthy through strategically applied collocations and rhetorical devices.

As with diabetes, Alzheimer’s disease is relatively often featured in the sample. The medical progress on Alzheimer’s diagnosis and treatment (which is tightly related to ageing processes of the human brain) is reported with intimations of successful experimental therapies. It may be striking to note that the term Alzheimer’s appears in one sentence with young blood transfusion, rejuvenation and organ donation. This frames biomedical research as going to great lengths to try out various exceptional measures to slow down the progressive degenerative process resulting in Alzheimer’s and invokes APPLICATION and REVOLUTION frames slightly misleadingly.

Although the word cancer scores the highest frequencies in the sample, it is worth remembering that it relates to various conditions, as the following most common pre-modifiers demonstrate: breast, blood, bone, brain, fat tissue. Apparently, cancer research reported in NS is mostly related to studies of biochemical and genetic character. Thus frequent collocations involve cancer cells, genes, chromosomes, or scanning for cancer (spreading). Attention is devoted to uncovering the cellular mechanisms within tumors and manipulating genes responsible for cell/tissue functioning to stop or hinder the growth of tumors. Thus the expression beating cancer or a metaphoric formulation that cancer meets its nemesis is linked less to cancer surgery or chemotherapy, and more to genetic engineering (REVOLUTION frame intertwined with RISK and BENEFIT frames). This seems to indicate that cancer research is framed as cutting-edge discipline of genetic science and that biotechnologists are learning how to reprogram our cells to stop turning tumorous (cf. Cancer meets its nemesis in reprogrammed blood cells (6)).

In addition, the term death (n=22) appears in various collocations when diseases, ageing, infections, adverse effects or terminal conditions are discussed, as well as when risks and lifestyles that result in death are reported on (smoking cannabis) (cf. RISK frame). In these
contexts, the word is used to magnify unwanted consequences to legitimate scientists’ efforts and funding to study a given phenomenon. For example, studying the effects of cannabis or plastic surgery, or discussing depression is legitimized when incidental deaths are mentioned to dramatize the issues (cf. UNDESIRABILITY frame).

4.5. Newsworthiness analysis

The above quantitative findings confirm that a variety of frames can be used to engage readers. This qualitative part of the analysis of the texts verifies the observations with attention to news values that function as frames to construct events discursively as worth readers’ engagement. A close reading of the sample reveals that articles on diseases build newsworthiness through novelty, timeliness or superlativeness.

Novelty is signaled relatively early in the texts, and it is very prominent in the sample. One could even conclude that the main rationale for the choice of publishing/reading an item is to understand it as novel, wide-ranging and successful (all emphases mine):

(1) For the first time, new human hairs have been coaxed into growing from specialized skin cells that can be multiplied in number. (1)

(2) The discovery is the first evidence that it may be possible to revert the human brain to a childlike state, enabling us to treat disorders and unlock skills that are difficult, if not impossible, to acquire beyond a certain age. (9)

(3) The world’s first blood test to predict Alzheimer’s disease before symptoms occur has been developed. (14)

(4) Vaginas grown in a lab from the recipients’ own cells have been successfully transferred to the body for the first time. (20)

(5) A novel scanning technique is enabling researchers to pinpoint where in the body HIV is lurking. (42)

One could argue that each scientific activity/study/publication is novel in some way; however, novelty in biomedical coverage is framed as more significant, as it carries a promise of saved
lives and cured populations. This is how such a study can eventually be framed as a **BREAKTHROUGH**. Signaling novelty means introducing audiences to cutting-edge science that solves health-related problems large or small, and, even though the coverage only intimates future possibilities, it can be read as a celebration of the idea that humans will control disease (**BENEFIT**). Some of the developments are additionally framed as unexpected and thus scientific research is overlaid with the aura of **MYSTERY**.

(6) Having type 2 diabetes may mean you are already on the path to Alzheimer’s. This **startling** claim comes from a study linking the two diseases more intimately than ever before. (5)

(7) *It was as unexpected as it was tragic*: children in northern Europe who got one particular vaccine against the 2009 swine flu pandemic were at a much higher risk of developing narcolepsy. (18)

Another common newsworthiness cue in the coverage of disease is realized through representations of timeliness (recent events or future developments).

(8) Light can **now** be used to heal diabetes in mice. (3)

(9) In **two months’ time**, a group of profoundly deaf people could be able to hear again, thanks to the world’s first gene therapy trial for deafness. (21)

(10) Taking the drugs could be counterproductive, especially for older people, suggests a study published **yesterday**. (26)

This discursive strategy is important to show how distant issues of lab experimentation may be relevant to larger publics. It has a potential of framing biomedical progress as radical and speedy (**REVOLUTION**) and its products as available and ready to take advantage of (**APPLICATION**), which in many cases is questionable, as the reports concern early findings and only speculate about future applications.

Superlativeness has been demonstrated as a prominent news value of popular journalism, which thrives on exaggeration and sensationalism (Barnett 2008). The NS sample

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5 A maneuver also called ‘temporal proximization’ in Molek-Kozakowska (2015).
features words and phrases that represent extremity or project a sense of unusualness that borders on DRAMA:

(11) Five people with a type of blood cancer [...] were in remission following treatment with genetically engineered immune cells from their own blood. One person’s tumors disappeared in just eight days. (6)

(12) Extraordinary stem cell method tested in human tissue. (10)

(13) It’s neuroscience’s final frontier. Tiny bubbles will open the blood-brain barrier to sneak drugs into tumors [...]If successful, the method would be a huge step in the treatment of pernicious brain diseases such as cancer, Parkinson’s and Alzheimer’s. (25)

(14) When chromosomes shatter, they sometimes reform into giant circular monsters. These beasts gobble up cancer genes, incorporate them into their DNA, and seed aggressive tumors. (38)

Superlativeness is mostly constructed in the articles on new diagnostic tools or newly developed therapies. Although the usefulness and potential for application of these findings is yet to be determined, the intensifiers, adjectives and emotive nominals, sometimes collocated with verbs that vividly describe (threatening) physical activities (shatter, seed, sneak, gobble up) rather than abstract processes, introduce the imagery of scientific progress that exceeds our expectations and that should leave us in awe of the discoveries (REVOLUTION, BREAKTHROUGH).

Such impression is also created with the framing of bioscientific advances as having a large, even global, scale and significant consequences for millions of prospective patients:

(15) Last week, the scientific world was bowled over by a study in Nature showing that an acidic environment turned adult mouse cells into ‘totipotent’ stem cells – which can turn into any cell in the body or placenta. (10)

(16) Tiny bugs [...] may be causing an ancient skin disease that is estimated to affect between 5 and 20 per cent of people worldwide, and 16 million in the US alone. (16)
(17) Damiano, a biomedical engineer, decided to create a device that would help his child and millions of others better manage their disease. (24)

What is characteristic of the frames for the scope and scale of biotechnological advancements is the fact that such formulations are often mitigated with epistemic modality (note the uses of modal verbs can, may or would or verbs that have tentative meaning – show, estimate, help) to appear as credible at such a preliminary stage of research. Nevertheless, they enable editors to frame science as relevant (DESIRABILITY) to a large proportion of readers or the whole humanity.

If disease coverage is constructed as newsworthy with the construction of novelty, timeliness and superlativeness, then ageing is often represented with the frames that engender either consonance (18, 19, 20 below) or impact (21, 22, 23 below). The former anchor the reporting in the common knowledge about the body and the ageing processes (NATURALNESS), while that latter offer news on new means to be tried out to counter them and “rejuvenate” the human organism.

(18) Breasts typically age more quickly than the rest of the female body. So suggests a system that may be the most accurate way yet of identifying a person’s age from a blood or tissue sample. (2)

(19) It could be the biggest killer you’ve never heard of: the weakening and loss of muscle that happens as we get older. However, the mechanisms behind muscle ageing are still poorly understood – although new research suggests it involves damage from free radicals. (32)

(20) The number of eggs in a woman's ovaries could tell a lot more than just how fertile she is. It may provide a window onto how fast her cells are ageing and her risk of developing heart disease. (33)

(21) So suggests a discovery that highly diluted household bleach inhibits inflammation in the skin [...] might help protect skin from sun exposure, radiation therapy and even the natural ageing process. (4)
(22) It sounds like the dark plot of a vampire movie. In October, people with Alzheimer’s disease will be injected with the blood of young people in the hope that it will reverse some of the damage caused by the condition. (30)

(23) Pill of super-protective ‘heavy’ fat may be key to eternal youth [...] For the first time next month, fats designed to reinforce our cells against age-related damage will be given to people in a clinical trial. The participants have a rare genetic disorder, but if the treatment works for them, it could eventually help us all live longer, more youthful lives. (47)

Although it is less conspicuous in the sample, the coverage of news items related to ageing has a widespread target appeal – all people get old whereas not all get all the diseases covered by NS. However, the number of articles in the most-read sample is not substantial, which indicates that the readers may not feel that the topic merits too much attention or is relevant for them at the moment. The framing of ageing that can be detected in NS tends to represent it as something that is relatively poorly understood in terms of practical ways of slowing it down (DEBATE). Such framing does not inspire hope or enthusiasm for science, which perhaps explains its relatively low uptake. One exception to this rule is the overtone of hype in (23) where several linguistic choices (super-protective, eternal youth, for the first time, eventually) seem to misleadingly frame the finding as a BREAKTHROUGH.

One more aspect should be mentioned while analyzing newsworthiness, namely the potential to use the terminology related to death in reporting. Mentioning death alongside disease or ageing is often aimed to dramatize and sensationalize the coverage, since all news of spreading epidemics, lethal substances or deadly pathogens guarantee readership. In bioscience journalism some types of research may be framed as more significant (news value of prominence) if they directly prevent death or save lives, as in

(24) Neither dead or alive, knife-wound or gunshot victims will be cooled down and placed in suspended animation later this month, as a groundbreaking emergency technique is tested out for the first time. (18)

However, death is also framed in terms of the unknown: a MYSTERY that justifies bioscience as an ongoing project and ensures its eliteness as a domain of scientific inquiry.
(25) Death is the one certainty in life – a pioneering analysis of blood from one of the world’s oldest and healthiest women has given clues to why it happens. (23)

(26) The first full post-mortems of people who died after smoking cannabis suggest that the drug can kill unaided. Cannabis has been known to cause death when laced with other substances, by triggering a heart condition or by causing respiratory cancers. But whether it can be directly lethal has remained unclear. (12)

In these contexts, the word death is used to magnify unwanted consequences of the lack of knowledge (UNDESIRABILITY), to celebrate scientists’ laudable efforts (CONTINUITY) and, indirectly, to legitimate the costly enterprises to study particular conditions or processes hoping for a major BREAKTHROUGH.

5. Conclusion

Science in general and medical science in particular constitute prestigious domains in modern societies. Substantial funding is channeled to biomedical research and the role of experiments and innovations has increased (Gunnarsson, 2013, p. 186). As medical scientists have become a specialist discourse community, the popularization of medical findings has been taken over by trained journalists, who have to mitigate the “scientificality” of academic medical writing and make it fit in with the palatable templates of popular journalism. Science writers and editors take some responsibility to relate new developments to increase the public understanding of bioscience and make readers more aware of the newest recommendations in health-related research. At the same time, commercial media outlets are hard-pressed to ensure readership, loyalty and continuous engagement of the public with their output. It is against such a dynamic institutional, professional and social background that this study aims to explore the current frames in popular science reporting on disease, ageing and death.

The paper reviews some of the available research on how biomedicine tends to be conventionally represented in the media in terms of three dominant approaches: (1) negative and critical assessments expressed by some quality publishers, which are on the wane as expensive investigative science journalism is reduced (2) positive, even celebratory tones of some popular outlets that uncritically follow science PR and press releases, and (3) ambivalent or sensationalist representations that engender uncertainty and are designed to motivate readers to keep consuming science-related coverage. Then, a sample of most-read health-
related articles devoted to disease, ageing and death from *New Scientist* is subjected to content analysis, keyness analysis and concordance analysis to grasp how bioscience tends to be framed with salient and strategic linguistic choices. The analyses reveal the dominance of fairly positive evaluations (*DESIRABILITY*, *BENEFIT*) despite the alienating nature of the subject matter, of celebratory frames (*BREAKTHROUGH*, *REVOLUTION*, *APPLICATION*), and representations of findings that rarely problematize the issues or foster reflective or critical attitudes among the reading public with few *RISK* or *UNNATURALNESS* frames. On the contrary, some frames overlay the coverage with the sense of uncertainty (*MYSTERY*) that only more effort on behalf of the scientists and more funding for experiments can help dispel (*CONTINUITY*).

