INVESTIGATING JOURNALISM PRACTICES: COMBINING MEDIA DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND NEWSROOM ETHNOGRAPHY

Edited by
Marcel Burger
Cahiers de l'ILSL n°54, 2018.

UNIL | Université de Lausanne

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 1-2

Table des matières

NEWS FROM THE NEWSROOM

Marcel BURGER
University of Lausanne
marcel.burger@unil.ch

1. News as discourse and as newsmaking process

This volume arises from a series of discussions, workshops & panels of our research network in media linguistics[1]. In terms of methodology, the focus is on the link between discourse studies and ethnographic approaches to news journalism practices. In terms of analysis, the researchers of the network consider both news products and newsmaking processes. The aim is to better understand how journalists work according to evidence of the "circular circulation of information" characterizing news journalism (Bourdieu 1998: 23). Put in other words, news is what (other) news media speak and write about (or don't) (see Messner & DiStaso 2008). Our starting point for reflection is why, how, when and what is at stake with journalistic decisions and choices about news.

News products such as editorials, news bulletins, news interviews etc. tells us a lot about journalism; they reflect the languages of the media (Bell 1991; Thompson 1995; Charaudeau 2005; Montgomery 2007). Nevertheless, going backstage to the newsroom and catching a glimpse of what practitioners are doing enables us to consider a broader, better, and more realistic view of news journalism practices. Taking into account the situated activities of journalists in the newsroom is key in understanding journalism. As evidence, in both cases, the role of discourse – discursive practices – is essential. Besides the fact that news is discourse, one observes that it is through discourse in the newsroom that institutional and practical matters emerge, are negotiated and lead in the end to certain kinds of news and ways of doing news (Burger & Delaloye 2016; Fitzgerald, Jaworski & Housley 2008; Clayman & Reisner 1998). Also, discourse is the 'agent' or main conveyor of journalism ideologies understood as "the

[1] The network is part of the International Association of Applied linguistics (AILA) (see www.aila.info).

principle that determines what journalists select both within social reality and among symbolic productions as a whole. [It is] a journalistic selection in order to catch the public eye [with] the effect of censorship, which journalists practice without even being aware of it" (Bourdieu 1998: 47).

To consider such a 'principle' and other key elements of journalism (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001), we take into account a wide range of practices, in terms of the praxis on site, but also in terms of news cultures and contexts. To do so, the data collection presented and analyzed in this volume is the result of ethnographic studies of different print, online and broadcast news media in a variety of contexts: form Far East countries like Australia and China to Western Europe's Belgium, Denmark, Finland, and Switzerland. Various aspects of backstage activities are presented and analyzed in comparison to news products: editorial conferences; preparatory sessions; interactions at the workplace; writing processes recorded on the journalist's computers; biographic interviews; stimulated recall sessions leading to self-reflexive comments by the journalists on the making of the news.

2. Going backstage in the newsroom

The key aim of the volume is to point out the relevance of a perspective which combines a close look to news products and to newsmaking processes. Given that this implies linguistic and ethnographic considerations, such a perspective represents an added value for both the researchers – discourse analysts and sociologists in media studies – and the practitioners – the news journalists. The anthropologist Didier Fassin argues in a relevant manner in favor of an ethnographic perspective: « Ethnography is particularly relevant in the understudied regions of society, but can be significant also in spaces saturated by consensual meanings: in the first case, it illuminates the unknown; in the second, it interrogates the obvious » (Fassin 2013: 642-643). Practitioners' awareness of their tacit 'how-making-the-news' knowledge is brought into light by ethnographic research, while at the same time the analysts benefit from the access to inaccessible situated activities to better understand news products. The advantage of ethnography for the study of news is outline by the media scholars Mats Ekström and Asa Kroon Lundell: « Taking into account the entire process of producing and presenting news, we have argued that journalism harbors a multitude of interviewing practices and activities that remain invisible if only the taped and transcribed broadcast talk is analyzed (

Within this global framing, the contributions of the volume focus on one type of context which the discourse analyst Daniel Perrin terms ‘critical situations’: « Critical situations denote exemplary constellations of circumstances which could lead to a failure (…). Journalists overcome critical situations with “good practices” – good according to their own, their organizations’, and/or theoretically – grounded principles » (Perrin 2013: 202). As evidence, professionals in the newsrooms under investigation produce day–by-day news items by engaging in highly routinized practices, while every day they are also faced with practical and ideological issues These situations are more complex and require joint efforts to fix problems. They are characterized by tacit knowledge emerging, being discussed, and therefore explicated and defined within the community of practice of news professionals. Thus, critical situations help both the journalists and the researchers to establish a repertoire of good (and bad) practices and what is at stake with them.

3. Doing media linguistics on site

Considering how the language of the news and of newsmaking practices functions is doing what we call ‘media linguistics’. As part of the broader domain of applied linguistics, it fosters a multimethod analysis anchored in a ‘focused’ multidisplinary framework[2]. The contributions of this volume are mainly rooted either in the domain of the linguistics of newswriting (Perrin *et al.* 2009; Perrin 2013; Perrin 2014) or in the linguistics of news production (Jacobs 1999; Van Hout & Jacobs 2008; Jacobs, Van hout & Van Praet 2011). Broadly speaking, the perspective comprises all language issues of “research on the media that is informed by newsroom realities” (Cotter 2010 : 10). As such, media linguistics is an ethnographically grounded approach to news media analysis.

“Doing ethnography means trying to understand a community, by looking at how a community works” (Cotter 2010: 19). In our case, the community under

---

[2] According to Ben Rampton, an ethnographic approach is by definition characterized by a claim to interdisciplinary relevance calling for a multi-method or multi-perspective of analysis (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2015 : 32-40).

investigation is that of news journalists and the site of their engagement is the newsroom. The central question that the contributors ask t is: How do news journalists use language, by means of what kinds of discursive practices, to produce what kind of language of the news? Journalists engage in complex production processes leading to specific news products, and they do so according to behavioral rules, expectations and ideologies that reflect and at the same time define and shape their community of practice[3]. These dimensions are crucial.

To observe, however, journalists at work using language provides relevant findings only with a more precise research focus. In this volume, we look first at the chain of discourses that journalists consider to account for the narratives they produce: news agencies communiqués, press releases, shorts web news, reports and articles by media companies etc. Indeed, "Intertextuality and entextualization make it clear why a production perspective has an edge over a product-only perspective: it allows the researcher to scrutinize the complex back-and-forth between journalists and the world out there and, in doing so, to unravel the details of institutional contexts, conventions, and procedures as they impact on the news product" (NT&T 2009: 5-6). Each paper addresses these questions with a specific focus: on newswriting, story-telling, argumentation, interaction, or socialization.

4. Findings and results

This volume comprises nine contributions. Geert Jacobs' paper focuses on a Belgian television newsroom of a national French-language public broadcasting corporation. Jacobs presents a singlecase study of the minute-by-minute unravelling of the coverage of a political news item by an experienced journalist. Jacobs shows in detail why and how the journalist eventually decides not to cover the news on a politically delicate issue. Access to the backstage of the media makes Jacobs' analysis a unique close-up of a specific type of news making practice that would have hardly been possible without it.

'Why and how this news item' is at the heart of Gilles Merminod's contribution. The author addresses story-telling as a crucial dimension of news making practices. The newsroom under investigation to explore this type of know-how is that of the French speaking public service TV in Switzerland. From the

[3]Ideological as well as practical concerns which Burger & Delaloye (in this volume) call the 'big media utopias' and the 'small journalistic assemblage'.

first editorial conference in the morning until the broadcast of the report for the bulletin, Merminod details the journalistic choices to turn the topic into a narrative.

As a matter of fact, media linguistics is embedded in the broader scope of applied linguistics (AL). Daniel Perrin & Mathias Fürer propose a clear contribution to AL as they outline a typology of methods in real-life writing processes research. They investigate the writing strategies of journalists at their workplace (a German speaking newsroom of the public service TV in Switzerland). To do so, Perrin & Fürer combine a close look at recurrent patterns in terms of stylistic formats, audience design as well as language policy making strategies in a public service broadcasting corporation.

Chang Peng Huan also uses the ‘writing progression analysis’ methodology to interrogate the context of the People’s Republic of China news journalism practices. His research examines the distinction between the ways local or international online news is produced. The newsroom under investigation is that of a local Chinese newspaper. Interviews with journalists reveal that they use ‘attribution’ strategically according to the kind of news they produce and more generally as a discursive resource to exercise power in the newsroom.

Writing strategies is also the topic of the paper of Lauri Haapanen. The author focuses on a specific news genre: face to face interviews and their publication in the written press. Haapanen considers in detail how the news journalists deal with a complex chain of information and choose specific ways of quoting. Indeed, the quotation practices are far from converting oral into written sentences. On the basis of stimulated recall sessions with news journalists of a Finnish newspaper, Haapanen suggests that the quotation practices depend on what the journalist wants to achieve in an article and not on what the interviewee meant and said.

Jana Declercq focuses on specialized journalism. She investigates the construction of expertise in the very specific domain of health journalism. Often criticized for bad reporting, health journalists position themselves in an in-between: they must cope at the same time with the constraints of the news media (they have to address lay audiences) and those of the medical world (they have to inform about health in a qualified manner). Declercq analyzes this peculiar form of identity on the basis of interviews conducted with the journalists.

As a matter of fact, journalistic decisions and choices mainly depend on the agenda established during editorial meetings in the newsroom. Margherita Luciani and Andrea Rocci, address a crucial dimension of the decision-making process by journalists. Using the tools of argumentation theory, they shed light on the reasoning concerning audience uptake expectations that lead journalists (of a written press newspaper in Switzerland) to publish a certain news item instead of another or to publish news in a certain way.

Marcel Burger and Laura Delaloye also focus on newsroom editorial meetings. The site of engagement is that of the Swiss French speaking public service broadcast company. Considering a vigorous session during which a controversial topic is discussed, the authors analyze the argumentative meta-discourse that reveals the norms and behavioral rules of news journalists considered as a community of practice. Burger and Delaloye show in detail the role and place of argumentation in interaction in the decision-making process.

The rules governing newsmaking emerge from argumentative discussions with journalists. They are also made explicit from the meta discourse the practitioners tell the researchers. Gitte Gravengaard focuses on the latter. Journalists know what ‘a good news story’ is, but this tacit knowledge is often diffcult for them to make explicit (it’s about what Bourdieu terms the ‘unconscious censorship’ that the journalists practice or the ‘interrogate-the-obvious’ dimension that Didier Fassin observes). Gravengaard’s analysis of interviews reveals this tacit journalistic knowledge, helping toincrease the awareness of profesionnals and to define a repertoire of criterias of good narrative practices.

References

BELL, Allan (1991), *The Language of News Media*, Oxford, Blackwell.

BOURDIEU, Pierre (1998), *On Television*, New York, New Press.

BURGER, Marcel & Laura DELALOYE (2016). «The framing of argumentation in the making of an editorial: from normative expectations to stylistic credo of the journalists», *Journal of Argumentation in Context 5(1)*, 29-47.

BURGER, Marcel & Daniel PERRIN (2014), « Ce que le quotidien des journalistes nous apprend sur les tensions des discours médiatiques». In Anne-Claude BERTHOUD & Marcel BURGER (eds), *Repenser le rôle des pratiques langagières dans la constitution des espaces sociaux contemporains*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 165-194.

CHARAUDEAU, Patrick (2005), *Les médias et l'information. L'impossible transparence du discours*, Bruxelles, DeBoeck.

CLAYMAN, Steven & Anne REISNER (1998), «Gatekeeping in action: editorial conference and assessment of newsworthiness», *American Sociological Review* 63 (2),178-199.

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

EKSTRÖM Mats & Asa KROON LUNDELL (2011), «Beyond the broadcast news interview: specialized forms of interviewing in the making of television news», *Journalism Studies* 12, 172-187.

FASSIN, Didier (2013), « Why Ethnography Matters: On Anthropology and its Publics », *Cultural Anthropology* 28, 621-646.

FITZGERALD, Richard, Adam JAWORSKI & Wiliam HOUSLEY (2008), «Generating News, agenda setting in Radio broadcast news». In Burger Marcel (ed), *L'analyse linguistique des discours médiatiques*, Québec, Nota Bene, 133-154.

GRAVENGAARD, Gitte & Lena RIMESTAD (2016), «Is this a good news story? Developing professional practice in the newsroom». In HOVDEN Fredrik & Gunnar NYGREN (eds.): Making journalists through journalism education: Nordic perspectives, *Nordicom Review*.

JACOBS, Geert (1999), *Preformulating the News: An Analysis of the Metapragmatics of Press Releases*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

JACOBS, Geert & SLEMBROUCK, Stef (2010), «Notes on linguistic ethnography as a liminal activity», *Text & Talk*, 30, 2, 235-244.

JACOBS, Geert, Tom VAN HOUT & Ellen VAN PRAET, (eds.) (2011), *Discursive Perspectives on News Production*. Numéro special du *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, 7.

KOVACH, Bill & Tom ROSENSTIEL (2001), *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople should know and the Public should expect*, New York, Crown Publishers.

MESSNER Marcus & Marcia Watson DISTASO (2008), «The source cycle», *Journalism studies* 9(3), 447-463.

MONTGOMERY, Martin (2007), *The Discourse of Broadcast News. A linguistic Approach*, New-York, Routledge.

NEWS TEXT & TALK RESEARCH GROUP (2011), «Towards a Linguistics of News Production», *Journal of Pragmatics* 47, 1843-1852.

PERRIN Daniel (2014), «Investigating Language and the Media. The case of newswriting », *AILA review* 26, 57–78.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The linguistics of Newswriting*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

PERRIN, Daniel *et al.* (2009), «Talk and action: Practicing internal multilingualism in the newsroom», *Zitimata Epikinonias (Communication Issues)* 3(9), 24-39.

RAMPTON, Ben, Janet MAYBIN & Celia ROBERTS (2015), «Theory and method in linguistic ethnography». In SNELL, Julia, Sara SHAW & Fiona COPLAND (eds), *Linguistic Ethnography. Interdisciplinary Explorations*, New York, Palgrave McMillan, 14-50.

THOMPSON, John B. (1995), *The Media and Modernity. A social Theory of the Media*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

VAN HOUT, Tom & JACOBS, Geert (2008), «News Production Theory and Practice: Fieldwork notes on power, interaction and agency», *Pragmatics*, 18 (1), 59-85.

VAN HOUT, Tom & JACOBS, Geert (2008). News Production Theory and Practice: Fieldwork notes on power, interaction and agency. *Pragmatics*, 18 (1), 59-85.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 11-24

THE NEWS THAT WASN'T

Geert JACOBS
Ghent University
geert.jacobs@ugent.be

Abstract

This paper presents a single-case study of the minute-by-minute unravelling of the coverage of a political news item by a journalist in the television newsroom of a national French-language public broadcasting corporation in Europe. It is documented how the journalist's eventual decision not to cover the news is thwarted by the fact that competing media have decided otherwise. Drawing on linguistic ethnographic fieldwork, the data provide a unique close up of newsmaking practice on a politically delicate issue, with the individual journalist emerging as a responsible and sensitive professional, who is realistic and thoughtful about his own actions, in tune with what other media are covering and savvy about the workings of the news business as a whole.

Keywords : newsroom ethnography, television

1. Introduction

To begin, let's go back to 1995 and look at one of Norman Fairclough's seminal critical analyses of media discourse, viz. that of the popular BBC television program Crimewatch UK. Drawing on a fine-grained study of journalistic language and images following the newly laid out principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough (1995) looks at the way in which the program frames the killing of a young woman walking home from a friend's place at night. His is a textual study, unravelling the dual nature of the program with its blurred boundaries between information and entertainment. Fairclough concludes that the producers of Crimewatch UK are essentially trying to reconstruct a relationship of trust and collaboration between the police and the general public. Interestingly, in what can be read as a kind of afterthought, he suggests that it would be fascinating to know what audiences make of this program.

A quick glance at the tables of contents of the major discourse journals will demonstrate that, even twenty years after, this kind of CDA-inspired textual analysis of the language of the news is still very popular. But let's now turn to Kim Christian Schrøder's 2007 critique of mainstream discourse analysis, one of only a handful of critical reflections on the legacy of CDA for media studies, most of which have gone largely unnoticed. Focusing on Fairclough's analysis of Crimewatch UK, Schrøder says that he is not at all satisfied with attempts to "second-guess" the program experience of the audience when a simple focus group session with a handful of viewers would have done the job. And turning to the intentions of those who made the program: Why didn't Fairclough talk to some of the people on the production team, Schrøder wonders; it would not have taken an inordinate amount of time. Echoing Jeff Verschueren's early critiques that `linguistic work' on the media is "not sufficiently contextualized, ignorant of the structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process" (Verschueren 1985: vi), "discourse ethnography" is the label that Schrøder proposes for an approach that sets out to take the wide range of discourse *practices* underlying what gets finally broadcast far more seriously than CDA has ever done and that combines careful attention to textual detail with systematic fieldwork that explores the worlds of both text producers and recipients.

This paper aligns with Schrøder's (2007) critique of CDA by zooming in on the production end of discourse practice. My focus is on broadcast news and the way in which the daily editorial routines determine what the general public gets to see on TV (for a more elaborate theoretical positioning see the collective position paper published by the NewsTalk&Text research network in 2011). In Goffman's terminology, the research presented here goes backstage, behind the scenes of the news, to demonstrate how a mix of sometimes trivial, but always deeply institutionalized discursive practices and professional routines impact on the final news product that, since Fairclough's early work in this area, has been the subject of so much discourse analytic work.

Crucially, in the case study that I will present I will focus on a fieldwork experience with a story that did not make it into the news, at least not initially, but that did keep the journalist whom I followed busy for most of his working day. I will call this "The news that wasn't" and I will reflect on how the backstage production-oriented research that I propose constitutes added value in pointing to what is otherwise bound to remain invisible. Put differently, I will argue that the massive literature on all sorts of media discourse (including, most prominently, the wide-ranging study of news values) has been characterized by an overwhelming bias towards those events that actually made it into the news and that we have more or less collectively ignored the many stories which for some reason or another were not processed into news.

In turning to this news "that wasn't", this paper ties in with the larger definition of discourse analysis as the study not just of what is said and written, but also of what is *not* said and written. Linguistic pragmatics, in particular, has had a long history branding itself as that subfield of linguistics which analyses the different ways in which messages are *implicitly* anchored to speakers' attitudes, to aspects of the on-going interactive situation, to the social and cultural setting and to our ideological perceptions (see Östman 1995). Research in this area has been "primarily interested in what happens in communication *over and beyond* the propositional information that interlocutors and text producers want to convey in their messages" (Östman 1995: 4; my italics). While the study of implicitness incorporates household concepts of linguistic pragmatics like presuppositions and conversational implicatures, I would like to join those who have previously suggested that it could also be extended to include not speaking or writing at all. In terms of the news context that is analyzed in this paper, it could be argued that if you really want to get through to a journalist's professional vision, it makes sense to observe him or her as he's making up the news – but it makes just as much or perhaps even more sense to look at how he or she decides to remain quiet about certain events.

2. Method and data

As I indicated above, the approach presented in this paper can be labelled linguistic ethnographic. Drawing on Rampton *et al.* (2004: 4) in their UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum position paper, we believe that what distinguishes our efforts from more traditional work in media discourse analysis is that they ''open up'' the scope of research, ''inviting reflexive sensitivity to the processes involved in the production of linguistic claims and to the potential importance of what gets left out, encouraging a willingness to accept (and run with) the fact that beyond the reach of standardised falsification procedures, '[e]xperience . . . has ways of boiling over, and making us correct our present formulas''' (Willis and Trondman 2000, cited in Rampton *et al.*, 2004:4). What sets them apart from a strong and long-standing tradition of ethnographic work in news sociology and journalism studies is that they tie the research down, ‘‘pushing ethnography towards the analysis of clearly delimitable processes, increasing the amount of reported data that is open to falsification, looking to impregnate local description with analytical frameworks drawn from outside’’ (*ibidem*). For the research reported in this paper our linguistic ethnographic toolbox included wide-ranging fieldwork efforts (observation, participation, semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, field notes, textual data, etc.) through which ‘‘the researcher learns to interpret and follow the rules that govern the practices of the field and to understand (and make explicit) its structures of meaning’’ (Oberhuber & Krzyzanowski 2008: 182) (see also Jacobs & Slembrouck 2010 for a series of reflections on ethnography as a liminal activity).

The findings presented here are based on team fieldwork which I conducted with Els Tobback in the spring of 2009 in the TV newsroom of a national French-language public broadcasting corporation in Europe. The data include transcripts of audio-recordings of storyboard meetings, extensive field notes based on close observation of the journalists’ on-line writing and rewriting processes as well as of their interactions with cutters (who are responsible for the technical editing of sound and pictures), transcripts of semi-structured retrospective interviews with the journalists and with the desk chief, hard copies of the text and video information subsidies that were available to the journalists, and video-recordings of the final TV news reports.

3. Findings

It’s Tuesday 26 May 2009. It’s 9.17 AM. Journalists gather in clusters with a cup of coffee to discuss what’s on that day. I had arranged to ‘follow’ a journalist whom I will call Mathew for anonymity’s sake. Mathew is one of the ‘star journalists’ of the newsroom’s domestic politics division. It is less than two weeks before the country’s regional elections and during the coffee gathering of the politics staff it is suggested that for the midday one o’clock news Mathew might want to do a story about a female candidate for the French-speaking Christian Democrats. She is a woman of Turkish origin who, it is alleged, had her campaign picture reframed to hide the veil that she is wearing.

The story is suggested by one of Mathew’s colleagues who heard about this on the same station’s radio news when he was in his car driving to the newsroom earlier that morning. It turned out later that the interview had been recorded a couple of days earlier and was inspired by a message on a blog of a journalist of Turkish origin on Friday 22 May. From the very outset of the story, there are two striking elements: 1. the news does not need to be new and 2. the news is what other media write about.

In what follows I will report on the morning's events (in the form of fieldwork notes and transcripts covering Mathew's reporting efforts) as well as on interviews I conducted later that day with the day's desk chief (around two o'clock) and with Mathew himself (at the end of the afternoon).

3.1. Fieldwork notes and transcripts of Mathew's reporting efforts

(1) 9.35 AM

Early on in the 9.30 storyboard meeting the reframing story is brought up by the anchor, who had heard about it over coffee.

(A= anchor, J= journalist, M= Mathew, DC= desk chief)
A: Cette histoire du [name of the party] avec la jeune fille voilée
This story of the* [name of the party] *with the young girl with the veil
J1: la photo recadrée
the reframed picture
(…)
A: Mathew, sérieusement, les photos recadrées de la jeune (1.0)
Mathew, seriously, the reframed pictures of the young (1.0)
[future peut-être élue du [name of the party]
***[future maybe elected candidate of the* [name of the party]**
M: [pourquoi pas, bien sûr c'est bien
[why not, of course it's good
J2 : ça il faut le faire oui
you have to do it yes
DC: Oui c'est très intéressant
Yes it's very interesting

What is striking in this very short episode is the ease and perhaps even lightness with which it is decided that the story should be in the one o'clock news. No details are provided. Five staff, including key stakeholders like the anchor and the desk chief, voice their consent. The others, over twenty in number, remain silent. It is assumed that everyone seems to know what this is about, or that it is not relevant for the others to know. Of the five who do contribute, Mathew is perhaps the least eager to cover the story: he waits until somebody else comes up with the topic and, even then, he needs to be pushed by the anchor (“Mathew, seriously”). His short response seems half-hearted (“why not”).

(2) 10.12 AM

Shortly after the storyboard meeting, we are on our way in a car to the headquarters of the woman’s political party where Mathew is hoping to be able to conduct an interview with her. He is briefing the two members of the technical crew (camera and sound). He says he wants to find out “why the picture was reframed and if it’s a case of malice”. In fact, as I will find out later, Mathew will be obsessed with finding the answer to that question throughout the day. In the evening, I will be able to interview Mathew and it is exactly this notion of premeditation that features prominently in his definition of what constitutes news:

> S’il y a des hiatus, on veut que ce ne soient pas des hiatus uniquement dus au hasard,
> ***If there are hiatuses, you want that they are not only the result of coincidence,***
> donc il faut qu’il y ait qu’il y ait une préméditation qui fait que surtout quand on
> ***so you want that there is there is a premeditation which makes that certainly if you***
> tourne un sujet comme celui-là qui sont des sujets délicats parce qu’on nous attend
> ***deal with a topic like this one which are delicate topics because we are being watched***
> beaucoup là-dessus, il faut dans un cas comme celui-là qu’il y ait, comment je dirais,
> ***closely on this, in a case like this, you need, how shall I put it***
> que la portée soit suffisament importante. Il faut qu’il y ait quand même une volonté
> ***you want the impact to be important enough, there must be some kind of will***
> là-derrière de faire une photo vraiment qui ne serait pas la même que celle
> ***behind it to make a picture really that wouldn’t be the same as the one***
> sur les affiches
> ***on the posters***

By referring to the notion of ‘hiatus’, Mathew seems to suggest that news should be out of the ordinary. That is not enough, in his view, though. He wants there to be what he calls premeditation.

In the car Mathew says that “it’s not an anti-veil story”. He refers to the candidate as “the girl”. Clearly, in what can be seen as an interesting example of talk for an overhearing audience (seemingly addressing his colleagues but clearly targeting myself as an interested third party), Mathew is trying to explain to me that he is not at all very happy “attacking the easy prey”.

Around the same time, the reframing story is published in a news release issued by the national news agency. Mathew does not know about this.

(3) 10.47 AM

As soon as we have arrived at the candidate's party headquarters, it is clear that "the girl" does not want to show up. Mathew is not amused. "I have never met a candidate for the elections who does not want to be interviewed", he says. For the first time, Mathew suggests that he is not sure if he is actually going to cover this story at all. "For the moment, there's no story. We have to double check". We are reminded of the storyboard meeting when he refers to the origin of the story: "It wasn't me who came up with the idea". At the same time, he seems to insist that he's "not at all worried about covering the story".

As we are waiting in the street to catch a glimpse of the candidate, Mathew receives a phone call from the head of the station's news department. This is very unusual and Mathew appears stressed. Apparently, the head had just received a phone call from the president of the candidate's Christian Democrat party. The president had said that she was "worried" about the unfolding of the events. Next, Mathew decides to call the party's graphic designer, who was responsible for the campaign materials, and he argues that "no one has seen any malice in it". At that point, Mathew decides to give up and return to the newsroom.

Interestingly, around the same time, the story of the reframing is published on the station's internet site. Just like with the national news agency's release issued half an hour earlier, Mathew does not know.

(4) 11.32 AM

We are well on our way back to the TV newsroom when Mathew receives a phone call from the radio journalist who had authored the interview with the candidate that was broadcast earlier that day. Apparently, the candidate had told him that she was "very disappointed" about the reframing. She said that she was going to "demand an explanation from the party". On the basis of this single unexpected new element Mathew changes his mind. "We are not going to give up too soon", he says. "Things keep bouncing back". Matthew calls the desk chief to suggest that he could still make a report about the case. So we drive back to the center of Brussels to shoot some footage of election billboards with the reframed picture. Mathew calls the case “extremely complicated”. “It’s more disturbing than I thought”.

Mathew now calls the party spokesperson, who insists that there has been no malice involved and it is just a coincidence. No one has asked anyone to reframe the picture, he says. By now, Mathew has ended up in deep existential crisis. “Je doute, je doute” (*I am doubting, I am doubting*), he says. When we arrive at the party headquarters, he goes in and tells the receptionist that they are going to cover the story after all: “On va quand même faire un petit truc, manifestement.” (We are going to do a small item apparently). By using ‘apparently’, Mathew seems to suggest that he cannot make the decisions himself. It looks as if some higher-order forces are deciding for him. Mathew calls the desk chief again and he does not seem to be sure either. “He decides, because he is responsible”, Mathew whispers. “C’est deux fois rien, mais non ce n’est pas deux fois rien” (*It’s no big deal. Or is it? Yes, it is a big deal.*).