Specifically, disease coverage is made newsworthy with reference to novelty, timeliness and superlativeness of the biomedical findings reported (*BREAKTHROUGH*). Articles on ageing frame the scientists’ discoveries as consonant with folk knowledge and focused on impact/effects (*NATURALNESS*, *BENEFIT*). As regards the articles that make references to death, it is apparent that they capitalize on the prominence of the subject and result in highlighting the special status and acclaim accrued to biotechnology and medical sciences. The analysis reveals that most frames for disease, ageing and death in popular science coverage work as vehicles for the celebration of medical science as a domain of reporting, and thus forward the media outlet’s market-driven agenda rather than discuss the deeper implications of scientific findings. The moral, social, economic and political consequences of bioscientific progress are rarely taken up. The coverage fails to position the reader as someone to be empowered to deliberate on the issue; rather the audience is to embrace and celebrate bioscience.

The study follows the assumption that “media frames have a demonstrable, although not deterministic, impact on the public” (Kitzinger & Williams, 2005, p. 731), and aims to critically interrogate the dominant framings of biomedicine in popular science journalism. As it was limited to one established popularization outlet and to its most-read articles only, it was to provide a close analysis of the discursive strategies used to construct the newsworthiness of scientific reports through framing, and a discussion of implications of such prevalent framings of bioscience. It does not suggest that these are the only framings and trends in popular science journalism. Likewise, it does not suggest that all the audiences are prone to accepting such framings unreflectively. In fact, this is a starting point to designing reception studies that could verify if popular science writing indeed fosters readers’ understanding of science and creates
informed attitudes, or if it merely legitimizes science as a domain of social activity and uses non-constructive frames in order to entrench its own market position.

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Travel journalism: A constructive approach to tourism reporting

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ABSTRACT Often overlooked by academia, travel journalism presents an interesting case for exploring notions of constructive journalism. Researchers suggest travel journalism requires more attention in an increasingly globalized world as the tourism industry continues to grow. Travel journalism involves exploring cultures as well as offering practical information, rooted in a history of travel narratives and different genres that spans centuries. Recent research on this niche journalistic form address its relationship with consumerism, entertainment, critical perspectives, cosmopolitanism, and ethical considerations that set it apart from other types of reporting. Can travel journalism, however, be situated within a constructive context, focusing on more positive or empowering subjects? This newer interpretation of journalism as constructive involves identifying a path forward, stressing a social importance for a story. How, then, can these practices apply to journalism that serves an audience who is planning a trip, as opposed to an audience composed of citizens participating in a democracy? Through qualitative interviews with a sample of travel journalists in Paris, as well as a content analysis of their work, this study explores the possibility of taking a constructive approach to this niche media. Professionals share how they do in fact aspire to constructive ideals by remaining positive in their stories, by putting their audiences first, and by emboldening their readers to push further in their travels. These results help illustrate to what extent travel journalism can be considered as a form of constructive journalism and opens up paths for further research and interpretation within niche media.

KEYWORDS Travel, Journalism, Constructive, Lifestyle

1. Introduction
Lifestyle journalism continues to be an underdog of journalism studies while more serious journalism focusing on political and civic issues remains in the foreground of academic research (Hanusch, 2012a). Journalism's core functions do revolve around informing an electorate and making sense of world affairs, yes, but lifestyle journalism offers audiences different information that is useful in other ways. Travel journalism, as a type of lifestyle journalism, is just one example of such reporting that academia largely ignores. Its role in a major global market, however, is arguably more important than ever. The United Nations World Tourism Organization, just one of many monitors, tracks continued grown in international travel while reporting $1.5 trillion in earnings in 2015. The World Travel and Tourism Council reports that tourism makes up about 10% of the world’s GDP, accounting one out of every eleven jobs worldwide. Between this boom market and the consumers who participate in it, the media plays a key role in bringing the two together. While not seeking to reduce travel journalism to a type of advertising, it’s just one example of the potential power that this form of journalism can have in the world.
Scholarly work in this field is limited at the moment, with few notable texts available (see Hanusch and Fürsich, 2014). This recent research, however, argues more and more for critical analysis and discussion surrounding travel journalism, especially in an increasingly globalized world. While travel is often seen as frivolous and entertainment-based, travel media scholars argue that it plays a more significant role (Hanusch, 2009). This paper seeks to propose situating travel journalism within a constructivist framework, examining how it can work to solve problems and promote opportunities for its readers who are organizing and planning their own travel experiences (Gyldensted, 2015, 132). The two fields, as far as this research could identify, have never been put into conversation, which means that this attempt is just a first step in understanding how travel journalism may be a constructive practice.

2. Constructive journalism in focus
To suggest ways of interpreting travel journalism as constructive journalism, both terms require definition. First, constructive journalism, a relatively new interpretation of journalism, is not altogether novel. Chalmers evokes the idea of constructivism when discussing the muckrakers in the United States, describing how they believed they believed “they were contributing to the progress of society” (1959, p. 304). Nico Drok and Liesberth Hermans when discussing slow journalism, suggest that it “should not only be investigative, but inclusive, co-operative and constructive as well” (2016, p. 551). At its core, constructive journalism as we identify it today is about offering stories that are most positive and uplifting, but more than simple “feel-good” anecdotes – though it should not be confused with positive news, advocacy journalism, or solutions journalism. As Gyldensted proposes, “a new potential in journalism is to facilitate a more future-oriented debate on social issues” (2015, 1638). Applied to news reporting, the relationship is straightforward. Whereas the press often focusses on negative angles and stories, constructive journalism, according to Haagerup, offers an alternative approach:

The consequences of media focus on things that do not work, on the maladjusted, and on the negative, are comprehensive, not only to dropping circulation figures, advertising revenues and declining reach. It also changes the mental condition for those who get their picture of reality through the press. It defocuses politics and prevents the changes and the progress, which should have been to the benefit of society. The development threatens the political process and democracy itself. (Haagerup, 2014, p. 14)
Constructive journalism, however, seeks to empower readers, to raise the bar and create knowledge and not just awareness. Its practitioners ask the basic questions – who, what, where, when, and why – as well as a sixth “w,” “what now?” In this manner, the reporter seeks “to identify a path forward instead of leaving readers with a dead-end street narrative” (Gyldensted, 2015, 1784).

The media has responded favorably to constructive journalism, with a magazine titled “Positive News” appearing as early as 1993. Even the Huffington Post initiated a “Good News” section that focuses on more uplifting stories. In April 2016, the UN called for a more constructive approach to journalism to address those who felt “disempowered” by the news, as The Guardian reported (Jackson, 25 April 2016). An article in the Columbia Journalism Review points out, however, that critics are wary of focusing too heavily on positive reporting, and that it is not the solution to “bad-news fatigue” that plagues journalism today (Sillsen, 2014).

Constructive journalism, however, goes beyond simply reporting feel-good stories. Gyldensted proposes applying Seligman’s five elements of well-being to reporting to arrive at a constructive angle for a story. These elements include positive emotions, but also engagement, relationships, meaning, and accomplishment (2015, 820). Gyldensted suggests asking, “what is the societal importance of your story idea?” to steer away from a simple upbeat story to create more constructive journalism (2015, 855). How can such frameworks be used to interpret niche journalism, such as travel journalism, which does not necessarily work under the same constraints or with the same audiences?

3. Zooming out: Travel journalism

In politically-oriented or hard news reporting, such constructive efforts are easy to identify. In lifestyle media, the connections become less straightforward. Lifestyle journalism, according to Hanusch, involves a strong market-orientation, with readers finding “news you can use” in their own lives (2012a, p. 4). Because there is so little academic work on the topic, definitions of lifestyle journalism are not well-defined, and it can refer to fashion, food, and of course travel. While seemingly frivolous or entertainment-oriented, travel journalism does in fact serve serious purposes, especially in the 21st century. Historically, travel journalism had little to do with the long tradition of travel narratives and writing that can be traced back to the Egyptians (Blanton, 1997). Originally a means to address and guide the growing population of commercial
travelers in the 19th and 20th century with the rise of steam engines, automobiles, and eventually airlines, travel journalism has taken on other roles (Bertho-Lavenir, 1999). At the beginning of the 21st century, however, booking a flight to cross the world has become easier than ever, while technology and globalization have allowed cultures and ideas to mix at an ever-increasing rate, and journalists help make sense of it all.

While guides, then magazines and newspaper sections, provided practical information to its readers, they also play a pivotal role in helping travelers decide where to spend their money, fulfilling the consumer function described by Hanusch (2012b). Defining travel journalism, like lifestyle journalism, has not been the focus of much academic attention, but the most recent definition of travel journalism includes consumerism as a defining feature of the medium. Whereas journalism traditionally treats its audiences in relation to political affairs, what Schudson calls “the part of journalism with the strongest claim to public importance,” travel journalism treats its audience as a potential traveler and consumer of travel experiences (2011, p. 7). Recent work into travel journalism’s impact and production have yielded a working definition that, while arguably imperfect, offers an overview of the key characteristics of travel journalism

as factual accounts that address audiences as consumers of travel or tourism experiences, by providing information and entertainment, but also critical perspectives. Travel journalism operates within the broader ethical framework of professional journalist but with specific constraints brought on by the economic environment of its production (Hanusch and Fürsich 2014 p 11).

This mix of considerations – from entertainment to ethics – sharply nuances travel journalism from traditional views of journalism as a fourth estate or government watchdog. Instead, it seeks to inform audiences participating within a travel sphere, instead of the public sphere more generally, and requires researchers to think more acutely of what this means. This question becomes all the more important in a digital age where travel journalism faces new competition to gain the readers’ attention. As the tourism industry adapts to the internet, travel media has also been migrating to the web over the past decade or so (Vermal, Stock, & McCarthy, 2012).

With the onset of blogs in the early 21st century and the development of social media and user generated content like TripAdvisor, professionally-produced travel journalism has
taken a backseat (Pirolli 2015). Research shows how travelers are increasingly looking to sites like TripAdvisor to get information and reviews about their trips (Gretzel, Yoo, & Purifoy, 2007). Likewise, blogs have become competitors for journalists seeking cooperation with the tourism industry as resources are now divided over a larger pool of people (Gant, 2007; Carson, 2008; Akehurst, 2009). A major challenge to these user-generated sites, however, is the lack of trust on user generated sites and other digital media (O’Connor, 2008. Blöbaum, 2014). Journalism has responded, according to some researchers, to account for this user-generated content. Some mainstream journalists position themselves against user-generated content, suggesting that it cannot produce the same content as professionals can (Witschge, 2013, p. 166). Sue Robinson (2011), however discusses how user generated content can work alongside professionals in her study on a local American newspaper. She describes that as many news readers move away from traditional sources, journalism functions as a process, shared between professionals and non-professionals, whereby “news is considered to be unfinished and – more importantly perhaps for journalists – owned by no one entity or individual (Robinson, 2011, p. 200).

Travel media reflects this idea of process, with no one ultimate authority on travel among the blogs, guides, publications, and review sites. While glossy magazines and guides still exist, they are no longer the sole purveyors of travel information and, as Duffy states, the internet will impact the journalists of the future, “who have not come of age backpacking with a well-thumbed copy of the Rough Guide, but journey instead with the opinions of millions on the Internet at their fingertips” (Duffy, 2014, p. 99).

While researchers like Duffy examine its production, other studies look at the impact of travel journalism in society and on the industry. Journalism responds to questions of multiculturalism, according to Deuze (2005), addressing three major questions including “knowledge of journalists about different cultures and ethnicities, issues of representation (pluriformity or diversity), and perceived social responsibilities of journalists in a democratic and multicultural society (Deuze, 2005, p. 453). Put Focusing more specifically on travel journalism in this context, recent studies have discussed how to genre in the framework of cosmopolitanism, describing how it plays a role in cultural mediation (Fürsich and Kavoori, 2001; Fürsich, 2010; Schoon, 2014). Ben Cocking demonstrates how UK media frame and represent Middle Eastern cultures, contributing to “othering” of foreign people (2009). Travel journalism can also be studied within the context of place branding, as Lynn McGaurr discusses, which leads to
questions of how both public relations and government institutions work with – or control – journalists in times of political or environmental crisis, for example. “In tourism public relations, governments play perhaps an even larger role than business, at least in terms of promoting the destination in its entirety,” McGaurr suggests (2015, p. 57).

These few but varied studies demonstrate to what extent travel journalism deserves more legitimate attention. By understanding its aims and its audiences, we can further the conversation to look at travel journalism as a form of constructive journalism. While embracing entertainment but also critical perspectives, travel journalists do more than simply provide feel-good pieces. This paper seeks to illustrate how travel journalism can be constructive by engaging with its actors and understanding what motivates their work.