(5) 12.31 PM

Mathew sends a text message to the head of the station’s news department, who had called him earlier that morning, to tell him that he is not pursuing the story any further: “He will be happy”, Mathew says. Next, he calls the radio journalist who had interviewed the girl and tells him he “gives up a little” (on “abandonne un peu”). On the way back to the newsroom, Mathew is philosophical, almost emotional: there are so many different perspectives on reality, he says. He insists that he’s got no regrets. “I’m specialized in street interviews, but not with such easy prey”, using exactly the same words he had used at the start of the adventure.

(6) 13.00 PM

We arrive at the newsroom just in time to watch the one o’clock news on the overhead monitors, together with a number of other staff. There is not a single word about the alleged reframing of the candidate’s campaign picture, even if Mathew and his technical crew had spent the entire morning working on the case.

While it is clear that the morning’s rollercoaster of events has given us exceptional insight into what can be seen as a rather extreme case of journalistic soul-searching, with Mathew ultimately deciding that there is not enough evidence to assume that the candidate’s veil was deliberately hidden, it should be noted that that was not the end of the case. Within minutes of arriving at the newsroom, it became obvious that the story of the reframed campaign picture would have to be covered for the evening news. The reason for this sudden change is very simple: not only had the national news agency as well as the station's own website written about the story (as we have already pointed out), more importantly the station's direct commercial competitor had covered the story in their one o'clock news. This meant that, all at once, there was no further need for evidence of malice and the morning's many hesitations had instantly turned into a distant memory. As a result of the editorial decision-making process at another news medium, the alleged reframing had become national headline news and there was no way the station could afford not to cover it. Actually, two days later the candidate was world news with an article in the French daily quality newspaper *Le Monde* entitled "Polémique en Belgique autour d'une candidate musulmane voilée" (*Debate in Belgium around muslim candidate with a veil*).

3.2. Interviews with the desk chief and with Mathew

Around two o'clock I was able to interview the desk chief. It becomes clear from the very beginning of the interview that election times are special: journalists need to be extra cautious when reporting about politics as the whole country is watching them. The desk chief, who is a junior member of staff serving as a stand-in, seems particularly sensitive about this and it turns out that he wasn't encouraging Mathew to cover the reframing story. In his view, most journalists are simply too strong-minded and self-confident:

(7) Je trouve qu'une des caractéristiques des journalistes
I believe that one of the characteristics of journalists
c'est leur côté extrêmement péremptoire, on dit très sûrs d'eux.
Is their extreme strong-mindedness, let's say very sure about themselves.
Oui, mais enfin c'est évident. Non, c'est pas si évident que ça et il suffit qu'un autre
Yes, but it's self-evident. No, it's not that self-evident and as soon as another one
tout à coup a un point de vue différent mais il le défend avec plus de force
suddenly has a different point of view but he defends it with more force
et puis l'inverse sera l'évidence quoi et la difficulté est parfois là.
and the opposite will be self-evident and this is what makes it difficult sometimes.

It's difficult to believe that the desk chief is saying all this at the end of the morning when he had been in constant touch with Mathew about the reframing case. Surely, Mathew had been less than strong-minded and self-assured in deciding if he should cover the story. Mathew did act extremely cautiously and at no point did he seem to be taking for granted that the story of the candidate wearing a veil should or should not be published. In the same part of the interview the desk chief calls for clear policy documents to serve as a guide for editorial decision-making and to reduce the inevitable arbitrariness surrounding all journalistic activity, but it remains to be seen if the morning's events had led to a different result if such explicit guidelines had been available.

I was in the newsroom for the rest of the day paying close attention to what was happening, but for some reason little or nothing was said about how and why Mathew and his colleagues decided to cover the reframing story after all: to everyone present the decision looked automatic and not worth talking about. My intuition was that, after the morning's events and the failure to cover the reframing story, the mood was rather negative so I did not want to make things worse by raising questions about what had obviously developed into a delicate issue. "It's not a big deal", Mathew had told me as if he wanted to finally close the debate. Interestingly, however, towards the end of a long and frustrating day, it was Mathew himself who invited me for an interview. Clearly, he felt a strong need to account for the reframing story and how he had dealt with it: while I started out with a very general opening about what in his view counted as news, he was eager to illustrate his definition by addressing "the morning's events".

Early on in the interview, Mathew insists that he should have covered the reframing story after all:

(8) Quelque part il y a quand même eu un hiatus parce que tout le monde en a parlé
Somewhere there must have been a hiatus because everyone has talked about it
donc on ne peut pas non plus on n'est pas une île, on doit à un moment donné
so you can't you're not an island, at a certain moment you have to
faire la même chose que les autres
do the same thing as the others

He seems to point to what Messner & Watson DiStaso (2008) have coined "intermedia agenda-setting": news is what (other) news media speak and write about; put differently, what makes an event worth reporting is that it has been reported on before. This special brand of intertextuality has been a dominant concern in a lot of recent work on media discourse - see, for example, Cotter (2010) on how some of the big US newspapers, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, share their next-day story budgets as well as John B. Thompson's early 1995 notion of "extended mediazation" (Thompson 1995); Mathew too seems to conclude that since a number of other media had decided to cover the alleged reframing of the veil, surely there must have been something newsworthy about it. Throughout the morning he had tried to be careful, especially since election times can be very sensitive, but at the end of the day, the conclusion is inevitable:

(9) On n'est pas une île déserte. Quand les gens en parlent,
You're not a deserted island. When people talk about it,
quand c'est dans les journaux, dans beaucoup de sites,
when it's in the newspapers, on many sites
on voit que les sites des journaux en parlent,
you see that the newspaper websites talk about it
on voit que Belga TV dans son journal télévisé de 15 h en parle,
you see that Belga TV talks about it in its 15.00 PM TV news broadcast
on doit en parler aussi.
You have to talk about it too.

In other words: if all these media cover the story, then it's not just that Mathew has to cover it too - it must be news as well, Mathew seems to conclude, as he refers to a break in the social order, to a hiatus.

(10) À partir du moment où je parle de de de de casser l'ordre social,
From the moment I talk about about about about breaking the social order
le fait que beaucoup de gens en parlent montre à quel point l'ordre social est cassé
That a lot of people talk about it shows to what extent the social order is broken
Le fait que beaucoup de gens en parlent fait que l'hiatus est clair
The fact that a lot of people talk about it makes the hiatus clear.

Towards the end of the interview, Mathew's wrap-up of what could have been a frustrating day, turns out to be surprisingly optimistic, definitely more so than the desk chief who earlier that afternoon had shown himself distrustful of the people he was working with. In contrast, looking back at his own 21-year track record in journalism, Mathew says that today's journalists are "a lot less biased, a lot less ideologized"; they are "more serious", "more inventive" and, perhaps most surprising of all, “more free”. Viewers and readers, on the other hand, are so much better educated, so much more informed, Mathew says, that you couldn’t manipulate them even if you wanted to. He concludes that the complicity between media and politics is a thing of the past. On closer scrutiny, it can be argued that the day’s events, which we have tried to scrupulously describe in this paper, serve as a unique illustration of exactly that: both the painstakingly slow decision-making process resulting in no news in the morning and the subsequent, almost automatic U-turn decision to cover the reframing in the evening news show serious journalism at work.

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have presented a single-case study of the minute-by-minute unravelling of the coverage of a political news item by a journalist in the television newsroom of a national French-language public broadcasting corporation in Europe. The data provide a unique close up of newsmaking practice on a politically delicate issue, with the individual journalist emerging as a responsible and sensitive professional, who is realistic and thoughtful about his own actions, and in tune with what other media are covering and savvy about the workings of the news business as a whole.

Of course the study reported here has its limitations. Questions can be raised about the impact of the researcher who is continuously interviewing, following, overhearing and taking notes, and hence about the reliability of the journalist’s constant self-reflections, questioning his own actions and thinking out loud about them.

In an essay entitled “Why Ethnography Matters”, Didier Fassin argues that ethnography is particularly relevant in the understudied regions of society, but can be significant also in spaces saturated by consensual meanings: in the first case, it illuminates the unknown; in the second, it interrogates the obvious. He concludes that “[t]o play its possible social role, ethnography must be simultaneously critical and public” (Fassin 2013: 642). I would like to suggest that the kind of linguistic ethnographic work on news production presented here provides exciting opportunities for reflecting on the challenges involved in realizing this double ambition of going critical and public at the same time. It could be argued that the mainstream news media that are investigated here are both "understudied" and "saturated by consensual meaning" and that hence our work can (and should) both illuminate the unknown and interrogate the obvious. In doing so, it can hopefully contribute to the promising new field of media linguistics, which argues that no analysis of the language of the news can be complete without a thorough consideration of the contextual dynamics in which it has emerged (see Perrin 2013).

References

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*, Cambridge,

Cambridge University Press.

FAIRCLOUGH, Norman (1995), *Media Discourse*, London, Edward Arnold.

FASSIN, Didier (2013). « Why Ethnography Matters: On Anthropology and its Publics », *Cultural Anthropology 28*, 621-646.

JACOBS, Geert & Stef SLEMBROUCK (2010), « Notes on linguistic ethnography as a liminal activity », *Text and Talk 30 (2)*, 235-244.

MESSNER, M. & M. Watson DISTASO (2008). « The source cycle. How traditional media and weblogs use each other as sources », *Journalism Studies, 9 (3)*, 447-463.

NT&T (2011) « Towards a Linguistics of News Production », *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*, 1843-1852.

OBERHUBER, Florian & Michal KRZYŻANOWSKI (2008), « Discourse Analysis and Ethnography ». In WODAK Ruth *et al* (eds), *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan, 182-203.

ÖSTMAN, Jan-Ola (1995), « Explicating implicitness. Pragmatics, ideology and contacts », *Bulletin 2*, 4-7.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The Linguistics of Newswriting*, Amsterdam/New York, John Benjamins.

RAMPTON Ben *et al*. « UK Linguistic Ethnography: a discussion paper ». Unpublished paper.

Available online: http://www.ling-ethnog.org.uk/documents/discussion_paper_jan_05.pdf

SCHRØDER, Kim Christian, (2007). « Media discourse analysis: researching cultural meanings from inception to reception ». *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation*, *2 (2)*, 77-99.

THOMPSON, John B. (1995), *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

VERSCHUEREN, Jef (1985), *International News Reporting: metapragmatic metaphors and the U-2*, Amsterdam/New York, John Benjamins.

WILLIS, Paul & Mats TRONDMAN (2000), « Manifesto for Ethnography », *Ethnography 1 (1)*, 5-16.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 25-56

TELLING STORIES FROM THE NEWSROOM: A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF DRAMATIZATION IN BROADCAST NEWS

Gilles MERMINOD
University of Lausanne
gilles.merminod@unil.ch

Abstract

Drawing on Linguistic Ethnography and Narrative Studies, the paper hones in on the on-going production of a news item about an airplane crash in Indonesia broadcasted by the Swiss French-speaking public TV in 2007. It shows how telling a story in the news is a team performance: from the structuring of the narrative to the dramatization of the reported events. The analysis focuses on a preliminary narrative sequence occurring at the beginning of the news item. It details step by step how and on the basis of what criteria media practitioners negotiate their narrative choices and what leads them to adopt a particular narrative configuration over another.

Keywords: Narrative practices, Storytelling, News, Dramatization, Linguistic Ethnography.

1. Narrative practices in the broadcast news

The article[1] aims to give a linguistic ethnographic account of narrative practices in the newsroom through a single case analysis. To this end, we approach both the media product, the news item, and the on-going media production, the news-making process. The paper deals with a set of data collected in 2007 at the French-speaking public TV broadcasting corporation in Switzerland and, in particular, data relating to a news item about an airplane crash in Indonesia. We focus on the on-going production of the news item and show how telling a story for a broadcast is a *team performance* (Goffman 1959). More precisely, the paper focuses on the collaborative structuring and dramatization of a preliminary narrative sequence occurring at the beginning of the news item.

Our approach to storytelling in broadcast news falls into the context of a twofold shift: on the one hand, from *news products* to *news production* in media

[1] A first draft of the article has been published in the King's College Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies series (WPULL 197).

linguistics (Perrin 2006, 2013; Cotter 2010; Jacobs, Van Hout & Van Praet 2011; Burger & Perrin 2014); on the other hand, from *texts* to *practices* in sociolinguistic and discourse perspectives on narrative (Georgakopoulou 2007; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2008, 2012). Thinking in terms of *narrative practices* in the *news production process* helps to solve a paradox raised by Montgomery (2005, 2007) showing that textual structure of television news (because it combines text and picture) appears to differ significantly from a common narrative form: "[T]elevision news presents actions which are often incomplete and where no identifiable character or protagonist is offered to help structure the subjective identification of the viewer […] television news in its textual particulars quite simply fails to exhibit story-telling characteristics. On the contrary, the core principle of intelligibility in television news reports might be summed up as the convincing deployment of pictures – and, in this respect, narrative is only an occasional discursive resource […]." (Montgomery 2005: 240). According to him, television news relies more on pictures than on stories with the result that the text is more a commentary of the images than a narrative in itself (Montgomery 2005: 251-252). Consequently, television news would not be narrative, and journalists would not be the "professional story-tellers of our age" (Bell 1994: 100).

This does not seem so from a news production perspective: "in their manipulation of temporal elements, reporters are not stenographers or transcribers; they are storytellers and interpreters" (Cotter 2015: 805). Naturally, the ways of telling a news story vary depending on several factors such as story complexity, journalistic style, available semiotic resources or allocated space/time (Perrin 2011). Likewise, as stated by the small stories research, "it does not make sense to talk about narrative as an undifferentiated whole or one homogeneous genre but as many genres closely associated with routine ways of telling stories in different contexts" (Georgakopoulou 2016: 257-258). Thus, if news texts do not always show a full-fledged narrative structure, it seems nevertheless relevant to study the news *as* or *related to* narrative practices[2].

[2] Moreover, we must take into account the ability of the audience to build stories from scattered information (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2013a) or through serialized events (e.g. Revaz & Baroni 2007). See also Perrin & Zampa (2018).

2. Data and methodology

We briefly present the data and the methodology we use to describe and analyse the complex phenomenon that telling a story from a newsroom is.