4. Methods

To begin to explore this topic, I assembled a research project that would consist of interviews and content analysis across different travel media, including bloggers, TripAdvisor, among others. This project was a larger study on the role of individual content creators in the online travel media environment. In this paper, however, I will be presenting a sample of the larger project to focus on the journalists interviewed to understand how they act in a constructivist manner. Based off the above questions surrounding constructive journalism, I propose three research questions to organize the study:

RQ1: To what extent are travel journalists positive in their coverage? While Gyldensted (2015) describes that positive reporting is not the only goal of constructive journalism, it remains a component. How then, do travel journalists embrace this positivity towards working in a more constructive direction?

RQ2: How to journalists incorporate constructed journalistic practices in their work? Deuze (2005) outlines basic values related to objectivity, autonomy, and immediacy, describing how practices need to adapt as journalism changes “in an increasingly complex and liquid modern society” (p. 455). Do basic practices outlined in journalism manuals and by practitioners still apply to today’s travel media?

RQ3: Perhaps too simplistically, why do these travel journalists write? What are their goals for their publications? While guided by ideologies related to public service (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Deuze, 2005), how to travel journalists articulate their personal motivations
for travel? With varying tastes and experiences, are they seeking to do more than just produce accurate stories?

To answer these questions, I conducted semi-directive interviews with 12 English-speaking journalists in Paris in 2014 and 2015. I culled these journalists form my professional network, but mostly by snowball sampling, tapping into the network and finding potential candidates. The expat journalist community in Paris is a relatively small pool of professionals and many of the professionals know or are at least aware of the others working in their field. They were mostly freelancers, working primarily with online media, reflecting the realities of the travel media today whereby few publications can afford to send journalists abroad (McGaurr, 2015). I conducted interviews in Parisian cafés, recorded them, and transcribed them, each lasting between one and two hours. Interviewees are identified by their gender and age throughout the following sections. At the same time, I took a sample of the most recent articles available online written by these professionals, resulting in 69 articles published between 2011 and 2014. The articles appeared in travel publications and travel sections including The New York Times, Condé Nast Traveler, USA Today, Time Out Paris, Fodor’s, and The Sunday Times. I coded the articles to identify some very general and basic journalistic practices including introducing facts, giving a newsworthy context, and citing any sources (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2007; Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009)

5. Results: Constructivist travel journalism a reality

The results of the interviews revealed several interesting points that could lead to a constructive interpretation of travel journalism if we can be flexible with its initial definition. While not trying to inform their readers as a citizenry, travel journalists do perceive their audiences as needing guidance and assistance navigating through the tourism industry. In this way, as we’ll see, travel journalists are fulfilling a constructivist role by pushing their readers forward through the travel process and helping them solve their problems, rarely dwelling on the negative or uncomfortable aspects of travel. The interviewees revealed a strong sense of professional identity, but they fall short of mirroring the more political and hard news journalists. Instead, they have their own set of ideals and practices based off their particular audiences and the specific conditions under which travel journalism is produced (Hanusch 2010).
5.1. Staying positive

One major result that responds to RQ1 is the that journalists are generally positive in their work. They are keenly aware that readers want to know what they should do and what they should see when they travel, and dwelling on negative aspects does not push their stories forward. This is a key underpinning of constructive journalism, according to Gyldensted (2015, 528). Part of this positivity is due to a lack of space in magazines and newspapers to waste words on negative commentary, but part of it is also simply understanding the subjective nature of travel. As one journalist, 40 years old, discussed, there is always a positive spin to put on a topic. “If I don’t like something, there are people who will like it. Somebody likes it, so why?” she said. Another journalist, 36 years old, also discussed writing about experiences that may not have been to her taste. She said, however, that her goal is always “sticking to the truth but making that truth beautiful to read.”

One journalist, 46 years old, was critical of how remaining positive can sometimes hinder the location and the readers’ perception of it. In her mind, remaining positive relates to projecting the truth about a place and combatting stereotypes:

In the travel and features pages you have this perfect vision of Paris. In the same newspaper, in the news pages, it’s almost xenophobic where they show the French as arrogant and stupid. You don’t have to do the fairy cake thing to please your readers If you’re working for a newspaper or magazine, it’s the editors who are at fault. You need to change them.

This desire to be positive but also to promote the truth is fundamental to travel journalism, and contributes to a constructivist interpretation. In this example, the journalist wants to push forward and break from the simplistically positive view of Paris to a more realistic view that contextualizes and nuances the people who are stereotypes. The journalists, as we see, go beyond simple positive statements that lack societal significance that Gyldensted requires of constructive journalism (2015, 198).

A larger look at travel media, however, can better situate travel journalism as constructive, especially with online review sites. While the positivity of journalists – and bloggers, as our further research has also demonstrated – are appreciated by readers, these writers are the ying to the yang of review sites like TripAdvisor. Never before have so many
individuals been able to voice their opinions as publically about their experiences. As research shows, TripAdvisor’s website has the “capacity to give ‘voice’ to the authentic opinion of independent travelers” (Jeacle, 2011, p. 31). These opinions, however, are largely critical, and often wantonly negative, as in a 2010 study on complaints on TripAdvisor (Vásquez). Numerous reviews seek to assess the impact of these reviews on travelers and, moreover, on businesses within the tourism community, to see if they can actually alter perspectives (see Vermeulen & Seegers, 2009). While the debates continue over TripAdvisor’s impact, it is interesting to consider travel journalism’s role as a potential watchdog of these sites which are growing in prominence. The positivity and truth embraced by journalism seems to counter the negativity and opinion of review sites – though we can easily argue for the necessity of both when making travel decisions. These multiple viewpoints echo Robinsons ideas on journalism as process, whereby individual posts or articles may not be verified or trustworthy on their own, “but the process itself can achieve the journalistic goal of informational empowerment” (2011, p. 190).

5.2. Embracing journalism, to a certain extent

Another key result, relating to RQ2, is that travel journalists do incorporate some basic journalistic constructs in their work. While the content analysis revealed a relatively weak representation of practices, the interviews revealed how travel journalists embrace their role. Most notably they reinforce their duty to write for their readers. As Kovach and Rosenstiel state, “The notion that those who report the news are not obstructed from digging up and telling the truth – even at the expense of the owners’ other financial interests – is a prerequisite of telling the news not only accurately but also persuasively” (2007, p. 52-53). The responses in the interviews overwhelmingly responded this dedication to the readers. One journalist, 47 years old, summed it up by saying, “That’s all you’re doing. I’m writing this material to serve an audience, it’s not for pleasure or for myself or for the editors. It’s for a specific audience.” Another, 52 years old, also affirmed her role as a travel journalist by keeping her audience in mind and asking herself, “how are they going to have the best experience during their two weeks here?”

The journalists recognize that this is the role of not only the individual writers, but the publications they work for as well. As one 37 year-old journalist described, her entire mission is to give travelers the tools to find a unique experience. “We’re trying to show a different approach and give people useful, practical information that’s going to set us apart. That’s the
objective," she said. Another journalist, 40 years old, also stated that travel journalists – as opposed to bloggers or non-professional reviewers – can give their audiences something that those other groups might not be able to, at least as systematically. She explained, “That’s what makes you valuable, not that you know something is better but that you can tell someone why.” Therefore, she suggests that being able to contextualize, justify, and explain to an audience is the most important thing that travel journalists do. All of this is dependent on a relationship, however distant, between the journalist and the audience, and realizing that they serve their readers before the interests of their publications or the tourism industry.

While travel journalists fulfil this key journalistic role, others are less rigorously implemented. For example, the content analysis revealed that only 29% of articles contained external sources and only 55 actually contained any news hooks or newsworthy information. The concept of news, however, doesn’t necessarily mean the same thing for a travel audience as opposed to a political or current events reader. As one 40 year-old journalist said, “In travel writing it’s not really that useful to be writing about the hottest, trendiest restaurants. Travelers haven’t been to any restaurants yet, so why do they care what’s new?” The journalists suggest that topics not thought of traditionally as news can still be newsworthy for travelers. One 37 year-old journalist argues that every article should theoretically have a news hook in it, relating to current events, but perennial stories are also a staple of the travel media. She explained that a story “can exist as a perennial. I did a story on the Paris [flea markets], that’s perennial. There’s always interest in vintage shopping at the flea markets.” While not striking newsworthiness from the criteria of travel journalism, it would be interesting to study how notions of news vary between different types of journalism and to vary professional expectations accordingly.

Further research into the ideology of travel journalists reveals various interpretations of their profession, including questions surrounding ethics, transparency, objectivity, and new technologies. An analysis of travel journalists’ views on their own profession (Pirolli, 2016), as compared to more normative visions of journalism in a current events context, reveal that these professionals are struggling to adapt to new media and competition online while maintaining the ideology described by Deuze (2005).
5.3. Empower and embolden

Where travel journalists appear to embrace constructive journalism is in their desire to empower and to embolden their readers during their travels. While the motivations varied from journalist to journalist – some write for money, some for themselves – many journalists evoke that they are writing for their audiences, but moreover that they want to inspire and empower them. This is a key element of travel that recognizes as well that all readers are not active tourists – some are called “armchair travelers” and may be moved to travel based on the media they consume (Damkjoer & Waade, 2014).

The travel journalists interviewed were keenly aware of this potential. One journalist, 37 years old, said her motivation to become a travel journalist was altruistic to this effect. “Being up to speed, being able to share news and information. I think that is probably the main motivation and to get people excited to travel,” she said. In a similar fashion, a 41 year-old journalist I said that she wants to help readers discover something new. “In general, in journalism, it’s to bring something interesting or new that people didn’t know of. Even if it’s a topic that’s generally known but to bring out a part that people didn’t know about,” she said.

One journalist, 37 years old, said, “[My motivation is] a good combination of being helpful and not just giving tips for the secret entrance...but also helping people discover something lesser known or really unique about the city. And giving them the courage to do that.” This final statement is at the heart of constructive journalism, at least in a travel context. While not seeking social change or trying to make society better, travel audiences can still be moved forward. Such results could include booking their first international trip, filing for a passport, or going somewhere they have never heard of before. While the UNWTO projects that 1.8 billion people will be traveling international by 2030, many people are still inhibited by travel. Developing countries like China and Brazil are sending increasing amounts of tourists worldwide, but at the same time recent terror events in major destinations such as Paris and Nice have also hurt growth. Travel journalists mediate between these events and travelers, helping to encourage them to travel and to reassure them, playing the role of “first aid,” a journalistic role described by Morgensen (2008).

What these statements also reveal is that travel journalists hold their work to a higher standard than may be the norm. For example, several journalists point to the trend for top ten lists and other such formats popularly used in travel media. McGaurr discusses the popularity of lists in her book, stating, “the tendency of travel journalism lists to condense place image into
one photograph and a single paragraph of brand-aligned text, together with their very strong propensity to be shared on social media, makes them exceptionally valuable branding tools” (2015, p. 167). Journalists interviewed, however, are not all content with simply providing lists to their readers. One journalist, 52 years old, suggested that journalism can be more than just reductive lists, saying, “I think travel writing can be [inspiring] like that, instead of just the top ten list, and where the flock is going next.” Another journalist, 40 years old, criticizes lists for failing to justify any assertions whatsoever. She said, “Travel writing is so easy to use clichés – but why can’t you leave Paris without doing this thing? You can get French food anywhere, why do you need to get it here?” The volition of these journalists to go beyond the lists, to give their readers more, is another example of how they are adopting constructive ideals. These functions are pushing the reader forward, as Gyldensted (2015) suggests, albeit in a very specific way relating to travel and tourism.

6. Conclusion

What this paper attempts to point out is that constructive journalism can exist beyond current affairs, and can deal with audiences other than a democratic citizenry. At the heart of journalism, as Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007) point out, the elements of what all professionals do is the same. The context, however, in which journalists perform these duties, how they do it, and for whom they do it, is susceptible to change depending on the specific conditions. Travel, in this case, is one such condition. As shown above, in a limited but coherent fashion, is that travel journalists are living up to constructivist ideals in a sense, though not universally. They are aware of remaining positive, and not just by publishing feel-good stories but by providing truth and context for larger issues. They are aware of their journalistic duty to write for their readers and not for the invested interests of their publishers. Finally, they are pushing forward, as Gyldensted suggests, motivating and inspiring their readers to do more and to push further afield.

Such actions may seem trivial but they are important in a digital era when travel journalism is faced with challenges from user-generated content like TripAdvisor where questions of trust are rife. Travel journalists, working for established and often trusted brands, are able to provide trusted consumer-oriented information with a constructivist angle when needed. Naturally, not all works of journalism will be pushing travelers forward, looking for some greater good. Still, that travel journalists understand their role in the travel media and the
potential they have for stimulating change either among readers or even among the industry actors is an important realization.