2.1. Data

Our paper exploits data collected at the International News of the French-speaking public TV broadcasting in Switzerland by the SSR-SRG Project (Perrin *et al*. 2008; Perrin 2013). The data documents the news production and products related to a single event, an airplane crash in 2007 in Indonesia (Burger 2011; Perrin 2013; Zampa 2017; Merminod 2018; Merminod & Burger *forthcoming*). Our data consists of computer loggings and audio-video recordings, as follows: 1 news item (from the noon edition); 3 editorial conferences (in the morning); 1 sequence of working sessions involving CA, the journalist in charge (in the morning); 1 computer logging (in the morning); 2 interviews with CA (a biographical and a retrospective one). Because of its focus on storytelling as a *team performance*, this paper emphasizes interactional data and only occasionally uses the other sets of data. The news items were broadcast in the TV news Bulletin of the French speaking public channel for the noon and the evening editions.

Excerpt 1: the news item (news Bulletin 07.03.2007, 12:46-12:47 pm)[3]

	**Anc1**[4]	We begin with news from another aviation catastrophe this morning in Indonesia.
 	**Anc2**	It is a Boeing 737 of the national company Garuda that crashed upon landing on the island of Java killing about twenty people. Most of the passengers were Indonesians but a delegation of Australian diplomats and journalists was also on board. Warning: some footage might be shocking. They are commentated on by CA.
 	**Over**	A few moments after the crash, the desperate escape, far from the Boeing, for one of the survivors. This passenger is not yet safe but his camera is on. No fewer than one hundred and twelve passengers, among the one hundred and thirty-three transported by the Indonesian company Garuda, survived, and six out of seven members of the crew. But many are injured. The statement of a security officer at the airport in Yogyakarta.
	**Witt**	I heard two explosions and I pulled four people out of the airplane, safe and sound. About thirty passengers were already outside, and they too were all alive.
 	**Over**	Twenty-one people, however, did not manage to get out of the airplane and died, incinerated, trapped by the flames in the front part of the airplane. At the moment of the landing, the passengers had been warned that the Boeing was going to encounter strong turbulence. It hit the runway at excessive speed. The airplane rebounded on the tarmac twice before crashing violently into a rice field three hundred meters away and burning up completely.

2.2. A linguistic ethnographic approach to newsroom activities

Even though it seems to be one of the best means to apprehend the complexity of the news, "until fairly recently, very few researchers with training in linguistics would have considered venturing into a newsroom to observe journalists going about their daily business of making news" (NT&T 2011: 1843-1844). Virtually, the linguistics of news production combined with newsroom ethnography allows us to consider news stories as embedded in a twofold process. Following Jacobs & Slembrouck (2010), we heuristically mobilise Goffman (1959) and his dramaturgical metaphor distinguishing the *front stage* from the *backstage*. The *front stage* is what is accessible to the audience, the media representation. The

[3] The data is originally in French. Additionally, it should be noted that the anchors' preface is written by the journalist around noon (11:56 am - 12:00 pm), *i.e.* after the writing of the news item (mainly written between 11:07 am and 11:55 am).
[4] Anc1: Newsreader 1; Anc2: Newsreader 2; Over: Voice Over; Witt: Witness.

backstage is not public and only reachable by media practitioners: it is where useful material for the representation (*i.e.* the broadcast item) is collected, assembled and gathered round. It is the site where the actors of the representation can have another discourse – partly a reflexive discourse – about the representation.

Seen front stage, a news story can be approached as a product and a process: a structure representing events by verbal and iconic means that is embedded in a media performance introduced to an audience by an anchorman. *Seen backstage*, a news story is a product in process – *i.e.* an on-going production caught up in a complex network of practices – which is achieved by a team of practitioners from several fields who ultimately speak as one actor, the broadcast. Because practitioners represent, confront and evaluate their own narrative choices backstage[5], they provide the analysts with interesting representations of what is at stake when it comes to telling a story on the broadcast news. For the practitioners, these negotiations are sites of reflexivity in which they can more or less overtly exhibit the way they understand what they do and recount their understanding of what the others do. At the same time informing the 'social meaning' of a specific practice for a given community, these sites of reflexivity inform the analysts about it (Jaworski, Coupland & Galasinski 2004).

Drawing on Linguistic Ethnography (Rampton *et al.* 2004; Blommaert 2007; Maybin & Tusting 2011; Rampton 2014), we use "analytic tools from linguistics and discourse analysis embedded in an ethnographic epistemology […]. This means that the apparatus of linguistics and discourse analysis are treated as a set of 'sensitising' concepts, […] the point is that paradigms do not have to be a swallowed whole" (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2015: 33-36). Such a perspective is grounded in diverse sets of data "in order to understand the complexity of social events" (Snell, Shaw & Copland 2015: 10). For the purpose of this article, we employ tools from interactional and narrative studies. On the one hand, we use Conversation Analysis applied to institutional talk (Drew & Heritage 1992; Heritage & Clayman 2010) and Goffman's descriptive apparatus (Goffman 1959, 1981) to follow step by step the interactional moves leading to one particular narrative structure. On the other hand, we exploit analytic tools developed in Narratology (Fludernik 1996; Baroni 2007; Herman 2009) to

[5] Generally emerging from a negotiation with or a confrontation to the others (Burger & Delaloye 2016), explicit representations can also emerge from a negotiation with oneself (Zampa & Perrin 2016).

understand the issues of choosing one particular narrative configuration from several possibilities.

3. Narrative practices in the newsroom

Narrative practices are relating to *ways of telling* (Hymes 1996; Georgakopoulou 2007, 2013b)[6] that have family resemblances: they are *semiotic methods* for expressing and organizing human experience through time. How people tell stories, the *tasks* they accomplish to do so, is always context-sensitive (Georgakopoulou 2007). It "is a process that raises different types of action and tasks for different interlocutors and is ultimately shaped online. [Narratives] emerge as a joint venture and as the outcome of negotiation by interlocutors" (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012: 44). Because of the prefabricated nature of the news item and because of the delayed interaction between the mediators (the tellers) and the audience (the recipients)[7], most of the negotiations that shape the telling are hidden backstage. In the present paper, we analyse how the structuring of the telling and the dramatizing of the events are a joint venture involving different actors in the newsroom. To this end, we work on a sequence placed at the beginning of the news item. It depicts the escape of one passenger after the crash.

[6] "Ways of telling refer to the communicative how: the socioculturally shaped and more ore less conventionalized semiotic and in particular verbal choices of a discourse activity" (Georgakopoulou 2013b: 202).

[7] In most cases, the audience cannot directly and immediately intervene in the media, particularly in the case of news items that are written and recorded before the newscast.

Excerpt 2: the escape (news Bulletin 07.03.2007, 12:47 pm)

Time	Footage	Voice Over
12 sec.	 *#1*  *#2*  *#3*  *#4*  *#5*  *#6* ***Soundtrack:*** *heavy breathing, voice saying 'oh my god', aircraft noises, explosions.*	(5 sec.) **A few moments after the crash,** *Quelques instants après le crash,* **the desperate escape, far from the Boeing,** *la fuite éperdue, loin du Boeing,* **for one of the survivors.** *de l'un des survivants.* **this passenger is not yet safe,** *Ce passager n'est pas encore à l'abri,*
10 sec.	 *#7*  *#8*  *#9* ***Soundtrack:*** *explosions, voices, aircraft noises.*	**but his camera is on.** *mais sa caméra est enclenchée .* […]

The narrative sequence stages the experience of a person escaping from the crashed aircraft. It shows how he reacts to the catastrophe. The news item begins in the heat of the moment: the escape is introduced before its cause, the crash. What leads to structuring the news with a beginning *in medias res*? And what motivates a narrative configuration that is mainly grounded in the particular experience of one person rather than several? To answer these questions, we first analyse how media practitioners (a journalist and a cutter) negotiate the structure of this narrative sequence (3.1.) and then how they dramatize it (3.2.).

Prior to that, it is worth mentioning that the journalist responsible for the story (CA) sees newswriting for the television as a collaborative achievement. As Perrin observed, "he prefers collaborating with cutters for two reasons: first, 'video editing is a profession in itself', and second, 'I like the feedback, you know it's an exchange which is creative and profitable'. Although some cutters would expect the journalist to come to the cutting room with a completed text, the 'good cutter would not appreciate this'. Instead, they prefer working 'in connection' with the journalist" (Perrin 2013: 72). For CA, television is thereby different to the written press in which the journalist is somewhat more independent, as he explains in the biographical interview: "The television is a much heavier machine. When you work in the written press, you are more alone, you are much more independent. In some sense, you depend less on a cutter […] on a heavier structure. […] There are also certainly fundamental differences when it comes to journalistic work on television and in the written press because you write texts. On television, you work with sound, with images. This is quite different." (Biographical interview, March 5th 2007; our translation). As we will see, CA does not only perceive his work as collaborative but also carries it out as such. On March 7th 2007, after the topic was assigned to him during one of the morning editorial meetings, CA retrieved information at his desk, and then met the cutter (DS) in the cutting room to produce the news item. It is in the cutting room that most of the work on the story was done in collaboration with the cutter. CA and DS worked together from approximately 10:55 am to 12:35 pm. The parts we analyse occur from 10:57 am to 11:20 am.

3.1. Structuring the telling with sounds and images

In this part, we analyse how the journalist and the cutter successively suggest different schematic versions of the news item. As they watch together the video footages provided by news agencies, they consider several ways of structuring the telling. Their work is mostly guided by the footage they are watching.

3.1.1. Choosing a beginning

At 10:57 am, as they are trying to identify the source of the amateur footage displayed on the cutting room's screens, the cutter provides a first suggestion for a beginning ("You could have started your subject by saying that these are images taken, you see, by the tourists."). But this suggestion does not seem to fit with the stylistic expectations of the journalist ("Yeah well, pff, amateur images."). A few minutes later (10:59 am), as they decide to start the cutting, the cutter suggests again an option of beginning. He points at the amateur footage on the screens with a deictic marker ("that that's for us […] that's the beginning", l. 6, 7 and 9, below): the footage shows a person who is both filming and running on the footage. After that, a heavy breathing comes from the technical desk, during 2 seconds (l.11, below). The journalist underlines the strength of the *breathing* sound by the means of gestures (l.12, below) and the cutter acknowledges it as a relevant concurrent solution to the *running* sequence he previously suggested (l.13, below).

Excerpt 3: choosing a beginning I (Cutting room, 10:59-11:00 am)[8]

1 J **[right well it does]**
[bon ben ça fai:t]
2 C **[after we’ll have to slowly start] cutting**
[après il faudra qu'on commence] à monter gentiment quoi
3 **but I think it's going to be easy (.)**
mais j'pense ça va être facile quoi (.)
4 **but you’ll have (.) to**
mais il faudra (.) qu'toi tu
5 **(2)**
6 C **<((looking at the screen)) ça>**
<((looking at the screen)) ça>
7 **that’s for us**
c'est pour nous ça
8 **(2)**
9 C **that [that’s the] beginning er (.) of of [of]**
ça [c'est l']début eu:h (.) de d- [d-]
10 J **[well] [we’re going to slowly start]**
[bien] [on] va commencer gentiment à::
11 **((heavy breathing coming from the technical desk))**
12 J **<#1 we hear the the breathing sound> of the guy who’s running**
<#1 on entend le le son d'la la respiration> du type qui court

#1

ima ***#1 J opens his hands in front of him***

13 C **that’s maybe better than the other one who’s running no/ (.)**
c'est p'tête mieux que l'autre qui court hein/ (.)
14 **that’s right/ no but here he stopped**
c'est juste/ non mais là il s'est arrêté

---

[8]Transcription conventions are based on ICOR (http://icar.univ-lyon2.fr/projets/corinte).

/ \	rising/ falling\ intonational shift	[]	overlapping
(.)	micro-pause (max. 0.3)	(..)	pause (min. 0.3 - max. 0.6)
(n)	pause in seconds	x	inaudible segment
:	phonic lengthening	=	immediate linking
#n	long multimodal description	(( ))	shorter multimodal description
<>	delimitation of described phenomena	(word)	transcriber’s hesitation
h	salient breathing	&	turn extension after an overlap
-	truncation	*ita*	French original

The speaker’s name is indicated on the left (C: Cutter; J: Journalist). The numbers on the left refer to the transcribed lines.

Here emerge two options of how to begin: either with *the person who is running* or with *the breathing sound*. Both options are parts of the same footage. They are filmed with a point of view perspective. The first one indicates an action in progress (a person is running and filming) while the second one presents the result of the previous action (a person is breathing heavily while filming the surroundings of the crash in wide shot). While the first one visually emphasizes the intensity of the experience lived by the person, the second one does this phonically.

Excerpt 4: the running option

Sec. 1	**Sec. 5**	**Sec. 10**	**Sec. 15**
			
st:[9] *voices, aircraft noises, sounds made by somebody running.*	***st:*** *voices, aircraft noises, sounds made by somebody running.*	***st:*** *voices, aircraft noises.*	***st:*** *voices, aircraft noises.*

Excerpt 5: the breathing option

Sec. 1	**Sec. 5**	**Sec. 10**	**Sec. 15**
			
st: *heavy breathing, voice saying 'oh my god', voices, aircraft noises.*	***st:*** *heavy breathing, voices, aircraft noises.*	***st:*** *heavy breathing, voices, aircraft noises.*	***st:*** *heavy breathing, voices, aircraft noises.*

At this point of the production process, the cutter and the journalist's opinions converge. Nevertheless, their opinion quickly differs: as the cutter reconsiders the *running* option (l.16, below), the journalist emphasizes the strength of the breathing sound by the means of multimodal resources (l.17-25, below). To this end, the journalist imitates the breathing sound not only 'phonically' (by breathing himself loudly) but also 'corporally' (by placing an open hand on his chest). By

[9] Footage soundtrack.

doing so for 10 seconds, he embodies a behaviour existing in the video footage and, in this way, emphasizes its significance.

Excerpt 6: choosing a beginning II (Cutting room, 11:00 am)

15		**((C replays the breathing sound sequence))**
16	**C**	**x the other one who’s running that’s not bad either no/=**
		x l'autre qui court c'est quand même pas mal non plus hein/=
17	**J**	**=that’s str- <#2 th- th- th- the sound**
		=c'est f- <#2 c- l- l- le son
		#2
	ima	***#2 J puts his right hand on the chest and keeps it until 25***
18		**(.) yeah but the .h wait the the sound of the h::f::**
		(.) ouais mais le .h attends le le bruit du h::f::
19		**the breathing sound it’s strong no/**
		la respiration elle est forte hein/
20		**(..)**
21	**C**	**yeah yeah I can [put] it under if you want=**
		ouais ouais j'peux t'l[e met]tre dessous si tu veux=
22	**J**	**[xx] =xx=**
		[xx] =xx=
23	**C**	**=it’s not cheating**
		=c'est pas tricher
24		**(3)**
25	**J**	**yeah>**
		ou:ai:s>
26		**(2.5)**
27	**C**	**that that’s real experience isn’t it/**
		ça c'est du vécu hein/
28		**(...)**
29	**J**	**that that is expressed strongly huh you can let talk (..)**
		ça ça s'exprime fort hein tu peux laisser parler (..)

After the journalist’s insistence on the breathing sound, the cutter suggests mixing the two options (l.21 and 23), which is acknowledged by the journalist (l.25). Watching the footage, the cutter underlines the authenticity that emerges from the breathing sound (l.27). In a convergent way, the journalist accounts for the strength of the material they are working on (l.29 and, below, l.30) and suggests a way to use it ("you can let talk", l.29)[10]. The cutter refuses it for a technical reason (l.34-36, below).

Excerpt 7: choosing a beginning III (Cutting room, 11:00 am)

30 J **and then here there are people leaving that's strong that**
et pis là y a des gens qui s'tirent c'est fort ça
31 **(..)**
32 C **yeah but it's [s::]**
ouais mais c'est [s::]
33 J **[maybe] better than the shaking [image no/]**
[peut-être] mieux qu'l'image [tremblée: hein/]
34 C **[it's always in]**
[c'est toujours en]
35 **it's always in wide shot er**
c'est toujours en plan large euh
36 **it's going to be difficult to cut if you want**
ça va être difficile à r'couper si tu veux
37 J **in wide shot/**
en plan large/
38 **(...)**
39 C **well <you see> [just a] bit difficult to cut&**
enfin <tu vois> [juste un] peu difficile à monter&
40 J **[xx]**
[xx]
41 C **&and all that**
&et tout quoi
42 **(..)**
43 J **oh yeah it it's shaking a lot isn't it**
ah ouais ça ça tremble vachement hein/
44 **(..)**
45 J **no**
non
46 C **no that's not it it's always in wide shot you know and**
non c'est pas ça il est toujours en large tu sais et
47 **(.) I cannot**
(.) j'peux pas
48 **(..)**
49 J **I think there was a x=**
j'crois qu'y avait un x=
50 **=((a heavy breathing sound comes from the technical desk))**
51 J **<here we hear <#3 the H:: H:: H::>**


#3

[10] Incidentally, during the retrospective interview, the journalist comes back on the significance of the breathing. While he is commenting the computer log where his writing moves are recorded, he says: "I use these slashes. It means pauses. To let speak the image, it's what that means. […] Here it's mostly a heavy breathing […] At one point, we heard the guy who runs doing ((the journalist mimics a heavy breathing))" (Retrospective interview, 19:38, March 7th 2007; our translation).

	ima	***#3 J imitates the fact of breathing heavily***
52		**(2)**
53	**C**	**we'll find a way (..) okay**
		on va s'arranger (..) okay

After the journalist's suggestion (l.29-30), the cutter formats his turn in a counter-argumentative way ("yeah but it's", l.32). Nevertheless, his turn is syntactically and semantically incomplete when the journalist completes it with a comparative construction ("maybe better than the shaking images ", l.33), which supports the suggestion he previously made (l.29-30). At the same time, he points out a technical problem with the *running* option's footage. In the following turn, the cutter uses the same syntactical format as in his previous turn to highlight a problem in the *breathing sound* option's footage ("it's always in wide shot […] it's going to be difficult to cut", l.35-36; also l.39 and 41). They both maintain their stance and repeat them (l.43-47) until the journalist comments on a heavy breathing sound coming from the technical desk (l.50). Then, the journalist embodies once again the breathing sound (l.51). The cutter moves towards a kind of consensus ("we'll find a way (..) okay ", l.53). We can summarize the negotiation between the two practitioners as follows.

Excerpt 8: Overview of the negotiation (Cutting room, 10:59-11:00 am)

Time	Cutter	Journalist
10:59	C signals *the person who is running* as an option of beginning (6, 7, 9)	
10:59		J points out *the breathing sound* (12)
10:59	C underlines the interest of the *breathing sound* (13-14)	
10:59	C underlines the interest of *the person who is running* (16)	
11:00		J insists on the strength of *the breathing sound* and embodies it (17-19)
11:00	C suggests to mix *the breathing sound* with the images of *the person who is running* (21, 23)	
11:00	C observes the authenticity of *the breathing sound* (27)	
11:00		J insists on the strength of *the breathing sound option* (29-30)
11:00		J points out the poor quality of the images of *the person who is running* (33)

11:00	C explains the technical difficulties related to *the breathing sound option* (34-36, 39, 41)	
11:00		J points out the poor quality of the images of *the person who is running* (43)
11:00	C explains the technical difficulties related to the images of *the breathing sound option* (46-47)	
11:00		J insists on the strength of *the breathing sound* and embodies it (51)
11:00	C moves towards a consensus (53)	

The negotiation between the two practitioners shows two sets of arguments which lead to the selection of the footage and, thus, to the structuring of the news. On the one hand, there are arguments related to the technical use of the footage (their quality and their usability). On the other hand, there are arguments related to the footage's expressive strength (their intensity and their authenticity).

More precisely, the second set of arguments concerns the strength with which the footage expresses the experience. As "[n]arrative roots itself in the lived, felt experience of human or human-like agents interacting in an ongoing way with their cohorts and surrounding environment" (Herman 2009: 21), these arguments echo a narrative dimension of the footage. When the journalist embodies the breathing sound, he underlines this dimension. And, because what it is represented is the experience of another (a vicarious experience), "the empathetic identification of the observer with the agent or experiencer who is focused on, directly correlates with the given *perceptual* focalization and with the cognization of what therefore constitutes itself as an incidence" (Fludernik 1996: 75). Actually, the negotiation between the two practitioners is about the best means to project oneself into the experience of the agent: a visual means (the camera moves) or an audio means (the breathing sound), both signalling the action's intensity.

The mediation of documents impacts the telling: here, the competition between sound and images plays an important part in the way the journalist and the cutter configure the beginning of the news. So, what is at stake is to know if it is better to emphasize a visual that allows us to see what a person is seeing when escaping a crash or to choose a sound that insists on the intensity of the running and the state of the runner. In narratological terms, the negotiation is about how to stage an *intern occularization* and *auricularization* (Jost 1989)[11], that is to say how to manage the way recipient(s) see(s) and hear(s) what the character sees and hears. Thus, for the practitioners, the question is the following: is it better to favour an experience as *an agent in the events* (the one who is escaping) or as *an audience of the event* (the one who is watching the plane burning)? The practitioners could prefer to stage the *agent in the events* because of its ability to signal the intensity of the experience. However, this choice is made more complex because, in the footage where the character has an audience positioning, the heavy breathing indicates the intensity of the experience and provides a form of authenticity.

3.1.2. (Dis)agreeing about a structure

As we have seen above, the cutter expresses a kind of consensus regarding the significance of the breathing sound. Then immediately, the journalist suggests a complete structure of the news item (11:00-11:01 am). We can sum up the journalist's suggestion as follows: a wide angle shot where the catastrophe took place, images of the crashed plane, images of people running away, the audio recording of the airport security guard and finally the recapitulation of the events. Such a structure does not show a linear ordering of the events: the result (the crash) is introduced before the cause (the events that led to the crash). The non-linear order is explained by the fact there are available images of the result[12] but not of the cause. So, in the journalist's suggestion, the news item already begins in the heat of the moment as in the final product (excerpts 1 and 2). Nevertheless, in comparison with the final product, the beginning in the journalist's suggestion offers a 'contextual' perspective rather than an individual one. The journalist's suggestion sets the scene rather than draws the trajectory of a specific character. The cutter refuses this part of the journalist's suggestion, insisting on his preference for a beginning focused on a specific character. At that moment of the production, the practitioners have not yet reached an explicit agreement about the news item structure.

A few moment later (11:02 am), the cutter states there are not so many images to use ("We do not have ten thousand things"), which is acknowledged by the

[11] Following Jost (1989), we define an *intern occularization* as a focus on the visual perceptions situated in a character and an *auricularization* as a focus on the hearing perceptions.

[12] Moreover, this footage makes the story particularly tellable, as stated by the whole editorial board.

journalist. This leads the cutter to the conclusion they have to start with the footage of the man who is running ("We must start with that, yes"). A few moments later (11:03 am), the journalist asks the cutter whether the breathing sound will be present or not in the final assemblage ("We'll hear the breathing or not at all? This 'H'"). Once again, the journalist imitates the breathing sound 'phonically' (by breathing himself loudly) and 'corporally' (by stretching out his neck quickly). The cutter interprets his intervention as a request and offers to integrate the sound with the images of the *running* option ("I can put it on if you want"). Then, they decide to properly begin the cutting. This time, they reach an agreement on a schematic version of the general structure (11:04-11:06 am).

At first, the cutter signals he knows the shots he wants to use to open and to close the news item ("I want to put the first shot pretty long […] I pretty much have a first and a last shot and in-between filled with fire and blood you know", 11:04 am). The journalist acknowledges only a part of the cutter's suggestion ("Yes the fire. There are the first images we had […] that were very strong", 11:04-11:05 am), and then he lists the shots he thinks significant: "There are shots where we see the airport track" and "We should not forget to use the people watching" (11:05 am). Amongst the shots he lists, he does not explicitly name the *running person* one. Afterwards, the cutter begins his turn with a counter-argumentative marker and makes explicit his willingness to begin with the running person shot: "Yes but I really want to begin […] with the guy who's running" (11:05 am). Then, he offers once again to integrate the breathing sound to the images of the person who is running. He explains why he wishes to begin with such a shot: because of the point of view perspective, the images of the person who is running give a strong impression of a passenger who is escaping immediately after the crash. The journalist partly acknowledges the explanation of the cutter. Nevertheless, he stresses the importance of using images that show a collective experience rather than an individual one in the rest of the news item: "Yes but after you'll still put the people getting out […] We need to see them" (11:05 am). The cutter concurs with this comment. As a result, the journalist agrees to begin with the *running* option, even if he does not show a complete acceptance of such a choice: "Yeah so let's try like this, okay […] We're at noon. We're doing a little experimenting. We'll see about the risks" (11:05-11:06 am).

A few moments later, because of the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the journalist, the cutter clarifies his motivations for using this specific shot. In his opinion, these images are no longer those of a specific story of a particular individual but those of the generic story of any passenger escaping from a crash: "It's news […] It's the passenger who escapes […] In the background, you've got the plane burning" (11:06 am). By categorizing these images as "news", the cutter frames the individual experience as an emblematic one. He defuses the tension between the individual and the collective perspectives raised by the journalist as he displays that the *running* option functions as an account of a type of experience: *escaping*. Despite this explanation, such a beginning does not convince the journalist, especially because it does not fit with his stylistic credo of what the news has to be. However, he accepts it and, while the cutter starts the editing, he begins to round up elements for the writing. In the writing process, as we will see, the journalist exploits the 'script' suggested by the *running* option (*i.e.* the escape of a passenger) to dramatize the reported events.

In short, what are the key elements we can extract from the analysis of these first minutes of production? The footage leads the structuring of the news item, and especially the beginning. The criteria for choosing a beginning are technical (usability and quality of the images) but relate also to style (contextual appropriateness) and content (in terms of experience: intensity and authenticity of the account, individual *versus* collective experience, and specific *versus* generic experience; in terms of action: an on-going process *versus* a result).

3.2. Dramatizing the events through the writing

The joint structuring of the video shots contributes to the organisation and the motivation of the telling: on the one hand, by beginning the news item with an individual rather than a group, and, on the other hand, by choosing images that show an on-going action rather an action's result. This twofold choice impacts not only on what is verbally represented but also on the ways it is represented. It orients the teller(s) towards a specific narrative configuration, *i.e.* a particular selection and ordering of the narrated events. Here, the configuration consists of a non-linear representation of the course of events.

3.2.1. Dramatization in the news product

The narrative begins in the heat of the moment, with a scene that sets an agent between danger and safety (as he runs) and in which there is a high degree of uncertainty (as we do not know – at this precise moment – if he will reach a safe place or not). Moreover, beyond the dramatizing choice of the order of events, the way the character's actions are described can be in itself relatively dramatic, as a close analysis of the textual features shows.

From a grammatical perspective, the *escape sequence* consists of two sentences. The first one is composed by an adverbial phrase of time ("A few moments after the crash") followed by a noun phrase ("the desperate escape of one of the survivors") that is interrupted by an adverbial phrase of place ("far from the Boeing"). The first sentence clarifies the spatiotemporal parameters that are not indicated by the images. It gives the circumstances that help to contextualize the action represented. Because of the absence of a conjugated verb, the noun phrase contributes to an effect of immediacy. It functions as a comment on the images and gives them a narrative frame: it provides to the person who is running a motive (to escape from the danger), an intention (to be safe) and, in qualifying the action, an emotional state (the distress). Hence, the person who is running becomes an agent in a frame and with a purpose. The second sentence with two coordinated clauses gives a high agency to the agent facing the events. The structure "X but Y" dramatizes his action almost as an intrepid act: in using "but", the clause "his camera is on" is presented as involving an opposite conclusion to the one implied by "this passenger is not yet safe". By opposing the two clauses, the text shows an agent who acts in a different way to how he could best solve the problem he is faced with (*i.e. escaping as quickly as possible*).

Such a verbal description injects a dose of uncertainty into the course of the depicted events: this is no longer a person who is filming and running, this is not only a person who is escaping, this is also a person who is acting in such a way as to put his life at the risk. The events, or more accurately the actions, are then dramatized.