This study, limited in scope, is just the first step in discussing lifestyle journalism in a more constructivist manner. The small number of journalists and the fact that they all live in Paris could skew the results. Further research could imagine a study on a more heterogeneous population, perhaps located in more diverse regions – cities, small towns, resort islands, etc. A more in-depth content analysis of their actual stories will also reveal more as to what kinds of subjects and angles they are actually taking. For the moment, this paper seeks simply to introduce the possibility of looking at travel journalism through a constructivist lens, and realizing the potential of this genre to open itself up to new interpretations.

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Small islands, big impact: Constructive journalism practices in St. Maarten and Curaçao

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ABSTRACT Current research in Journalism Studies shows how increasing vulnerability of local news media to (in)direct commercial and political interference is reflected in editorial bias towards more uncritical positive and soft news (i.a. Nielsen 2015), also in the Caribbean (Storr 2016). However, looking from the perspective of constructive journalism (Gyldensted 2015; McIntyre 2015) an editorial focus on more positive news items and constructive story framing can also be the result of deliberate choices based on the idea that journalists can and should contribute to social change. This paper addresses this constructive journalism perspective in the small-scale media landscapes of two Caribbean islands, Curaçao and St. Maarten, both in the middle of a postcolonial nation-building process as they became autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 2010 while retaining their non-sovereign status. Based on ten months of fieldwork and more than forty interviews with local journalists in Curaçao and St. Maarten, this study of four concrete print and social news media vignettes shows that local journalists aspiring to contribute to nation-building implement constructive elements in their news stories. Indeed, I argue that positive news selection and constructive story framing often result from ideals to strengthen local communities and contribute to nation-building. By closely examining concrete vignettes of constructive journalism in two island nations, this paper sheds new light on constructive journalism practices in local media landscapes in small-scale postcolonial societies.

KEYWORDS Constructive Journalism; Caribbean media; Local News; Journalism Practice

1. Introduction
The challenges facing today’s local news media have been widely debated in Journalism Studies. Carson et al. (2016), Firmstone (2016), Franklin (2006), and Nielsen (2015) have argued that worldwide economic and technological changes have increased the vulnerability of local news media to (in)direct commercial and political interference, limiting their practice as independent “watchdogs” and increasing their dependence on sponsored content and official sources without independent verification. Papoutsaki & Sundar Harris (2008), Puppis (2009), and Storr (2014, 2016) have shown that news media landscapes in island communities, respectively in the Pacific and in the Caribbean, share local journalism’s vulnerability to political and economic pressures due to the small-scale of the islands: news media often is politically affiliated, dependent on advertisers, and they lack trained and professional journalists. Moreover, journalists on these islands face additional constraints often rooted in colonial history and its legacies. Storr (2014) argues, for example, that “Caribbean governments are very secretive”, like their former colonies (188). They are not willing to share information about political processes
behind doors with the public, while they actively support “positive” and uncritical news about their political accomplishments. “In these small, secretive societies, media systems are plagued by partisan politics, which presents itself in a variety of ways and influences the performances of journalists” (Storr 2016: 167).

While these studies offer valuable insights for understanding how economic, political, and social challenges contribute to uncritical and biased positive local news in small-scale postcolonial societies, little research has been done on the active and perhaps more independent role local journalists and newsrooms play in framing the news. How do they understand their position in these small communities? What do they want to achieve with their work? And how do news stories reflect these ideals? The answers to these questions are not only interesting, they also are necessary to focus on in small Caribbean societies “that have a predilection for secrecy, silence, and authoritarian governance”, which may require that journalists take on a more radical role to “bring about change and reform” (Storr 2016: 97). The recently developed concept of “constructive journalism” (Gyldensted 2015a; McIntyre 2015) touches upon these questions and sheds a different light on the reasons journalists focus on more positive news items and story framing. Indeed, while constraints on local news media may lead to uncritical positive news, Gyldensted (2015a) and McIntyre (2015) argue that positively constructed news can also be the result of deliberate choices based on the idea that journalists can and should contribute to social change.

This paper addresses this constructive journalism perspective in the small-scale media landscapes of two Caribbean islands, Curaçao and St. Maarten, that became autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands through a constitutional reform in 2010. Currently, the islands’ communities look back on the political changes and how it affected them in light of ongoing nation-building processes. In the middle of the social change taking place on the islands, local journalism plays an essential role in reflecting and shaping the past, current public debates, and the future of the new nations. Based on ten months of fieldwork on the islands, during which I did participant observation at three different newsrooms and conducted more than forty interviews with local journalists, editors and news bloggers, I selected four concrete vignettes of constructive journalism practices in print and in online news media in small-scale postcolonial societies. By closely examining these vignettes, I demonstrate how local journalists to promote social change in the small new nations, and how they aspire to contribute to nation-building by implementing constructive elements in their news stories.
So far, research in the emerging field of constructive journalism has mainly focused on examining distinct elements, such as positive emotions and solution information, in the full text of a news story. Therefore, McIntyre suggests that further research in constructive journalism should include “the use of these constructive elements in other aspects of news stories such as headlines and images” (2015: 81), and recognizes the fact “that technology today encourages information quantity, not quality, through platforms such as Twitter and on-the-go news apps such as Flipboard, which was designed to allow users to quickly flip through news content” (2015: 82). With the four vignettes presented in this paper, I demonstrate a wide variety of constructive journalism practices, ranging from re-formulating newspaper headlines, to creating a positive image of the nation on social media platforms. Moreover, I not only focus on the news texts and images, but by looking at interview material, I also examine the constructive elements in how individual journalists reflect on the social contribution of their news work. In addition, research in constructive journalism has been largely focused on European and US news media landscapes. By looking at examples of constructive journalism in two Caribbean islands, this paper extends the geographical scope of research in this field, while providing new insights on the use of constructive elements in local journalism within small-scale communities in the middle of a postcolonial nation-building process.

More specifically, by analyzing various practices of constructive journalism in Curaçao and St. Maarten, I show that positive news selection and constructive story framing can result from journalists’ ideals to grow awareness, and, thereby, can strengthen local communities and contribute to critical nation-building. These insights deepen our knowledge of how, in the context of local news media landscapes, constructive journalism in small-scale postcolonial communities empowers local journalists in constructing social change and increases their impact.

2. **Constructive versus positive journalism**

The roots of “constructive journalism” can be found in the work of journalist, investigative reporter, and foreign correspondent, Cathrine Gyldensted. Working on reports and newspaper articles, she became aware that news stories overall portray a one-sided negative image of the world we live in. “Drawing on my experience seeking and reporting on the truth, it seems to me that the ‘truth’ we are reporting is solely a pathological version of the world, which hardly qualifies as being the only ‘truth’” (Gyldensted 2015a: 9). According to Gyldensted, news
journalists have become fixated on their important “watchdog” function; controlling the ones in power and informing the public about threats resulting from the abuse of power. Whereas being the “watchdog” is a core function of journalists, fixation on it explains why most news has become inherently negative (Gyldensted 2015a: 60). Gyldensted argues that negative news not only is undesirable, causing destructive images and worldviews among the public, it is also inaccurate. Therefore, she proposes and experiments with applying positive psychology techniques to break with the negative fixation that underlies current news media.

Gyldensted’s ideas have resonated with news work practitioners throughout Europe (i.a. Haagerup 2014) leading to joint initiatives, such as the Constructive Journalism Project (Constructive Journalism Project 2016), Constructive Voices (Green 2016), and a Constructive Journalism research pillar at the University of Applied Sciences Windesheim in The Netherlands (Windesheim 2016). Whereas constructive journalism has been a well-known movement among practitioners, Karen McIntyre recently anchored the concept of “constructive journalism” in academic research. She defines constructive journalism as “an emerging form of journalism that involves applying positive psychology techniques to news work in an effort to create more productive, engaging stories while holding true to journalism’s core functions” (McIntyre 2015: 9). These functions include informing people about “potential threats”, and serving as a watchdog over the government (McIntyre 2015: 15). With this description, McIntyre emphasizes the inherent distinction between constructive journalism and so-called “positive journalism”, terms that are frequently mixed up. Many practitioners of constructive journalism, however, contest the presumed overlap. Positive journalism has “strong, emotional value, but lacks societal significance” (Gyldensted 2015a: 13). Moreover, as McIntyre argues, “because positive journalists, who are mostly aggregators, aim to share good deeds and show readers that the world is a better place than mainstream media reflect, they may not tend to publish stories that maintain journalism’s core functions (…)” (McIntyre 2015: 15). Constructive journalism, on the other hand, is not only and exclusively focused on positive news items, nor about creating a romanticized image of the world. “Constructive journalism recognizes that faults, failure, and abuse exist in the world; however, it maintains that simultaneously there is always development, growth, and opportunity” (Gyldensted 2015a: 7). In contrast to positive journalism that aims to oppose the negative fixation in today’s news by focusing on positive news, constructive journalism concentrates on informing people more accurately by constructing stories from multiple angles. In the words of the media practitioners of the
Constructive Journalism Project: “Constructive journalism is an approach; it is more about how we report – whatever it is we’re reporting on – rather than what we report” (Batist 2015). It focuses on comprehensive reporting on reality, it emphasizes possible solutions for problems, innovative collective ideas, and examples of how people overcome crises. “Practitioners of constructive journalism aim to motivate individuals to contribute to productive social change” (McIntyre 2015: 35).

3. Constructive journalism in practice

Constructive journalism starts with a critical, but open constructive mindset towards people and the world. Derived from insights of positive psychology, constructive journalism focuses on a well-being model of the world and approaches people as having strengths (Gyldensted 2015a: 25). This constructive mindset is something that can either be individually cultivated by the journalist or rather (and simultaneously) embedded and encouraged in the newsroom. During editorial meetings, for example, constructive editors(-in-chief) can give preference to more constructive story items and coverage over more sensational, negative breaking news.

Constructive journalists are aware of the impact news media have on society. “Instead of having a faulty belief around objectivity, we should strive for being fair, balanced, and accountable”, says Gyldensted (2015a: 51). Constructive journalism considers the perspective and interpretation given to stories and takes a problem-solving approach. Constructive journalists acknowledge that not only those in power can have an impact. Moreover, they approach the ones in power not in a adversarial way, but by adding nuances. “We add questions of a constructive nature. We focus on documenting how well power holders collaborate with others to solve societal challenges. We facilitate a debate about future visions” (Gyldensted 2015a: 172). Gathering the news, constructive journalists often make use of future-oriented interviewing “facilitating a public debate more about visions and future perspectives for society” (Gyldensted 2015a: 107).

Constructive journalism promotes positive story framing, when considering writing and presenting the news. First, this is reflected in a positive explanatory style by the writer. “People with a negative explanatory style typically attribute negative outcomes to internal, stable, or global causes. (...) In contrast, people with a positive explanatory style typically attribute negative outcomes to external, temporary, specific causes” (Gyldensted 2015a: 19-20). Second, positive story framing is mirrored in the construction of texts. An example of a constructive
story frame is a silver lining news story “that highlights positive outcomes from an otherwise negative topic (…)” (Gyldensted 2015b). Not only do these silver lining stories promote ideas on solutions, innovation, and change, previous research points out that readers remember these ideas “from silver lining news than from either positive or negative news reports” better (Gyldensted 2015b).

Overall, constructive journalism is a rather pragmatic approach, not only concentrating on its positive message, but also on what works. In order words, it is concerned with how its message is received, shared and remembered by its readers. According to Gyldensted, this is particularly true for online news developments. “We need to understand what makes people share stories to make sure journalistic content gets the attention it deserves in the vast and growing sea of information” (Gyldensted 2015a: 7).

4. Reception of constructive journalism

Despite the fact that the concept of constructive journalism has just recently been developed and anchored in academia, it is closely related to other journalism paradigms. Probably the most closely related field is “solutions journalism,” which the in 2013 US-founded Solutions Journalism Network defines as “rigorous, compelling reporting about responses to social problems” (Bansal & Martin 2015). Compared to constructive journalism, solutions journalism “is a specific practice, not a broad movement. It’s a tool any reporter can adopt to use when appropriate” (Rosenberg 2016). As stated above, it can be seen that constructive journalists often use solution-focused news formats and future-oriented interviewing as tools in their journalism practices. Other fields related to constructive journalism include peace and advocacy journalism, (hyper)local journalism, and civic journalism. While there can be overlap between the very practices of these approaches, McIntyre stresses that “constructive journalism is distinct in its intentions, methods, training, and commitment to journalism’s core functions, which are reflected in all parts of the news process, from story generation to newsgathering to production” (2015: 10).

Whereas the founders and pioneers of constructive journalism continuously distinguish the concept from uncritical positive news, critique has been directed primarily towards the blurred distinction between positive and constructive journalism and the pitfalls accompanied by it. Some critics have stated that by “trying to be positive at the expense of telling the truth, [constructive journalism] risks watering down news and undercutting the accountability role of
Within academia several media scholars have challenged the approach of constructive journalism while studying the role of Chinese news media on the African continent and its presumed parallels with constructive journalism. Professor of Media Studies at the University of Cape Town, Herman Wasserman, explains: “On the one hand, this alternative approach [of constructive journalism] can provide new ways of journalism in and about Africa, but on the other it has also raised concerns” (2017: 196). One of these concerns has been that constructive journalism “avoids politically controversial stories and focuses on more positive narratives” (Yanqiu & Matingwina 2016: 94). According to Anton Harber, Caxton Professor of Journalism at Wits University, however, it is exactly reporting on controversial stories and being “disruptive and discomfiting, particularly for the powerful” that makes great journalism (World Editors Forum 2014). “The rest is necessary, routine and soporific. It is only constructive if you want a sleepy, complacent society, not if you want active, engaged citizens”, as Harber says (Idem).

In addition to concerns raised about journalistic quality, the South African scholars have questioned the various interests that may underlie constructive journalism. Looking at the state owned Chinese news media in Africa, for example, Wasserman argues that both the Chinese state and local African governments “have a vested interest in portraying China-Africa relations as cordial and beneficial, and African states as worthy of investment” (Wasserman 2017: 196). According to Wasserman, these underlying interests are particularly prevalent in postcolonial societies in development, where vulnerable governments stand to gain positive and uncritical media representation. In order to curtail the risk of governmental media control and repression, Wasserman argues that it is essential to clearly separate constructive journalism from uncritical positive journalism, “especially in contexts like new democracies (…), where governments often make demands for the media to support rather than criticise them” (World Editors Forum 2014).

Besides underlining the difference between constructive journalism and positive news, practitioners of constructive journalism have repeatedly pointed out that constructive journalism must be distinguished from “government influenced ‘development journalism’” (Constructive Journalism Project 2016).

5. St. Maarten and Curaçao: Laboratories for constructive journalism

Local and regional media have always been important news sources for Caribbean people and recent media research conducted in Curaçao and, to a lesser extent, in St. Maarten, show an
extensive media landscape (Curconsult 2014; De Wit 2015; Pin et al. 2016). As both islands recently experienced far-reaching changes in their social-political landscapes, accompanied by media-mediated debates on where the island communities currently stand and should go to, the news media on the islands serve as interesting labs to study the role of journalists in mirroring and constructing the changing societies. In the context of a broader critical discourse analysis of the role of Curaçaoan and St. Maarten newspapers, news websites, and social media in reflecting, shaping and commemorating national identities, I did ten months of fieldwork from August 2015 to June 2016 to attain a better understanding of the islands’ news media landscapes. In addition to participant observation at the newsrooms of three different newspapers; The Daily Herald in St. Maarten, the Extra and Antilliaans Dagblad in Curaçao, I did in-depth interviews of ninety minutes on average with more than forty journalists, editors, and news bloggers. In the conversations I had with journalists I came across a number of cases where journalists showed me how they implement constructive elements in their news work, often on the basis of ideals to strengthen the local communities in transition and contribute to nation-building on the islands. Because constructive journalism is an innovative and young field in journalism studies, the concept of “constructive journalism” was never mentioned by the journalists as such. Indeed, “many reporters have never heard of the term ‘constructive journalism,’ yet they might unknowingly incorporate constructive techniques in their stories” (McIntyre 2015: 9).

In this article I zoom in on four examples where Curaçaoan and St. Maarten journalists deliberately implement constructive elements in news stories, as well as in headlines, and images. Curaçao, as the largest Dutch Caribbean island, served as the administrative and governmental center of the in 2010 dismantled “Netherlands Antilles”¹, so its media landscape is considerably bigger than that of St. Maarten. Therefore, three of the four vignettes are derived from the fieldwork in Curaçao. The first vignette, though, is based on an interview with a journalist at The Daily Herald, the biggest English-language newspaper of St. Maarten. The insights from the conversations I had with the editor-in-chief and the publisher give additional contextual information. The second example stems from interviews at the Antilliaans Dagblad, a small Dutch-language newspaper in Curaçao. Here too, the conversations I had with the owner,

¹ The “Netherlands Antilles” is the constitutional construction that held six, and later five, Dutch Caribbean islands together since 1954. In 2010 this construction was dismantled. Curaçao and St. Maarten became, after Aruba in 1986, autonomous countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Bonaire, St. Eustatius and Saba (BES-islands) were integrated in the Netherlands as so-called openbare lichamen.
who at the same time is the publisher and editor-in-chief, serve as additional information. Third, I focus on the biggest Papiamentu (a local Creole-language) newspaper, *Èxtra*. Interviews with its editor-in-chief and the co-publisher lead this vignette. The fourth one is based on a journalistic blog connected to an Instagram and Facebook account of a young news blogger and photographer in Curaçao. This last vignette gives insights into the ideals of a younger generation on the islands, and the opportunities online media create for constructive journalism.

The analysis I present in this article is part of a broader critical discourse analysis of news articles, interviews and field notes obtained between August 2015 and June 2016. In this article, however, I use the interviews I had with journalists and examples of their news work, whenever they referred to it during these interviews, as illustrations of constructive journalism practices. In each vignette, I briefly describe the particular news media context as well as the broader media landscapes in order to understand the constructive journalism practices in the context of the small-scale postcolonial communities.

5.1. “Words that work”

Together with the French collectivity of Saint Martin in the north, the southern part St. Maarten forms an island located in the north-eastern part of the Caribbean. Its bi-national status reflects the colonial history of the island, and its legacies in today’s community where inequality along lines of race and class still prevails. People living on both sides of the island prefer speaking St. Maarteners’ English. On the French side, however, children are expected to learn French at school, while on the southern side, English and Dutch are the official languages, although the latter is exclusively written and spoken in official governmental and jurisdictional settings. The southern part St. Maarten became an autonomous country within the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 2010, maintaining a non-sovereign status. Since 2010 the island has seen much political instability due to governmental crises and cases of corruption. St. Maarten is still developing. In approximately 30 years the official population has grown from 4,000 to 40,000 people. However, it is said that this number doubles when unregistered working migrants living on the island are considered. In addition are the million cruise and yacht tourists that pass the island every year. These tourists form the main economic pillar of the island and its people, and in the past decennia the growing tourism industry has attracted many working migrants from the surrounding islands and the broader region. This has caused a rapid growth in number, but also in diversity of the population of the island. Something that is not only reflected in the now...
more than 120 nationalities on the island, but also in the diversity of people working in the local press.

This vignette presents the visions and work of a journalist who was born in Guyana. More than fifteen years ago she came to St. Maarten to apply for a job at Today, one of the two newspapers on the island. In the meantime, she has moved to The Daily Herald, known as “the leading newspaper for St. Maarten and the Northeast Caribbean” (The Daily Herald 2016). The Herald, as local people call the morning paper, is a news media business of approximately 80 employees in total, founded in the mid-nineties and run by a family with roots in Curaçao. According to the current publisher, a relative of the founder of The Herald who, in the distant past, was the editor-in-chief of the oldest Dutch language newspaper of Curaçao (Amigoe), the newspaper follows an American news model. In his words this means that they as a newspaper “are not left or right from the outset, nor directly meddle with political parties” (personal communication, March 3, 2016). Moreover, according to the editor-in-chief, The Herald tries to support positive initiatives in St. Maarten and beyond, for example by publishing about local start-ups, charity events, and youth role models. In this way, The Herald “aims to positively impact the local community” (personal communication, March 23, 2016).

In the interviews I conducted with the reporters of The Herald, they all seem to be well aware of their role and responsibility as journalists in the local community. Here I highlight the visions of Mona, one of the eight journalists working in the newsroom of The Herald. Although she is well integrated on the island, calling it her home, “in my heart I am still an immigrant” (personal communication, March 22, 2016). Mona explains that her immigrant background makes her more sensitive to the issues effecting immigrants, but also more aware of how immigrants perceive the news:

The immigrant population here is huge. It's the biggest part of the population. And I find that, unlike me, a lot of people are not involved in the community. (...) And there are two reasons for that. The first one is: they don’t feel part of the community. Second

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2 Quotes are derived from verbatim transcriptions I made of the interviews I conducted with journalists, editors, and news bloggers, all referred to as “personal communication” plus the date I had the particular interview. Quotes are translated from conversations containing Dutch-, Papiamentu- and English-language. In translating the quotes, I have tried to stay as close as possible to the original transcription, while bearing in mind the readability of the text.

3 All names of journalists, editors, and news bloggers in this article are pseudonyms.
reason is: they’re told they are not part of the community. And I want to make an impact to tell them: this affects you ⁴ (personal communication, March 22, 2016).

When I asked her how she wants to address migrant people, and how that affects her news work, she tells:

Every single time the word “citizen” comes up, I change it to “resident.” (…) I know it's only a small, a small definition, but it makes an impact. When somebody says “I’m a citizen of St. Maarten,” automatically [people think]: “Oh that person has a Dutch nationality.” That's the mindset. But when you say: “I'm a resident,” then the question comes up: “Oh where the hell did you came [from]? You live here.” Right away there is a different mindset, so I changed it. I said: that’s my little revolution by itself. (…) I use words that work to bring about an inclusive mindset (personal communication, March 22, 2016).

Mona clarifies that by using the word “resident” instead of “citizen,” more people identify with the news. In this way, she aims to provide more inclusive news that resonates through people’s minds. She also fights differentiation when it is not necessary because it creates social differentiation. For this reason, she does not like the word “local,” either in referring to a person’s nationality when it does not add anything to a particular news fact. Her goal, however, in avoiding and changing particular words is not only in striving towards inclusion and less differentiation. In the interview she stresses that she wants more people to take action. Indeed, by using “words that work” she aims to promote the active contribution of people living on St. Maarten in the local community. This approach and the ideals behind it refer to what McIntyre says about the aim of constructive journalists, namely to “motivate individuals to contribute to productive social change” (McIntyre 2015: 35). Regarding this, she also stopped using the word “victim,” for example when reporting on a crime, while referring to (possibly constructive) developments in journalism worldwide:

⁴ Words that respondents emphasize during the interviews are written in italics in the quotes referred to in this article.
There is a small movement in the world of journalism at the moment, to stop using the word “victim”, refrain from it, and use the word “survivor.” Because how long are we going to make that person a victim? (personal communication, March 22, 2016).

Calling it her “own revolution,” Mona stresses that the editorial room of The Herald has now taken over the changes in addressing people by “residents” and “survivors” and only mentioning someone’s nationality when it adds necessary information to a news fact. These changes show that not only Mona, on an individual level, but also the newsroom of The Herald as a whole understands how the news they provide as the biggest newspaper on St. Maarten impacts the culture and behavior of people. Thus, by promoting an inclusive mindset and seeing people as having strengths, the newsroom of The Herald acknowledges that with constructive textual changes they can fulfil a meaningful role for the development of the society of St. Maarten.

5.2. “Towards a positive mindset”

Whereas Curaçao and St. Maarten share a colonial history and have an autonomous status within the Kingdom of the Netherlands since 2010, they differ in geography, culture, demographics, economy, language, and their position within the Kingdom and the region. Curaçao is the biggest island of the six Dutch Caribbean islands. The island is part of the Leeward Antilles, situated off the coast of Venezuela. Due to its location, the island and its community has been highly influenced by Latin American culture. Dutch culture, too, has had a big impact on Curaçao, as the island, due to its central role in the Netherlands Antilles, traditionally functioned as the connection between The Netherlands and the Caribbean islands. The island houses a large number of European-Dutch people together with more than 140 other nationalities. The biggest part of the Curaçaoan population, however, is the group of people who were born and/or raised in Curaçao or who identify with the island as their home. The discussion of who belongs to this group, often marked by the term “Yu di Kòrsou” (literally: “Child of Curaçao”), has been contested and complex during the past decades and is deeply intertwined with the ongoing differences and inequalities on the island along lines of class, race and language (i.a. Oostindie 2015; Allen & Guadeloupe 2016). The main spoken language is the local Creole “Papiamentu” although Dutch is also commonly used, particularly by the more highly educated people on the island, and the political and economic elite. This distinction is also reflected in the Curaçaoan news media landscape, which contains, considering its small area of
distribution, a high number of news media outlets and a growing online press. The news media landscape of Curaçao is also highly diverse and multi-lingual, with Dutch and Papiamentu media existing next to each other and serving different readerships.