3.2.2. Dramatization in the news-writing production

As we said before, the narrative configuration and the dramatization of actions are grounded in the interpretation of the images. The way actions are described is a *crucial* and *complex* matter in the case where a vicarious experience is mostly mediated by the footage. This is *crucial* because "since other states of mind remain inaccessible from the viewpoint of an external observer, agency in and by itself seems to become the prime motor controlling others' activities and actions" (Fludernik 1996: 75). This is also *complex* because there is no previous narrative that already configures the vicarious experience. As an external observer, the teller must construct by himself a relevant narrative framework, *i.e.* the who, what, where, when, how and why. Thus, telling this vicarious experience requires assumptions about the character's reasons for action. To do so, the journalist and the cutter interpret raw material and configure it into a narrative that allows an understanding of what has happened. Even if the journalist is the actual writer, the narrative configuration in its verbal aspect is nonetheless the result of a joint interpretation of both practitioners.

The escape sequence was written by the journalist between 11:09 am and 11:17 am Before the writing itself, the joint interaction already provides descriptions that will then appear in the escape sequence. The descriptions can be proposed either by the journalist or the cutter. For instance, at 11:06 am, while they try to identify the person who is running, the journalist describes the scene as "*the desperate escape of a survivor"*. Even if the cutter does not go along with this description, the journalist will use it as a keystone of the text. The cutter also participates actively in the formulation of the descriptions: at 11:07 am, the journalist asks how to describe the immediacy of the images ("how do we say it so that people can understand*"*), the cutter offers then several formulations ("well you can say taken immediately a few seconds a few moments after the crash") and one of them, the last one, will appear in the final product. Likewise, the event categorizations[13] used to identify the character ("survivor" and "passenger") are the product of a joint construction during the first minutes of the news-making (Merminod & Burger *forthcoming*).

[13] An *event categorization* is a categorization that only mobilizes the narrative framework to describe an agent and does not use another social labels to provide identities. *Event categorisations* are built on the logic of represented actions, often conveying prototypical storylines.

Between 11:09 am and 11:17 am, while the cutter works on the footage, the journalist writes the *escape sequence*. We can summarize the main writing moves, as follows:

- From 11:09-11:10, a noun phrase ("the desperate escape"), then an adverbial phrase of place ("far from the Boeing"), then a complement of the noun phrase ("of one of the survivors").

  Result: "The desperate escape far from the Boeing of one of the survivors"

- From 11:11-11:13: a clause ("his camera is on"), then an adverbial phrase of time ("a few moments after the crash").

  Result: "A few moment after the crash, the desperate escape far from the Boeing of one of the survivors. His camera is on."

- From 11:15 to 11:17, a second clause ("this passenger is not yet safe"), then a conjunction ("but").

  Result: "A few moment after the crash, the desperate escape far from the Boeing of one of the survivors. This passenger is not yet safe but his camera is on."

Besides the separation of the writing into three moments, the summary draws attention to an interesting phenomenon: the order of appearance of the elements during the writing is not the same as the order of appearance in the written text. For instance, the adverbial phrase of time ("a few moments after the crash") that opens the text emerges only during the second moment of writing. Maybe of greater importance for our point is the integration, only in the third moment, of the second clause ("this passenger is not yet safe") with a coordinating conjunction that shows contrast ("but"). The character's positioning as highly agentive appears only in the third moment. As we will see, such a positioning emerges step-by-step during the writing because the journalist hesitates over different ways of telling that imply different configurations of the story. The table below documents in detail the writing moves made by the journalist between 11:15 am and 11:17 am

Excerpt 9: not yet safe I (Computer logging 11:15-11:17 am)[14]

Time	Op.	Text	Context
11:15	W	‘une quest’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… **une quest**sa caméra est enclenchée
11:15	E	‘une quest’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… sa caméra est enclenchée
11:16	W	‘alors même que l’a’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… **alors même que l’a**sa caméra est enclenchée
11:16	R	‘que l’a’ *by* ‘qu’il est loin’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… alors même **qu’il est loin** sa caméra est enclenchée
11:16	R	‘est loin’ *by* ‘n’est pas encore h’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… alors même **qu’il n’est pas encore h** sa caméra est enclenchée
11:17	R	‘alors même qu’il n’est pas encore’ *by* ‘il’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… **il** sa caméra est enclenchée
11:17	W	‘n’est pas encore à l’abri’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… **il n’est pas encore à l’abri** sa caméra est enclenchée
11:17	R	‘il’ *by* ‘ce passager’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… **ce passager n’est pas encore à l’abri** sa caméra est enclenchée
11:17	W	‘mais’	…Quelques instants après le crash, la fuite éperdue loin du Boeing de l’un des survivants… ce passager n’est pas encore à l’abri **mais** sa caméra est enclenchée

From 11:15 am to 11:17 am, we observe nine writing moves before reaching the final narrative configuration. At 11:15 am, the journalist writes “une quest” (*i.e.* the incomplete form of “a question”). Even though is difficult to analyse such a small fragment, we can assume it underlines to some degree the uncertainty of what is at stake. At 11:16 am, “une quest” is replaced by an incomplete concessive clause “alors même que l’a” (“even though the a”). Because of the context, we

[14] Writing moves: W = writing; R = replacement; C = correction; E = erasure.

can guess the incomplete word is “l’appareil” or “l’avion” (“the aircraft” or “the airplane”). As a concessive clause, “alors même que l’a” is subordinated to the clause “sa caméra est enclenchée” (“his camera is on”). Such a construction introduces a *narrative tension* (Baroni 2007) in the text as it puts together two clauses that have a relation of simultaneity and a relation of opposition. Then, “que l’a” (“the a”) is replaced by “qu’il est loin” (“he is far away”). If the structure is still a concessive one, the subject of the clause changes: the focus is on a human agent rather than the circumstances (the aircraft). Then, “est loin” (“is away”) is replaced by “n’est pas encore” (“is not yet”). In “est loin” (“is far away”) as well as in “n’est pas encore” (“is not yet”), there is the same idea of an action that has not yet reached its goal. The main difference between the two is that one of those (“is far away”) makes an evaluation of the distance from a goal while the other one (“is not yet”) only states the incomplete achievement of the action. At 11:17 am, the journalist replaces the concessive clause by a declarative one “il n’est pas encore à l’abri” (“he is not yet safe”) and specifies the goal to reach (safety). Then, he explicitly identifies the agent by replacing “il” (“he”) by “ce passager” (“this passenger”). It should be noted that the demonstrative determiner functions as an element of the anaphoric chain (taken between “one of the survivors” and “his camera”) and as a deictic marker (by pointing at the images). Finally, the journalist brings the adversative logic back by adding the conjunction “mais” (“but”) between the two clauses (“ce passager n’est pas encore à l’abri” and “sa caméra est enclenchée”).

The audio and video recording of the working session show that some of the successive formulations written by the journalist are the product of an ‘internalized’ and ‘self-centred’ reflection, as the long silence of 15 seconds (l.2, below) between the writing of “une quest” and its replacement by “alors même que l’a” indicates. Likewise, the passage from “he is far away” to “he is not yet” seems mainly related to the journalist’s reflection (l.17-22, below). Nevertheless, formulations are also negotiated with the cutter. From the line 24 (below), the practitioners discuss the appropriateness of the following formulation: “at the risk of his life he turned on his camera”.

Excerpt 10: not yet safe II (Cutting room, 11:15-11:18 am)

1	**J**	**a question**
		une question (1.2) x (0.4) x (3) x
	txt[15]	***une quest***
2		**(15)**
3	**J**	**even (1.2.) though (12) though**
		alors (1.2) même (12) que
	txt	***alors même que l'a***
4		**(7)**
5	**C**	**it's incredible I'm keeping it like this okay/ (1)**
		c'est incroyable .h j'te garde ça comme ça hein/ (1)
6		**I'll be very long no I have put I have put two shots**
		j'mets très long hein j'ai mis j'ai euh mis deux plans
7		**[and then we]'ll be (far) but er (0.7) that's&**
		[et pis on] s'ra (loin) mais euh (0.7) c'est:&
8	**J**	**[yeah=yeah]**
		[ouais=ouais]
9	**C**	**&that's the best ((laughs))**
		&c'est les meileurs ((rires))
10	**J**	**even thoug (1.7) even though**
		alors même que (1.7) alors même
11		**(5.8)**
12	**C**	**okay (.) mh: (0.6) tsk. (0.7) pff: (.)**
		okay (.) mh: (0.6) tsk. (0.7) pff: (.)
13		**yeah and then we'll see**
		ouais et après on verra
14		**(1.5)**
15	**C**	**ITV maybe/ (1.5) yeah**
		ITV peut-être/ (1.5) ouais
16		**(2.7)**
17	**J**	**he (4.6) is (0.7) far=**
		qu'il (4.6) est (0.7) loin=
	txt	***qu'il est loin***
18	**C**	**=<((whispering)) we have time>=**
		=<((whispering)) on a le temps>=
19	**J**	**he (0.4) he is far (0.4) he (2.7)**
		qu'il (0.4) qu'il est loin (0.4) qu'il (2.7)
20		**he (3) he is out of danger/**
		qu'il (3) qu'i:l est hors de danger/
21		**(16)**
22	**J**	**even though he is not yet**
		alors même qu'il n'est pas encore
	txt	***n'est pas encore***
23		**(7)**
24	**J**	**at the risk of his life he turned on his camera/**
		au péril de sa vie il a enclenché la caméra/
25	**C**	**roh:=**
		roh:=
26	**J**	**=no/**
		=non/
27	**C**	**do not exagerate**
		faut pas exagérer
28		**(0.5)**

[15] *Txt* refers to the journalist's actual writing.

29	**J**	**no/=**
		non/=
30	**C**	**=er when he turned on**
		=euh quand il a enclenché
31		**the risk for his life was over [((laughs))**
		c'est fini le péril de sa vie [((laughs))
32	**J**	**[you think/ (but you'll see)**
		[tu crois/ (mais tu vois)
33		**it may still expl-**
		il peut encore saut-
34		**and=and=and there are still some=some=some**
		et=et=et il y a encore des=des=des
35		**it may still explode here the plane**
		il peut exploser là l'avion
36		**(0.8)**
37	**C**	**well [he is the one&**
		bah [c'est qu'il est qui&
38	**J**	**[no/**
		[hein/
39	**C**	**&he sold these i[mages for three thousand dollars&**
		&c'est qu'il a vendu ces i[mages pour trois mille dollars&
40	**J**	**[yeah**
		[ouais
41	**C**	**&to:: to: the Indonesian TV that's all [isn't/**
		&à:: à: la télé indonésienne c'est tout [hein/
42	**J**	**[ouais**
		[ouais
43		**(4)**
44	J	**he is not yet safe here/ (.) no/**
		il est pas encore à l'abri là/ (.) hein/
45	**C**	**((C wags his head from left to right and purses his lips))**
46		**(7)**
47	**C**	**I'm making [(.) a war film here**
		je monte [(.) un film de guerre là
48	J	[**he is not yet safe** (.) comma
		[il n'est pas encore à l'abri (.) virgule
	txt	***il n'est pas encore à l'abri***
49		**(4.3)**
50	**J**	**this passenger (1.5) is not yet safe (0.8)**
		ce passager (1.5) n'est pas encore à l'abri (0.8)
	txt	***ce passager***
51		**comma (1) but (0.5) his camera is on (0.5)**
		virgule (1) mais (0.5) sa caméra est enclenchée (0.5)
	txt	***, mais***
52		**clac (1) does it seem tiny to you what I say that**
		clac (1) est-ce que ça semble rikiki c'qu'je: je dis ça
53		**a few moments after the crash the desperate escape**
		quelques instants après le crash la fuite éperdue
54		**far from the boeing for one of the survivors**
		loin du Boeing de l'un des survivants
55		**this passenger is not yet safe**
		ce passager n'est pas encore à l'abri
56		**.h but his camera (.) is on**
		.h mais sa caméra (.) est enclenchée

57		**(0.8)**
58	**J**	**that's it=**
		c'est ça=
59	**C**	**=x=**
		=x=
60	**J**	**=no/=**
		=hein/=
61	**C**	**=yeah> you can read it once again if you want to no/**
		=ouais> tu peux me lire une fois si tu veux hein/

At line 22, the journalist writes the end of a concessive clause ("even though he is not yet"). Nevertheless, after 7 seconds of silence, he suggests an alternative formulation ("at the risk of his life he turned on his camera", l.24). It should be noted that this formulation differs from the concessive clause in its structure: the tension is brought by an adverbial phrase of manner ("at the risk of his life" // "au péril de sa vie"); the main clause is not anymore a passive one ("his camera is (turned) on" // "sa caméra est enclenchée") but an active one ("he turned on his camera" // "il a enclenché sa caméra"). Such a formulation more precisely situates and motivates the action in a network of events. However, the cutter evaluates the formulation in a negative way due to its excessiveness (l.25, 25, 30 and 31). He considers such a description does not fit with what happened: "when he turned on, the risk for his life was over", l.30-31). The journalist suggests an assumption (l.32-35) that supports his own interpretation of what happened: "it may still explode here the plane" (l.35). The cutter does not ratify that assumption and keep on with his line of arguments. The cutter refuses to position the agent as a heroic character. He presents the individual who is filming as intent on his financial profit in this concern: "he sold his images for three thousand dollars to the Indonesian television that's all" (l.39 and 41). Next, the journalist suggests another formulation and seeks the cutter's agreement: "he is not yet safe no/", (l.44). The cutter in turn shows his lack of agreement by shaking his head from left to right and by pursing his lips, but he does not verbally express a refusal (l.45). The cutter moves on to his cutting activity (l.47). The journalist shows then, by speaking while typing, his choice to keep the formulation "he is not yet safe" (l.48-51). Then, as he finishes the writing of the escape sequence, he reads his text and asks the cutter's opinion (l.52-60). The cutter suggests the journalist reads the text on the footage he has cut (l.61).

Despite a disagreement on the interpretation of what happened and how to describe it, the practitioners keep going in order to fulfill their assignment and provide a news item about the airplane crash for the noon edition. Nevertheless, we see a clash between two ways of interpreting the images, the journalist's dramatizing way and the cutter's non-dramatizing way. These two ways are not grounded in the same schema of incidence and do not position the main character in the same manner.