This first Curaçaoan vignette represents the ideas and practices of the Antilliaans Dagblad (AD). This Dutch-language newspaper is a relative newcomer to the local news media landscape. Founded in 2003, to breathe fresh life in the former Algemeen Dagblad, this morning paper serves a more educated public. Its market share is tiny, yet its influence on decision makers within the Kingdom is said to be substantial. In the words of the publisher, talking about the role of the newspaper: “You set the agenda, you determine what will be discussed” (personal communication, October 21, 2015). The publisher’s background is, similar to that of the owners of The Daily Herald in St. Maarten, at the Amigoe, the oldest Dutch-language newspaper of Curaçao. He has been the owner of the AD since 2008, while also serving as its editor-in-chief and publisher. Wearing multiple hats is highly questionable from an independent journalistic perspective, however it is quite common in the small local media landscapes of the islands where qualified people are scarce as are the financial means to invest in qualified staff. The AD as well as other media outlets on both islands are well aware of these and other structural constraints. During interviews I did with journalists, many expressed their concerns with reference to difficult professional circumstances such as the impact of the unstable political climate, the commercialization of news, and the few resources available to support good journalism. In one of the interviews with the owner of the AD on the role of journalism on the island, he stated that these challenges, however, should not keep journalists from fulfilling their important constructive role in local society. Indeed, he argues:

Journalism on Curaçao is also a certain kind of mission, because you often have to work really hard for low wage and you take up a high responsibility (...). I belief you have to have a driving force somewhere to contribute to the development of the country. (...) But this is something that you regularly see in countries in development (...) that journalists who work in developing countries more often have the feeling that they have to contribute to the improvement of (...) the country where you work, in this case Curaçao (personal communication, October 21, 2015).
When I asked what this contribution to the improvement of the country concretely entails in news work, particularly in the context of the political changes since 2010, he stated “I believe that in general we are a bit too pessimistic and often focusing on things that don’t work. However, more attention should be paid to the things that do succeed” (personal communication, October 21, 2015).

The vision of the owner is reflected overall in the perceptions and work of the journalists working at the AD. One of them is Birgit, who was born and raised on the island, while having a university educational background in The Netherlands and in Curaçao. She has a clear vision on the local community and the role of the press in it. In an interview with her, Birgit illustrates how she implements this vision while taking it a step further by reframing headlines in order to achieve a more positive mindset on the island:

What I want to say is that—what I do try is to get a bit of a positive mindset. For example, today the story about the Capriles clinic⁵, then Capriles clinic says— it also was my headline at first: “Capriles clinic hits bottom.” They have a debt of millions and I know how much— but now I made of it: “Capriles clinic needs help.” That is a rather different take, isn’t it? (personal communication, October 23, 2015).

Birgit explains that people on the island generally do things “pa loko” (Papiamentu, literally translated: “haphazardly”). Moreover, “it is always calling down on each other and I notice this on all levels in society— from my children at school to politics” (personal communication, October 23, 2015). By framing the headlines of stories more constructively, she believes that journalism can have an impact in changing the often negative mindset among people on the island. Reframing headlines in such way that they show that solutions are possible, in this case if the clinic gets help, is one example of how Birgit implements a more constructive journalism perspective within stories in order to contribute to a more positive mindset on the island. This practice is in line with the ideals of the owner of the AD for contributing to the development of Curaçao with his newspaper.

⁵ The general psychiatric hospital of Curaçao.
5.3. “Good news for the people”

As the Dutch-language news media only have a tiny market share and are preliminary directed towards more highly educated people on the island, with this third vignette I focus on the constructive practices of the biggest newspaper of Curaçao, the Ëxtra. On the island this Papiamentu-language morning paper is known as “e korant di pueblo” (literally: “the newspaper of the people”). However, according to a relative of the publisher, who shares the publishing task with his family member, “the people” should not only be associated only with the working-class mass on the island: “No, it is all classes, all levels, the business-men, it is everywhere. But indeed, ‘the people’ grabbed the paper and have never let go” (personal communication, January 1, 2016). Having more than two thirds of the local print media market share, this family-owned multi-media business used to control three newspapers and the biggest printing company on the island. Today, the business concentrates on the Ëxtra and the printing office in the neighboring building where most of the newspapers of the island are still printed. 40 Years ago, in 1976, the Ëxtra was founded with the goal of providing news for the Papiamentu-speaking population, and educating people in reading and writing in this local Creole language. Whereas at the beginning of its existence, sensational content was used to attract readers and advertisers, a tendency that can be observed to differing degrees among the five other Papiamentu-language newspapers in Curaçao, today it is commonly known that the Ëxtra is one of the more solid newspapers on the island. The educational principle of the Ëxtra, however, is still clear. In response to my question about what he thinks is the most important element of his news work, the co-publisher explains: “That I can play a part in the formation of my community [in addition to] inform the community” (personal communication, January 1, 2016).

In staying true to the newspaper’s ideal in relation to its readership, the Curaçaoan people, the newspaper publishes many small and very local news items. According to the co-publisher, journalists can only truly fulfil a constructive role and engage their readers by going back to the people, whose daily lives are unfolding around day-to-day small and big events on the island. Many journalists at the Ëxtra have worked at the newspaper for decades and learned their journalistic skills on the street. In conversations with them, they all expressed the responsibility they feel to contribute to the formation of Curaçao and the strong ties they have with the island and its people. In conversation with the (deputy) editor-in-chief, for example, his answer to my question about what he wants to achieve with his work is: “Well important to me as a journalist is to furnish good news. In a sense you provide information, you inform your
readership. You give a contribution to the community so that they are good informed (personal communication, December 11, 2015). When I ask him what good news means to him, he answers:

Good news doesn’t have to be positive. But good news in the sense that it is information which gives the community a better- or apparently better- understanding for whatever the problem is. (...) well investigated, (...) it has to lead to- or a better understanding of the problem, or the problem can be treated, or the problem can be solved. Thus it has to lead to something better. That is good news. For me (personal communication, December 11, 2015)

This explanation of the meaning of good news illustrates a solution-focused vision on the role of journalism. The (deputy) editor-in-chief of the Èxtra emphasizes that, in his opinion, good news is not so much about positive news items, but more about constructively framing the news and working towards more understanding in the community on problem-solving and giving information about potential solutions.

5.4. “It smells like change”

Since the beginning of the 21st century the Internet and new technologies have changed the practice and profession of journalists in the Caribbean (Storr 2014). Digital technologies have pushed almost all Curaçaoan and St. Maarten newspapers, radio, and broadcasting stations to integrate online media into their operations. Also, “local journalists (...) started to use Facebook to share news and comments on the news” (Pin et al. 2016: 22). In addition to the opportunities the Internet has created for established news media, it has provided a younger generation the opportunity to explore new forms of journalism and to seek new audiences.

Although I have spoken with many news websites owners, news bloggers and journalists using Facebook on both Caribbean islands, this vignette focuses on a young woman, Tiffany, who has started a journalistic blog. She was awarded a UNESCO Young Talent Scholarship to participate in the Media Master Classes in Curaçao, a training program to improve the quality of Curaçaoan news media in 2014. During this program she was put in touch with various kinds of journalism, in addition to working as a reporter for a newspaper, and she decided to start a journalistic blog about the area she lives in, a neighborhood in Curaçaoan capital Willemstad.
While wandering this neighborhood, she takes pictures with her iPhone and posts them on Instagram and Facebook. According to Tiffany, many people in Curaçao have negative associations about the particular neighborhood she is reporting on: it is said to be an unsafe area where illegal migrants and drugs addicts live who steal and break into houses. In contrast to this general negative image, Tiffany’s experiences living in the neighborhood are different. In an interview with her, she explains to me:

(...) Everywhere is something negative. There is no paradise, a real pure paradise. I don’t believe such thing exists. It’s the good with the bad. Precisely so. I just want people to know that everywhere in Curaçao, there are so many people and things. (...) I came across that street [where I often take pictures of Graffiti] with a friend of mine, and he said: “Look at this mess, they have to paint this blahblahblah.” But I stood still and in tiny letters was written: “Art changes.” And I thought: “When he would stand still and read what was written on the wall, what would he think?” So I took a picture and I posted it. And that same guy sent me a message that evening: “Where have you taken that picture today?!” And I said: “You have to open your eyes” (personal communication, October 30, 2015).

Tiffany started her journalistic blog to positively influence people. Not by posting solely positive items about the area she is lives in, but by opening people’s eyes to different sides of Curaçao and to create a more nuanced image and attitude. She told how the first topic she posted about was the group of people who is living beneath a viaduct close to her own street:

One week, one week I spent beneath the viaduct, every day all day. That’s all I did. Talking with people, listening to people. Taking pictures, recording videos. Just talk with them, like: “But what exactly is it that you are doing beneath the viaduct? Because I see you every day.” And do you know what was funny? Everyone was saying, like: “But why do you want to know?” I said: “Sir, I am living in the [nearby street].” And for some reason, because I am living in [neighborhood], they tell me their life story. And I edited their stories and posted them. People reacted by sending me messages, like: “Why did you write their stories so decently, while they are not?” And then I realized that this is
such a typical Curaçaoan mindset. Because people here think: “Yes, of course [the people beneath the viaduct] are negative” (personal communication, October 30, 2015).

Tiffany explained that she tries to change this overall negative attitude by focusing on what is changing for the better in her neighborhood. In relation to the life stories she has posted of people living beneath the viaduct, she has shown people what is happening and changing in the neighborhood in terms of revamping constructions, rehabilitation of buildings, and overhaul projects. Figure 1 shows one of her posts about the viaduct getting painted. The post is accompanied by the text: “Some of you have probably already noticed that there’s a lot happening in [neighborhood] lately. Lots of construction, updating and movement. #[Name of neighborhood, blog], #viaduct, #streetphotography, #citylife, #curacao, #islandlife, #revamp, #update, ‘sniff sniff’ It smells like change! ☺ We.are.Willemstad.”

**Figure 1. Picture on Instagram-account of Tiffany’s journalistic blog about the overhaul viaduct**

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In order to confidentially use the information Tiffany shared, I removed details that might make her identifiable to others, such as the name of the blog and the neighborhood she is living.
This example shows that Tiffany focuses on subjects that one contrasts to the often negative perceptions of her neighborhood and Curaçao in general. According to Tiffany, her goal is to open peoples’ eyes to the multiple faces and stories in the neighborhood. “Instead of writing something like: ‘Curaçao stinks and it will never change for the better, (...) I feel like I have to be some sort of eye-opener, so that other people know what is all out there” (personal communication, October 30, 2015). She tries to inspire people to stand still, to reflect on the issues Curaçao faces, and to engage with human beings and their personal stories, which are often reflected in the buildings and the walls she captures with her iPhone.

6. Discussion and conclusion
The four vignettes presented in this paper show a wide variety of constructive journalism elements in journalistic practices in Curaçao and St. Maarten. Whereas Mona, working as a journalist at The Daily Herald, strives towards a more inclusionary vocabulary in order to engage the many migrants in collaborative contributions to the community of St. Maarten, the editors(-in-chief) from Antilliaans Dagblad aim to positively shift the often negative mindset in Curaçao by constructively reframing headlines. Based on the ideal of cultivating knowledge and awareness at all levels in the local community, news workers at the Extra focus on providing news that leads to better understanding and solutions to problems. Lastly, with her journalistic blog Tiffany shows the ambitions and practices of a young news blogger who posts pictures and stories in order to open people’s eyes to different sides of, and developments in, Curaçao.

Looking back at how the founders of constructive journalism understand this concept, it can be seen that they distinguish various elements reflected in all parts of the news process. Indeed, constructive journalism is reflected in the intentions and ideals of journalists, their methods of working, and the news products they publish or post, varying from news stories, headlines and pictures. In this paper I started with the interviews I conducted with journalists, news bloggers and media owners, and the way they express their ideals and intentions regarding constructive journalistic practices. Some of the interviewees, such as the editors of The Daily Herald, and Antilliaans Dagblad as well as blogger Tiffany, also concretely referred to particular journalistic practices. These examples have been shown to be particularly useful in studying constructive journalism practices as they enabled me to analyze different stages of the news production process more holistically, from journalists’ intentions to the actual news they produce, and the connection between these stages. Future research should take this holistic
approach into account in studying practices of constructive journalism. Also, because by illustrating how journalists implement constructive journalistic practices through different stages of their work, instead of only focusing on what they publish, the distinction between constructive journalism and positive journalism becomes more clear. Indeed, the vignettes show that constructive journalism does not always result in positive news. Looking at the case of Birgit, for example, the clinic she is reporting on still needs help. And Tiffany doesn’t portray Curaçao as if it is a paradise, “I don’t believe such thing exists. It’s the good with the bad” (personal communication, October 30, 2015). Clearly distinguishing constructive journalism from other more uncritical approaches is essential, particularly in postcolonial developing countries, as some critics have stressed in reaction to constructive journalism.