A few seconds later, the cutter suggests once again the journalist reads his text on the footage (11:18 am). After a quick discussion about the way to do it, the latter reads his text ("a few moments after the crash the desperate escape far from the Boeing of one of the survivors this passenger is not yet safe but his camera is on", 11:18 am). At the end of his reading, the cutter immediately takes his turn and explicitly refuses the formulation "he is not yet safe". From 11:18 am to 11:20 am, the journalist and the cutter discuss the appropriateness of the journalist's description and they develop two lines of argument. This time, their positions are not really based on the interpretation of what happened but rather on the interpretation of the images they assembled. They evaluate whether or not the verbal description is consistent with the structuring of the visual material. On the one hand, the cutter claims that the character is safe. His main argument line is the following: the footage shows the character taking refuge. By doing so, the cutter positions the character as a rather passive agent. On the other hand, the journalist claims that the passenger is not yet safe. His arguments are more diverse. They relate to the intensity of the breathing, to inferences regarding the circumstances (*a dangerous context*) and the agent's motivations (*he runs because he is not yet safe*), to the running action depicted by the images, and to the sequential positioning of the action description regarding the images (*before the images of the character taking refuge, there are images of him not yet being safe*).

We see here the upholding – even the strengthening – of the two schemata of incidence. This leads to two different narrative configurations. While the cutter is against a verbal dramatization of the action, the journalist exploits the dramatization potential of the running shot. In order to keep going, both the practitioners display the schemata as two individual perceptions[16]. Such a display allows them to compare their interpretations[17]. Nevertheless, they do not reach an agreement and the cutter finally gives up upon the journalist's insistence.

[16] This is signalled by specific expressions as "it's how you feel it" or "but you do not feel it like this" (11:19 am).

[17] The journalist even offers a formulation grounded in the cutter's interpretation ("he's looking for shelter under a tree his camera is already on", 11:19 am) but he doesn't affiliate with this.

Thus, if the cutter had the last word during the selection and ordering of the images, it is here the journalist's call. As stated by Burger (2011), there are two different areas of expertise, the audio-visual, which is one mainly the domain to the cutter, and the verbal, principally related to the journalist. Nevertheless, these areas of expertise are far from being impermeable, as we have seen throughout the analysis. It is particularly in this aspect that telling a news story is a *team performance*[18].

4. Conclusion: what happened in the newsroom?

By honing in on the dramatization of a narrative sequence at the beginning of a news item, the analysis has demonstrated that *telling a story in* or rather *from a newsroom* is a *team performance*: from the ordering of the images to the writing of the text, from the structuring of the narrative to the dramatization of the reported events.

Therefore, regarding the *production format* (Goffman 1981; Bell 1991; Scollon 1997) involved in media communication, the distribution of *authorship* and *principalship* is far more complex than what is stated in the anchors' preface ("[The images] are commentated on by CA") or what is written on the news ticker at the end of the news item ("CA DS"). The preface neither draws attention to the constitutive entanglement between text and images in the production of the news item (the images seem to be a given, which is then commented on by the journalist), nor the fact the text stemmed from within a negotiation between two practitioners (CA and DS). Besides, putting aside the overall responsibility of the news institution (the French-speaking public TV broadcasting), the journalist is the one who is explicitly considered as responsible for what is said. Additionally, if the news ticker at the end of the news item mentions DS (the cutter) as much as CA (the journalist), it neither specifies their role in the news-making process, nor their responsibilities. Coming back to the dramaturgical metaphor, we can ask ourselves whether this squashing of *authorship* and *principalship* tends to favour the solitary existence of the journalist's figure in the *front stage* at the cost of a relative silencing of the other news practitioners.

[18] The *team performance* dimension of news stories is also related to other processes in the newsroom, such as the decisions taken by the editorial board in editorial meetings (Merminod & Burger *forthcoming*).

Our analysis revealed what led to a narrative configuration that presents a non-linear ordering of the events that is focused on the experience of an individual staged as a highly agentive character in an uncertain world. “Opening linguistics up” (Rampton *et al.* 2004: 4), ethnography enabled us to “document local theories of what constitutes a narrative and what the role of narrative is in [a] specific communit[y]” (Georgakopoulou 2007: 21). Rather than only considering news stories as narrative texts, we have considered how and why narrative practices are part of the interpretation and production processes involved in the making of the news. By accessing not only the final *performance* (the one seen on *stage*) but also the several *performances* that created it *backstage*, we have thus seen that telling a news story is not only founded on interwoven activities but also shaped on (a chain of) diverse (re)configurations of the reported events.

References

BARONI, Raphaël (2007), *La tension narrative. Suspens, curiosité, surprise,* Paris, Seuil.

BELL, Alan (1994), «Telling stories». In GRADDOL, David & Oliver BOYD-BARRETT (eds), *Media Texts, Authors and Readers: A Reader*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, 100-118.

BELL, Alan (1991), *The Language of News Media*, Oxford, Blackwell.

BLOMMAERT, Jan (2007), «On the scope and depth in linguistic ethnography», *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11 (5), 682-688.

BURGER, Marcel (2011), «Une considération praxéologique du désaccord polémique: ce qu'informer dans les médias veut dire», Semen 31, 61-80.

BURGER, Marcel & Laura DELALOYE (2016), «The Framing of argumentation in the making of a political editorial: from normative expectations to stylistic credo of the journalists», *Journal of Argumentation in Context* 5 (1), 29-47.

BURGER, Marcel & Daniel PERRIN (2014), «Ce que le quotidien des journalistes nous apprend sur les tensions des discours médiatiques». In BERTHOUD, Anne-Claude & BURGER, Marcel (eds), *Repenser le rôle des pratiques langagières dans la constitution des espaces sociaux contemporains*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 165-194.

COTTER, Colleen (2015), «Discourse and media». In TANNEN, Deborah, Heidi E. HAMILTON & Deborah SCHIFFRIN (eds), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 795-821.

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk. Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

DE FINA, Anna & Alexandra GEORGAKOPOULOU (2012), *Analysing Narrative. Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

DE FINA, Anna & Alexandra GEORGAKOPOULOU (2008), «Introduction: Narrative analysis in the shift from texts to practices», *Text & Talk* 28 (3), 275-281.

DREW, Paul & John HERITAGE (eds.) (1992), *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

FLUDERNIK, Monika (1996), *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*, London, Routledge.

GEORGAKOPOULOU, Alexandra (2016), «Small Stories Research: Methods-Analysis-Outreach». In DE FINA, Anna & Alexandra GEORGAKOPOULOU (eds), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, 255-271.

GEORGAKOPOULOU, Alexandra (2013a), «Small stories research & social media: The role of narrative stance-taking in the circulation of a Greek news story», *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies* 100.

GEORGAKOPOULOU, Alexandra (2013b), «Storytelling on the go. Breaking news as a travelling narrative genre». In HYVÄRINEN, Matti, Mari HATAVARA & Lars-Christer HYDÈN (eds), *The Travelling Concepts of Narrative*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 201-223.

GEORGAKOPOULOU, Alexandra (2007), *Small Stories, Interaction and Identities*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1981), *Forms of Talk*, Oxford, Blackwell.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1959), *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York, Anchor Books.

HERITAGE, John & Steven CLAYMAN (2010), *Talk in Action: interaction, identities, and institutions*, Malden, MA, John Wiley & Sons.

HERMAN, David (2009), *Basic Elements of Narrative*, Oxford,Wiley-Blackwell.

HYMES, Dell H. (1996), *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward an Understanding of Voice*. London, Taylor & Francis.

JACOBS, Geert & Stef SLEMBROUCK (2010), «Notes on linguistic ethnography as a liminal activity», *Text & Talk* 30 (2), 235-244.

JACOBS, Geert, Tom VAN HOUT & Ellen VAN PRAET (eds.) (2011), *Discursive Perspectives on News Production*. Issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (7).

JAWORSKI Adam, Nikolas COUPLAND & Dariusz GALASINSKI (2004), *Metalanguage. Social and Ideological Perspectives*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

JOST, François (1989), *L'œil caméra. Entre film et roman*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

MAYBIN, Janet & Karin TUSTING (2011), «Linguistic ethnography». In SIMPSON, James (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, London, Routledge, 229-241.

MERMINOD, Gilles (2018), «Saying 'story' in the newsroom. Towards a linguistic ethnography of narrative lexicon in broadcast news», *Studies in Communication Sciences*.

MERMINOD, Gilles & Marcel BURGER (*forthcoming)*, «Narrative of vicarious experience in broadcast news: a linguistic ethnographic approach to semiotic mediations in the newsroom». Special Issue on *Vicarious Narratives in Talk at Work*.

MONTGOMERY, Martin (2007), *The Discourse of Broadcast News*. *A Linguistic Approach*. London, Routledge.

MONTGOMERY, Martin (2005), «Television news and narrative: how relevant are narrative models for explaining the coherence of television news?». In THORNBORROW, Joana & Jennifer COATES (eds.), *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 239 – 260.

NEWS TALK & TEXT RESEARCH GROUP (2011), «Towards a linguistics of news production», *Journal of Pragmatics* 47, 1843-1852.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The Linguistics of Newswriting*, Amsterdam/New-York, John Benjamins Publishing Company.

PERRIN, Daniel (2011), «'There are two different stories to tell' Collaborative text-picture production strategies of TV journalists», *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, 1865-1875.

PERRIN, Daniel (2006), *Medienlinguistik*, Konstanz, UKV.

PERRIN, Daniel, Marcel BURGER, Mathias FUERER, Aleksandra GNACH, Michael SCHANNE & Vincent WYSS (2008), *Idée suisse: Final report*. Winterthur, Institute of Applied Media Studies.

PERRIN, Daniel & Marta ZAMPA (2018), «Fragmentary narrative reasoning. On the enthymematic structure of journalistic storytelling», *Studies in Communication Sciences*.

REVAZ, Françoise & Raphaël BARONI (2007), «Le fait divers sérialisé, un feuilleton médiatique», *Les Cahiers du journalisme* 17, 194-209.

RAMPTON, Ben (2014), «Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics and the study of identities», *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies* 43.

RAMPTON, Ben, Janet MAYBIN & Celia ROBERTS (2015), «Theory and method in linguistic ethnography». In SNELL Julia, Sara SHAW & Fiona COPLAND (eds), *Linguistic Ethnography. Interdisciplinary Explorations*. New York, Palgrave McMillan, 14-50.

RAMPTON, Ben, Karin TUSTING, Janet MAYBIN, Richard BARWELL, Angela CREESE & Vally LYTRA (2004), «UK linguistic ethnography: A discussion paper», *UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum*.

SCOLLON, Ron (1997), «Attribution and power in Hong Kong news discourse», *World Englishes* 16 (3), 383-393.

SNELL, Julia, Sara SHAW & Fiona COPLAND (2015), «An Introduction to Linguistic Ethnography: Interdisciplinary Explorations». In SNELL Julia, Sara SHAW & Fiona COPLAND (eds), *Linguistic Ethnography. Interdisciplinary Explorations*, New York, Palgrave McMillan, 1-13.

ZAMPA, Marta (2017), *Argumentation in the Newsroom*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

ZAMPA, Marta & Daniel PERRIN (2016), «Arguing with oneself. The writing process as an argumentative soliloquy», *Journal of Argumentation in Context* 5 (1), 9-28.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 57-76

COMBINING METHODS IN AL-INFORMED RESEARCH OF NEWSWRITING

Daniel PERRIN
Zurich University of Applied Sciences
daniel.perrin@zhaw.ch

Mathias FÜRER
Zurich University of Applied Sciences
mathias.fuerer@zhaw.ch

Abstract

Investigating real-life writing processes of journalists at their workplaces requires combining newsroom ethnography with linguistic analysis. But how to combine research frameworks and methods? In this paper, we start with the methodological requirements of researching real-life writing processes. We then outline a typology of state-of-the-art methods in writing research : version analysis for tracking intertextual chains, progression analysis for identifying writing strategies, variation analysis for revealing audience design and meta-discourse analysis for investigating language policy making. Finally, we explain challenges of combining such perspectives and methods in research projects.

Keywords : newsroom ethnography, version analysis, progression analysis, variation analysis, metadiscourse analysis

1. Introduction

Doing writing research from an applied linguistics perspective means investigating individual, collaborative, and organizational writing and text production as language-based activities in complex and dynamic real-life contexts. In doing so, micro and macro levels, product and process perspectives, as well as theoretical and practical questions are combined in transdisciplinary approaches. Appropriate methods have to be deliberately chosen and transparently explained across disciplinary boundaries. Methodological questions need to be clarified, such as: which method fits which problem – and how should and can various methods complement each other? In this paper, we start with the methodological requirements of researching real-life writing processes (§ 2). We then outline a typology of state-of-the-art methods in writing research (§ 3) and explain challenges of combining perspectives and methods in research projects (§ 4).

2. Requirements of AL-informed research of newswriting

Newswriting represents a relevant case for applied linguistics (AL). As a "user-friendly linguistics" (Wei 2007: 117), AL has always been oriented towards practice with a twofold goal: understanding and improving language use. From a production perspective, it deals with the reflection and optimization of speaking and writing for certain communicative tasks and domains, including language learning or workplace communication (e.g. Cicourel 2003; Alatis, Hamilton & Tan 2002; Candlin 2003). AL can investigate the repertoires of strategies and practices that individuals or language communities use when they make linguistic decisions (e.g. Cook 2003: 125; Zhong & Newhagen 2009) in discussions or writing processes. Then, these repertoires can be expanded through knowledge transformation processes, e.g. in training, coaching, and organizational development.