For example, Gyldensted and McIntyre also point out the necessity of a commitment to journalism’s core functions while practicing constructive journalism. Indeed, holding true to the core ethical basics of journalism, such as being independent and functioning as a watchdog, is an essential precondition for constructive journalism. As stated in the very beginning of this paper, previous research on local journalism in small-scale islands societies demonstrates various constraints on local journalists that are often rooted in the smallness of the local communities and in colonial history and its legacies. While it is difficult to know the concrete immediate impact of, for example, advertisers and politicians, many journalists I have spoken to in Curaçao and St. Maarten confirm that journalists are challenged by commercial and political pressures. The Daily Herald, for instance, is very cautious about accidentally offending individuals, interviewees have told me that the newspaper, because people all know each other and a bad name is not easily fixed. Some of them, therefore, argue that The Herald belongs to the category of “sugarcoated” media, and lacks a real critical approach. In Curaçao similar concerns about the influence of advertisers on the news are expressed by journalists I have spoken with, and was investigated by a recently conducted media assessment on the island (Pin et al. 2016). Among journalists on the island, different, and sometimes opposing, perceptions exist on what journalism is and should be, ranging from more traditional “watchdog” views to new and alternative forms of journalism.

The vignettes presented in this paper do not necessarily counter structural concerns for local news media, nor do they confirm that the journalists I have spoken with are tied to either commercial businesses or political parties, although it is important to stress that none of the media outlets presented are government owned. What they do show, however, is how local
journalists and newsrooms, in the context of the challenges linked to small-scale news media landscapes, reflect on their role in the island communities and aim to contribute to the development of the relatively new nations. The four vignettes demonstrate the spaces individual journalists and news workers search and often find in which to make their constructive ideals concrete in their journalistic practices. And whereas these practices, such as more inclusively describing the community, constructively reframing headlines, and providing more balanced reporting on things that work (or not), might seem insignificant at first sight, they have a big impact in the small-scale postcolonial societies of Curacao and St. Maarten. Indeed, as the owner of Antillaans Dagblad stated in one of the conversations we had, while the circumstances of local small-scale island communities may restrict the work of journalists, they simultaneously make local journalists more aware of the important role they often can, and should, play in the development of the country. An awareness of this may empower them to face the challenges they are confronted with in small-scale postcolonial societies.

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The representation of migrants in digital media: Investigating websites of selected media institutions

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**ABSTRACT** This paper investigates language use of news articles addressing migration. After showing that migration is a global phenomenon and the current migration stream to Europe only one of many other migration flows, the importance of online newspapers for the formation of public opinion is stressed. Exemplarily, articles dealing with migration have been chosen from two newspapers of English-speaking countries, *The Guardian* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. These articles have been analysed manually in terms of topics addressed, and automatically by using the AntConc tool for the frequency and clusters of various words that seem relevant to migration.

**KEYWORDS** Corpus linguistics, Migration, Online Newspapers, Refugees, Language Use in the Media

1. Introduction

2015 goes down in history as a year dominated by an unprecedented wave of refugees and other migrants coming also to the northern parts of the European Union. The favoured destiny of a lot of them seems to be Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Hand in hand with that development, reports about these migrants arriving in Germany, for instance, dominated the news around the world.

Media institutions, in particular online newspapers, play an important role in communicating these events to people. They select which information is dispersed, they can choose a neutral or more positive or negative point of view, and contribute to the formation of public opinion. Above all, media can decide on the amount of information devoted to each event, story and topic. Migration and refugees in particular are therefore interesting research targets, not only for linguists, as their representations in media can offer enlightening insights into media practices.

2. Migration

2.1. Migration defined

There are various definitions of and terms associated with migration. For example, internal and international migration can be distinguished. The first covers all those movements of people within one country, the second denotes movements across country borders. Focusing on international migration, the two perspectives of leaving the country of origin (emigration) and
arriving in the destination country (immigration) are differentiated (Mavroudi & Nagel 2016: 4-5).

More variation exists in the terms used for migrating people. Among them, migrant, refugee and asylum seeker are probably the most well-known. The exact definition, however, varies according to the organisation cited. The United Nations, for example, provide the following definition of a ‘migrant’: “A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year (12 months), so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence” (UN Statistics Division n.d.). As for the term refugee, the UN refugee agency UNHCR speaks of a person “fleeing armed conflict or persecution” (UNHCR 2016). With that it distinguishes refugees from ‘migrants’, who choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons. Unlike refugees who cannot safely return home, migrants face no such impediment to return. (UNHCR 2016)

In this definition, migrants and refugees are clearly distinguished by the criterion whether people choose freely (economic migration) or are forced (political migration) to move. Within the migration flows of the recent years, surely both of these groups have been present, with refugees being in the majority.

An influential and more general definition of refugee is given by legal documents, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. What is seen as a ‘refugee’ in these documents can be summarised according to Goodwin-Gill as

any person who is outside their country or origin and unable or unwilling to return there or to avail themselves of its protection, owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group [...], or political opinion. Stateless persons may also be refugees in this sense, where country of origin (citizenship) is understood as ‘country of former habitual residence’. (Goodwin-Gill 2016: 38)

Despite the definition in these influential documents, definitions vary from state to state, especially if the desire is to limit refugee numbers (Gibney 2016: 49-50; Goodwin-Gill 2016: 38). Furthermore, the tendency to speak of “migrants and refugees” in order to address both groups is only a recent development. In the past, migrant was a neutral term, but objections to its neutrality gained momentum a year or two ago, with media organisations being criticised for its
use (Ruz 2015). Still, the noun migration seems to be somewhat a cover term for both, probably because of the infrequent use and mostly unknown noun of refugeeism (Merriam-Webster n.d.). In this paper, migration and migrants are also understood neutrally first of all, referring to refugees as well.

Apart from these terms, asylum seeker (with or without a hyphen in between) is found and tied to legal language. The International Organisation of Migration (IOM), for example, uses as definition “persons seeking to be admitted into a country as refugees and awaiting decision on their application for refugee status” (IOM 2004: 8). Among other terms, we encounter immigrant (defined above with immigration) or displaced person, who is a “person who flees his/her State or community due to fear or dangers other than those which would make him/her a refugee. A displaced person is often forced to flee because of internal conflict or natural or man-made disasters” (IOM 2004: 19-20).

The term alien is especially common in the USA, denoting a “person who is not national of a given State” (IOM 2004: 6), although it is increasingly seen as derogatory (Yu Hsi Lee 2015). As such it is closely related to foreigner, non-national, foreign-national and foreign-born. A protected person is similar to a ‘refugee’ as it is a person who is either seen as refugee according to the 1951 Convention or needs protection due to other circumstances than described in the Convention (Canadian Council for Refugees 2010). Finally, an unaccompanied minor addresses children and teenagers as refugees, who are “under the age of majority who are not accompanied by a parent, guardian, or other adult who by law or custom is responsible for them” (IOM 2004: 67).

2.2. Migration in facts
Migrations flows are by no means a phenomenon of the last decades. Historically, there have been ample movements of groups of people, sometimes they affected more people, sometimes less. As of 2015, the United Nations estimates the total number of international migrants, who are seen as equivalent to foreign-borns, as encompassing 244 million people. This is about 3.3 % of the world's population. About 15 to 20 million count as refugees, with each of them being witness of traumatic and deeply life-changing events (United Nations 2016a: 1; United Nations 2016b: 1-2). These are large figures, and they have continued to increase considerably during the last fifteen years. But they do not support the assumption which many people share, namely, that all people are apparently heading to Europe. The UN number of migrants has been
criticized in that it does not say a lot about current migration. The number of 244 million people includes anyone as migrant who has once migrated and is still alive, e.g. a German student marrying an Austrian girl twenty years ago and living in Austria since then is part of it as well as a Syrian refugee having recently arrived in Germany. Considering the five years from 2010 to 2015, only a percentage of 0.5 of the world’s population accounts for refugees. This percentage has remained stable for the last 50 years, and even shows a slight decline if considering only the last five years (Mingels 2016).

For Europe, the last migration flows have been a challenge, but thinking of the world apart from Europe, even larger flows of migrating people can be discerned. In reality, Europe is not part of the ten largest migrations flows across countries within the five years from 2010 to 2015. The biggest stream concerns people from Syria migrating to Turkey. Within the largest five flows are also movements from Syria to Lebanon, Mexico and India to the USA, and Bangladesh to India. This also means that the biggest migration flows take place within continents, not across them. For example, more migrants move around within Europe than from Africa to Europe (Mingels 2016). With these figures in mind it becomes clear that the migration flows to Europe are comparatively low. But what about those flows that do come to Europe?

As to the migration into the European Union, by far most asylum seekers come from Syria, the second and third place take Afghanistan and Iraq in the years 2015 and the first quarter of 2016 (BBC 2016; Migration Policy Institute 2016). The countries most preferred are Germany with most applications in 2015, followed by Hungary. Taking not the total number into account but the relation of applications to the country’s population, Hungary takes the leading position, followed by Sweden and Austria. The route most choose for getting to Europe was by sea in 2015. It is estimated that only about three per cent came by land (BBC 2016). Despite these figures, migration flows have been dominating the news, especially since 2015.

Research about language use in the news, also regarding migration from different angles, has been an issue for ample studies. Media has recently been criticised for contributing to a negative attitude towards migration in society, the language being described as ‘dehumanising’ (Balch 2015). Another popular example concerns terms used for the people who are migrating. For instance, The Migration Observatory conducted a study in 2013 with British national newspapers and their language use towards migrating people (The Migration Observatory 2013). Australian newspapers and their language are, for example, covered by Parker (2015). Finally, the influence of media language on the identity and integration of
migrants and refugees has been discussed (Geißler & Pöttker 2005). Before looking more closely at the representation of migrants in the news in the present study, the importance of online newspapers for the formation of public opinion is discussed.

3. Online newspapers

3.1. The status of online newspapers

Accessing news digitally, even before push notifications of news onto smartphones were available, has become the norm. Printed newspapers, on the other hand, are losing ground. According to a study, the most used news medium for Germans aged from 14 to 64 years is television in 2015, although it is on the decline compared to previous years. On second position is already the Internet, followed closely by printed newspapers. The radio is relatively unimportant. Online newspapers and online journalism in general are considered part of the category ‘Internet’. If only the group aged from 14 to 19 and only academics from 20 to 39 years are considered, then the Internet is seen as the most important news medium, lying even ahead of TV. If we consider the importance of each medium and the role it plays for the formation of public opinion, we get a similar ranking. Again, the Internet is considered the most important means of information for the 14 to 19 year olds and the academics aged from 20 to 29 (Schmidt 2015).

As for the Internet itself, various areas are offered for getting news. The most used are online newspapers via websites or apps, which 44 % name as the medium which is most important for their opinion formation. Facebook is mentioned by 38 %, and Wikipedia, for instance, by 27 % (Schmidt 2015). Although traditional media are often said to become less influential, statistics here actually show that online newspapers are regarded as the most important source for opinion formation. Consequently, the role of online newspapers must not be underestimated, and the topics they choose to discuss as well as the language used become decisive for public opinion.

3.2. Online newspapers of the British Isles, the USA and Australia

From English-speaking countries, newspapers from the British Isles, the USA and Australia have been the focus of the research. Great Britain has once been an important coloniser, with the British Empire stretching more or less around the whole world. Both Britain and Ireland have been regions where a lot of people migrated to various, now former, colonies. The USA and
Australia, however, have been regions where lots of migrants arrived, from the British Isles and from other countries as well. So we can say that the USA and Australia have become settled by masses of Europeans, until they declared their independence from their mother country. Historically, so, the USA and Australia are immigration countries, gaining their vast population by immigration (Schneider 2011). Their role, and the role media take there towards immigration today, is therefore especially interesting.

Selecting media institutions and newspapers is always influenced by a number of variables. For example, the newspapers being read the most can be considered. The goal is to have a look at those newspapers that have a large readership, taking the most recent data available. However, which newspapers, be it printed, online, or both, are read most frequently is difficult to determine. Of course, different counts are available and yield different lists. Nevertheless, newspapers that are mentioned frequently on the first places in different rankings can be found by considering various sources.

For Great Britain, this means that the Daily Mail is often found to be on the first position, followed by The Guardian and The Telegraph. This ranking is the same for the printed as well as the digital version (PressGazette n.d.). The Sun is not among the first five listings, although this might be a bit surprising. Turning to the USA, USA today is probably leading, and the Wall Street Journal and The New York Times being on second and third position, based only on digital circulation (MediaMiser n.d.). For Australia, the list is mostly led by the Sydney Morning Herald, followed by the Daily Telegraph and the Herald Sun. It is based on Roy Morgan Research, which combines printed and digital newspaper circulation for the ranking (Roy Morgan Research n.d.). Irish newspapers with a print and digital figure combined encompass number one, the Irish Independent, followed by The Irish Times and the Sunday World (NewsBrands Ireland n.d.). Among others, the following resources have also been consulted for determining leading newspapers: the journalism and media data from the Pew Research Center, and here the State of the News Media 2015 (PewResearchCenter n.d.), website traffic listed in Journalistics (Porter 2010), web ranking of newspapers through 4 International Media & Newspaper (4 International Media & Newspaper n.d.) and Statista (Statista n.d.). Generally, the Daily Mail, the Daily Telegraph, the Herald Sun and the Sunday World are more associated with tabloids from all the newspapers listed here.
4. Analysis

4.1. Method

As tabloids typically make use of different language, results of their analysis should not be merged with newspapers being known more as broadsheets. Another factor was free access to most articles, which also guarantees an even higher readership as might be caught by statistics. Exemplarily, two more broadsheet newspapers have been chosen for analysing the language and topics of news first of all. These are the Sydney Morning Herald from Australia and The Guardian with the headquarters in London.

In each of them, the intention is to collect all articles that cover migration, albeit the exact topic does not need to focus on migration in the first place. The time period was set at one month, from the 1st to the 31st of August, 2016. This means a data set which is still manageable, but also large enough to infer some tendencies.

As the search facilities on the newspaper’s website lacked fine-tuning of search results, especially in terms of showing only articles from August 2016, the decision was made to use Google’s search engine as an alternative. Here, the results can be limited to a pre-defined time span and specific web address, so that the search could be made for articles only of the specific newspaper. To find articles containing migration issues, a query containing various terms was formulated. This query contains an array of different terms used in the context of migration, to make sure not to miss substantial articles. It contains the following search terms: migration / migrant / migrate, immigration / immigrant / immigrate, asylum seeker / asylum-seeker (as a spelling variant) / asylum / asylee, unaccompanied minor, displaced person / displacement, foreigner / foreign-born / foreign national / non-national / protected person / alien. At least one of these terms has to occur on a website in order to be returned as result.

The search on the Sydney Morning Herald yielded 540, on The Guardian 510 hits. From those, all relevant results had to be selected manually. Sometimes, a general website for navigation was returned as result, the website only contained a video, one or more search terms were only found at the margin where they linked to other articles, or the site was listed twice. In other cases, the article discussed migration from other perspectives, mainly a biological one, or it was used metaphorically. After sorting out irrelevant hits, 191 articles were left with the Sydney Morning Herald, and 328 with The Guardian. We can so find far less articles with the Sydney Morning Herald and this might go back to the size of the media organisation, being located regionally in Sydney, whereas The Guardian works internationally. The relevant articles
of the Sydney Morning Herald produce a corpus with about 140,000 words. For The Guardian, the corpus amounts to approximately 327,000 words.

These corpora have been investigated in terms of a manual analysis of the topics addressed. Furthermore, the frequency of words and patterns has been examined using the corpus linguistic tool AntConc (AntConc 2016). AntConc is freely available and a standalone software, so that it does not need to be installed on the computer (Froehlich 2015). It comprises several tools, such as concordancing, clustering, word lists or collocations. Especially useful for the analysis of the corpora here are two tools: the concordancer tool, which lists all the occurrences of a particular word and their left and right neighbours, and the clusters tool, which “allows you to search for a word or pattern and [to] group (cluster) the results together with the words immediately to the left or right of the search term” (Anthony 2014).

4.2. Analysing the topics addressed
The articles can now be analysed according to the topic each addresses. Of course, we can do that on different levels, analysing aspects of migration, countries or specific migrants mentioned. The intention for the collected articles was to investigate which countries are covered. Do the newspapers focus on specific countries more than others, and if so, is this the home country or does the focus lie on a particular continent?

The results for The Guardian are as follows: Most commonly discussed are articles with relation to Australia first of all (100 articles or 30 % of all articles), followed by the USA (74; 23 %), and Great Britain (50; 15 %). This is no surprise as The Guardian has, apart from an international edition, local editions in the UK, the USA and Australia. Relatively underrepresented English-speaking countries are Ireland (1), Canada (1), and New Zealand (4). Much discussed in the articles of Great Britain are the refugees in Calais. The presidential election of 2016, and here especially Donald Trump, dominated the news about migration in the USA. Australian news concentrated predominantly on the scandals around the detention centres of Australian immigrants on Nauru in the Central Pacific and the island Manu of Papua New Guinea. Other countries are particularly European countries (apart from the UK), such as France (10) and Germany (9), Greece (5), Italy (4), Hungary (2), Island (1), or the EU in general (11). African countries make up eight articles in sum, with Libya (3), Uganda (2), Ethiopia (1) and Mauretania (1). Three articles focus on Central America (Costa Rica, Cuba and Guatemala). Asia is represented 12 times, covering Turkey (2), Iraq (2), Jordan (2), and one article each of
Afghanistan, Syria, the United Arab Emirates, the Middle East, Russia and India. Finally, 37 articles do not focus on a specific country or region, but rather address migration from a general point of view, such as education, arts, or the Olympic games.

As for topics in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, the largest proportion falls on issues of Australia (114 articles or 60% of all articles). Topics vary from politics, the immigration department, general immigration, the scandals in Nauru and Manus, to refugees and asylum seekers in Australia. Second most represented is the USA (26; 14%). The UK takes a minor role with three articles. Other European countries are addressed nine times, among them Germany (3), France (3), and one article each of Austria, Belgium and Hungary. The rest of the articles cover immigration from a general perspective or discuss issues related to arts. Interestingly, no article focuses on African countries.

4.3. Analysing the frequency of words and their patterns in selected areas

With the *AntConc* tool, the frequency of words in each corpus can be detected. For example, if we compare the terms used for people who migrate, we find that *asylum seeker(s)* occurs most frequently (401 hits). The spelling variant with a hyphen accounts only for seven within the 401 hits. After that we find *migrant(s)* with 275 and *immigrant(s)* with 180 hits. *Unaccompanied minor(s)* show only 24 hits, *foreigner(s)* 13, *displaced person or displaced people* 9 (two of these account for *internally displaced people*), *the displaced* (1), *aliens* (denoting immigrants) 5 hits. The nouns *foreign born* and *foreign national* do not occur, but their adjectives do with seven and one hits respectively. The terms *emigrant(s)* and *non national(s)* do not occur. These words denoting humans can also be analysed in terms of clusters, i.e. which words immediately occur in a left or right position. Frequent expressions so were *migrant worker(s)* (17), *undocumented migrants* (25), *undocumented immigrants* (46), *illegal immigrants* (14) and *child asylum seeker* (13).

As to the concepts of migration, the nouns *immigration(s)* with 671 hits and *asylum(s)* (573, which also includes *asylum seeker* and *asylum seekers*) lead the ranking. Far less frequent are *migration(s)* (151), *displacement* (18) and *emigration* (4). Interesting clusters are *immigration minister* (64), *immigration detention* (63), *immigration department* (39), *immigration policy* (22), *illegal immigration* (16) and *offshore immigration* (16). For *asylum*, we find *seeking asylum* (25) and *asylum claim(s)*. Verbs of these nouns are rather uncommon in the corpus. We encounter *displace / displacing / displaced* with 17 hits (not counting *displaced* as an
adjecent), *emigrate / emigrating* (11), *migrate(d) / migrating* (10), and *immigrate / immigrated* (2). Apart from that, *foreign* with 92 hits is relatively frequent.

An interesting finding is that terms denoting humans are addressed chiefly in groups, so the plural is much more frequent. Out of 1,140 hits concerning terms such as *migrant(s)* or *displaced person/people*, 79 % are plural forms, 21 % singular forms. On the other hand, if concepts such as *migration* are addressed, they mostly occur in the singular form. Only 4 out of 1,016 hits occur in the plural. A similar picture concerning the distribution of singular and plural forms can be found with the *Sydney Morning Herald* as well. As for clusters, *child asylum seeker* and *internally displaced people* can each be found only once. Other clusters concern *migrant workers* (9 hits) and *migrant crisis* (7) out of 32 hits for *migrant, undocumented migrants* (5) and *illegal migrants* (4) out of 74 hits for *migrants*. For *immigrant* (7), the derivative adjective *anti-immigrant* is striking with four hits, and 13 hits fall on *illegal immigrants* (out of 33 hits for *immigrants*).

Another issue that can be examined in the news articles is the frequency of individual countries. The articles have been sorted according to the topic that is generally addressed in the articles, but looking for any occurrence of the name of a country might also provide insights. Looking exemplarily at *The Guardian*, the *EU* is mentioned 325 times, *European Union* 23, *Europe* 174, *European* 107 (without *European Union*). Other continents, such as *Africa / African(s)* show 106 occurrences. Of these, *North Africa / North African*, however, show only a marginal number (3). *Asia / Asian(s)* occur 16 times, *Middle East / Middle Eastern* 30, *Arab / Arabic* 20 times.

Investigating individual countries and nationalities, English-speaking countries are represented in *The Guardian* as follows: *USA* (7), *America* (108), *American* (167) *Americans* (68), thus making 350 hits in sum. Furthermore, *Canada / Canadian(s)* (44) occur, as well as Latin American countries such as *Mexico / Mexican / Mexicans* (117). For the British Isles, we have *Britain* (269), *British* (139), *United Kingdom* (13), *UK* (405), *Ireland* (9), *Irish* (16), *England* (35), *Wales* (10), *Welsh* (2), *Scotland* (21), *Scottish* (12), producing 931 hits in total; *English* (43) is not distinguishing here. As to Australia, we find *Australia* (729), *Australian* (362), *Australians* (20), *Aussie* (3), summing up to 1.093 hits. Consequently, in terms of English-speaking countries and nationalities the Australian continent is represented most often, followed by the British Isles, and the USA. This, however, might be due to the detention centres and the discussion around them, as discussed in the previous section.
From the African continent, all countries are relatively underrepresented and only show a few hits, such as Algeria / Algerian(s) with 14 occurrences. As to the Asian continent, Syria / Syrian(s) with 179 hits is leading, Turkey / Turkish / Turks 141, Iraq / Iraqi(s) 99, Afghanistan / Afghan(s) show 81 occurrences, Libya(n) 47, Pakistan / Pakistani(s) 21, Jordan / Jordanian 20.

As the migration stream is sometimes reduced to an influx of Muslim people to Europe, and hereby stressing the ‘different’ religion, it might be worth examining religion as another topic. In this context, Muslim(s) occurs with 83 hits most frequently in The Guardian, Islam / Islamic shows 49 occurrences, mosque 1, Christian(s) 22, Catholic 12, Anglican 2, church(es) 41, priest 3. More general terms include religion with 17 and religious with 19. Although religious terms are mentioned, they do not seem to be occurring in a high number, given the size of the corpus. Furthermore, the Islamic religion is not represented with more occurrences if compared to terms for the Christian religion.

5. Conclusion
The analysis of news coverage in the selected digital newspapers showed that migration is primarily addressed from one’s own country. The largest migration flows are not included and hardly any article reports about Syria itself, its neighbours and the migration happening there. However, the flows to Europe are represented, and the nationalities of Syria or Afghanistan, for example, mentioned most frequently, fitting to the main migration streams to Europe. Nevertheless, these occurrences do not come close to any mention of the nationalities of the UK, USA and of Australia.

As to terms used for migrating people, asylum seeker(s) is most commonly used and the plural denoting a group of people rather than stressing the individual is much more frequent than the singular form. Concepts about migration, on the other hand, show that immigration(s) is the form used most often. It is even far more frequent than migration(s). Here, the singular form is commonly used, the plural being rather the exception. In sum, however, concepts occur more often than terms denoting migrating human beings.

For the names of countries and continents, Europe is much more frequently represented than Africa, for instance. Due to the developments in Germany on the New Year’s Eve of 2015, we could expect a high mention of North Africa, which was, however, not validated. Rather, Australia as country and continent appeared most frequently, followed by the UK and the USA in The Guardian. The reason why specific countries are represented more might, of course, come
with the latest breaking news. Apart from that, first tendencies as just outlined can be seen in the corpora, but should still be compared to other newspapers. In general, though, it is important not to look at individual figures blindly, but always to consider the context as well. This was achieved in this survey by combining a manual and automatic text analysis. So, for example, could be shown that a relatively high use of Syria / Syrian(s) compared to other Asian or Middle Eastern countries does not imply that news articles actually cover the region in their text.

All in all, media coverage surely influences which terms are in use, and which fall out of use. So, for instance, unaccompanied minor(s) is rather infrequent, but child asylum seeker, which you cannot find in lists about how to address migrating people, might be a compound with a future. As a conclusion we can probably say that media do both, they represent the opinion of people, but they surely influence it as well (Neue deutsche Medienmacher 2013: 4). And this seems also to be true for language use.

References