In the present paper, we thus conceive AL-informed journalism writing research as a joint activity of researchers, practitioners and society at large. They collaborate to investigate (i) individual or collaborative writing (ii) as mental, material, and social activity (iii) in digital environments, (iv) *in situ*, (v) in order to understand and improve it.

i **Investigating individual or collaborative writing**: Depending on the research object and underlying key concepts such as authorship, AL-informed writing research investigates the activity of subjects of varied complexities. They range from individuals to peer groups and entire organizations in complex contexts. Suitable methods enable researchers to capture and analyze the corresponding activities. Eye tracking, for example, can capture pupil movements in highly computerized settings. They are interpreted as shifts of the focus of attention by individual human text processors. In addition, comparing versions of an organization's editorial guidelines over time reveals the big picture of their evolving explicit quality discourse.

ii **Investigating writing as mental, material and social activity**: Writing takes place within and between people, as well as at their bodily interface. Analyzing inner, mental activities related to writing in natural contexts requires indirect methods and procedures, such as retrospective verbal protocols (e.g. Camps 2003; Ericsson & Simon 1984; Greene & Higgins 1994; Smagorinsky 1994). Writing as material activity can be captured in real-time, using video recording (e.g. Van Waes & Mangen 2012) or keystroke logging (e.g. Flinn 1987; Van Waes & Van Herreweghe 1995; Spelman Miller 2006; Strömqvist, Holmqvist, Johansson, Karlsson & Wengelin 2006). Social aspects of writing, however, such as balancing workflows and editorial quality discourse in organizations, call for methods such as network analyses or dynamic modeling that capture the complexity of writing on macro levels too.

iii **Investigating writing at digital workplaces:** In computerized environments, most material text production activities such as archive research or editing is performed at computers. The same computers can be used by researchers to automatically collect data, for example about pausing times between linguistic units. As these data are available in digital formats, they can be analyzed using algorithms.

iv **Investigating writing *in situ*:** Knowing in advance that one would like to investigate a particular kind of contemporary writing processes puts researchers in a comparably comfortable position: They can develop a methodology and choose methods and recording procedures that capture as many as possible of the relevant aspects of text production in appropriate depth and breadth. Then, the field can be prepared according to the research question, e.g. by building trust within the organization and installing logging software. In contrast, investigating writing ex post limits the researchers to available traces from a field that was not designed to support research.

v **Investigating writing in order to understand and improve it:** In transdisciplinary action research, interventions are considered crucial procedures. Writing at specific workplaces is investigated mainly in order to improve it, for example by elaborating the writers' repertoires of text production practices.

We applied this understanding of AL-informed writing research in the IDÉE SUISSE project which focuses on the interplay of language policy, norms, and practice in the newsrooms of an entire public service media organization in Switzerland: the broadcasting company SRG SSR Idée Suisse. Using logging and screen recording software, journalists' collaborative writing activities were recorded *in situ*. In addition, editorial conferences and negotiations with peers such as video editors and cameramen were videotaped. Finally, journalists, media managers, and policy makers were interviewed and policy documents were analyzed, following the principles of Progression Analysis (see below, § 3.2). The research project aimed to understand and develop the broadcaster's competence to fulfill its public mandate.

3. State-of-the-art toolkit: Four complementary types of methods

In this second section, we outline a typology of four methodological perspectives in AL-informed research of newswriting that is the joint activity of researchers, practitioners, and society at large. The methods applied provide empirical evidence of material, cognitive, social, or socio-cognitive aspects of writing. Respective state-of-the-art methods focus, for example, on material differences between text versions (3.1), individuals' writing strategies (3.2), variation of practices within and across organizations' writing (3.3), and communities' metadiscourse reflecting their written communication (3.4).

3.1. The material focus: Tracking intertextual chains with version analysis

First and foremost, applied linguistics investigates stretches of language in context (e.g. Mccarthy 2001: 115). From this material perspective, AL-informed writing research emphasizes the intertextual nature of writing: new texts and text versions are created and differ from earlier ones. Material changes to the linguistic products are captured with version analyses. By version analysis, we understand the method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the changes that linguistic features undergo in intertextual chains. The methods and procedures applied originate in comparative text analysis.

Prototype version analyses trace linguistic products (e.g. Sanders & Van Wijk 1996) and elaborate on the changes in text features from version to version, be it at one single production site or across a series of sites. In projects similar to IDÉE SUISSE, a quote from a politician's original utterance was traced throughout the intertextual chain of correspondents, local and global news agencies, broadcasters, and the follow-up discourse in social media (Perrin 2011). Other medialinguistic studies draw on version analyses to reveal how texts change throughout the intertextual chains (e.g. Van Dijk 1988; Bell 1991; Luginbühl, Baumberger, Schwab & Burger 2002; Robinson 2009; Lams 2011).

The very minimal variant of version analysis limits the empirical access to one single version, with implicit or explicit reference to other versions that were not explicitly analyzed (e.g. Ekström 2001). This variant of version analysis is widespread in the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 2001; see also critiques by Stubbs 1997 or Widdowson 2000). Another frequent, yet empirically denser, variant of version analysis focuses on changes performed at one single production site. The "voie tranquille" analysis in the IDÉE SUISSE project draws on data from one single site, the TÉLÉJOURNAL newsroom. There, the news piece emerges in four states: drafting, main writing session, cutting session, and speaking in the booth.

Of course it could be argued that the journalist's office, the cutting room, and the speaking booth are different production sites within one media production plant. They differ for example in terms of technical tools (hard- and software facilities for editing text, video, and spoken language), social environments (cutters as collaborators) and dominant activity (spoken vs. written text (re-)production). Taken to the limit, the discussion shows that the context of writing keeps on changing: Colleagues may call, send messages, or show up and add information that modifies the task; new source texts appear on the screen; and, most of all, the text produced so far, with its power to trigger thoughts when re-read by the journalist, is altered through every single insertion and deletion (e.g. Chin 1994; Jacobs & Perrin 2014).

This fine-grained understanding of constantly changing contexts points towards a shift of focus from the stabilized version to the dynamics of writing processes. Comparing various versions of texts is sufficient to gain empirical evidence of material text changes. However, in itself, it provides hardly any data on the context of material activity. In order to develop such knowledge, additional methodological approaches are required. They focus, for example, on whether the writers were conscious of their actions, like progression analysis (3.2); whether the practices are typical of certain text production institutions, like variation analysis (3.3); or how the practices and related norms are negotiated in organizations, like metadiscourse analysis (3.4).

3.2. The mental focus: Identifying writing strategies with *progression analysis*

From a cognitive perspective, AL-informed research of newswriting emphasizes individuals' language-related decisions in writing processes. What exactly do journalists as individual authors do when they produce their texts?

What are they trying to do, and why do they do it the way they do? Such mental reflections of material changes are captured with Progression Analyses. By Progression Analysis, we understand the multimethod approach of collecting and analyzing data in natural contexts in order to reconstruct text production processes as a cognitively reflected activity in context.

Progression Analysis combines ethnographic observation, interviews, computer logging, and cue-based retrospective verbalizations to gather linguistic and contextual data. With Progression Analysis, data are obtained and related on three levels[1].

Before writing begins, Progression Analysis determines through interviews and observations what the writing situation is (e.g. Quandt 2008). Important factors include the writing task, the writers' professional socialization and experience, and economic, institutional, and technological influences on the workplaces and workflows. In the IDÉE SUISSE project, data on the self-perception of the journalists investigated were obtained in semi-standardized interviews about their psychobiography, primarily in terms of their writing and professional experience, and their work situation. In addition, participatory and video observations were made about the various kinds of collaboration at the workplace.

During writing, Progression Analysis records every keystroke and writing movement in the emerging text with keylogging (e.g. Flinn 1987; Lindgren & Sullivan 2006; Spelman Miller 2006) and screenshot recording programs (e.g. Degenhardt 2006; Silva 2012) that run in the background behind the text editors that the writers usually use, for instance behind the user interfaces of news editing systems. The recording can follow the writing process over several workstations and does not influence the performance of the editing system. From a technical point of view, it does not influence the writers' performance either, since it operates automatically and without changing the user interfaces of the editing software. Nevertheless, knowing about the recording alters writers' behavior, with decreasing effect over time. This is why, in projects such as IDÉE SUISSE, the first four weeks of data are excluded from analyses.

[1] The approach was developed to investigate newswriting (e.g. Perrin 2003; Sleurs, Jacobs & Van Waes 2003; Van Hout & Jacobs 2008) and later it was transferred to other application fields of writing research, such as children's writing processes (e.g., Gnach, Wiesner, Bertschi-Kaufmann & Perrin 2007) and translation (e.g., Ehrensberger-Dow & Perrin 2009).

After the writing is over, Progression Analysis records what the writers say about their activities. Preferably immediately after completing the writing process, writers view on the screen how their texts came into being. While doing so, they continuously comment on what they did when writing and why they did it. An audio recording is made of these cue-based retrospective verbal protocols (RVP). This level of Progression Analysis opens a window onto the mind of the writer. The question is what can be recognized through this window: certainly not the sum of all (and only) the considerations that the author actually made, but rather the considerations that an author could have made in principle (e.g. Camps 2003; Ericsson & Simon 1993; Hansen 2006; Levy, Marek & Lea 1996; Smagorinsky 2001). The RVP is transcribed and then encoded as the author's verbalization of aspects of his or her language awareness, writing strategies, and conscious writing practices. As doing an RVP strongly influences writers' awareness, this level of Progression Analysis is normally limited to one RVP per writer, at the end of the investigation.

In sum, Progression Analysis allows researchers to consider all the revisions to the text as well as all of the electronic resources accessed during the production process; to trace the development of the emerging text; and, finally, to reconstruct collaboration at workplaces from different perspectives. The main focus of Progression Analysis, however, is the individual's cognitive and manifest processes of writing. Social structures such as organizational routines and editorial policies are reconstructed through the perspectives of the individual agents involved, the writers under investigation. If entire organizations are to be investigated with respect to how they produce their texts as a social activity, then Progression Analysis has to be extended by another two methods: variation analysis (3.3) and metadiscourse analysis (3.4).

3.3. The social focus: Revealing audience design with *variation analysis*

From a social perspective, AL-informed writing research focuses on how social groups such as journalists collaborate when they write and how they customize their linguistic products for their target audiences. Which linguistic means, for example which gradient of normativity and formality, does an organization choose for which addressees? Such social language use is captured with variation analyses. By variation analysis, we understand the method of collecting and analyzing text data to reconstruct the special features of the language of a certain community of discourse and/ or practice (Pogner 2012).

Variation analyses investigate the type and frequency of typical features of certain language users' productions in certain communication situations such as writing for a specific audience. What variation analysis discerns is the differences between the language used and the related practices in one situation type from that of the same users in another (e.g. Koller 2004) or from the language and practices of other users in similar situations (e.g. Fang 1991; Werlen 2000). In the IDÉE SUISSE project, variation analyses can reveal whether language properties of the newscast TAGESSCHAU and the newsmagazine 10 VOR 10, competing in the same German television program of the Swiss public broadcaster, differ according to their program profiles.

Such broadly-based variation analysis is able to show the special features of the language used by specific groups of writers. However, what the method gains in width, it loses in depth. Why a community prefers to formulate its texts in a certain way and not another cannot be captured by variation analysis, which, similar to version analysis, neglects access to mental aspects of writing. It would be possible to regain some of that depth using a procedure that examines not only the text products, but also the institutionalized discourses connected with them: the comments of the community about its joint efforts, the community's meta-discourse (2.4).

3.4. The socio-cognitive focus: Investigating language policing with *metadiscourse analysis*

From a socio-cognitive perspective, AL-informed writing research focuses on text producers' collaboration and metadiscourse (e.g. Mey 2005), such as correspondence between authors, quality control discourse at editorial conferences, and negotiations between journalists, photographers, and text designers. What do the various stakeholders think about their communicational offers? How do they evaluate their activity in relation to policies – and how do they reconstruct and alter those policies? Such socio-cognitive aspects of language use are captured by metadiscourse analyses. By metadiscourse analysis, we understand the method of collecting and analyzing data in order to reconstruct the socially- and individually-anchored (language) awareness in a discourse community. The basis for analyzing the metadiscourse of text production is conversation and discourse analysis.

Metadiscourse analyses investigate spoken and written communication about language and language use. This includes metaphors used when talking about writing (e.g. Gravengaard 2012; Levin & Wagner 2006), explicit planning or criticism of communication measures (e.g. Peterson 2001), the clarification of misunderstandings and conversational repair (e.g. Häusermann 2007), and follow-up communication by audiences (e.g. Klemm 2000). In all these cases, the participants' utterances show how their own or others' communicational efforts and offers have been perceived, received, understood, and evaluated. The analysis demonstrates how rules of language use are explicitly negotiated and applied in a community.

In situ research allows for metadiscourse analyses of oral negotiations. In some case stories from the IDÉE SUISSE project, cutters challenge the journalists' ethics and aesthetics or appear as representatives of a critical audience. On a macro level of the project, interviews and document analyses reveal policy makers' and media managers' contradictory evaluation of and expectations towards the broadcasters' – and the journalists' – ability to fulfill the public mandate of promoting public understanding. Whereas media policy makers expect the Swiss national broadcasting company to foster public discourse through stimulating contributions, media managers tend to consider this public mandate to be unrealistic (Perrin 2011).

Thus, the focus of metadiscourse analysis scales up from negotiations about emerging texts at writers' workplaces, to organizational quality control discourse and related discussions in audiences and society at large. Integrating metadiscourse analyses extends the reach of writing research from a single author's micro activity to organizational and societal macro structures. However, for empirical evidence of writers' actual behavior, metadiscourse analysis must be combined with progression analyses (3.2) or, in more coarse-grained studies, at least with variation analyses (3.3).

In sum, by applying and combining methods of the four types, researchers investigate real-life newswriting from product and process perspectives, as cognitive and social activity, and on micro and macro levels. In contrast, analyzing only text products, as often practiced in empirical approaches to written language, risks falling short of explaining writing in its variegated dynamics and purposes, as a playful, epistemic, and communicative activity in complex contexts. However, applying, let alone combining, innovative methods in multi-perspective real-life research of newswriting causes methodological problems which can be carefully addressed – albeit not completely solved yet.

4. Key challenge: Combining perspectives and methods

In this last section of the paper, we explain challenges of combining perspectives and methods in projects of newswriting research. Researchers investigating real-life writing in general (Brizee, Sousa & Driscoll 2012 ; Olson 1987 ; Pogner 1999 ; Spilka 1993 ; Sullivan & Lindgren 2006 ; Thompson 2009) tend to combine a multitude of approaches and perspectives in order to develop a vivid, life-like representation of their object under investigation.The downside of combining methods can be theoretical incommensurability. Due to their theoretical foundation, scientific methods differ considerably from everyday methods such as driving a car: they can be expected to be more explicit and consistent. However, the theoretical grounding of scientific methods does not mean that every method matches every theory[2]. Working with multimethod approaches therefore requires methodologically pragmatic approaches (Feilzer 2010; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004) and a distinctive meta-theoretical position towards ontology and epistemology as developed, for example, in Realist Social Theory (e.g. Archer 2000; Sealey & Carter 2004).

Realist Social Theory overcomes both positivism and constructivism by assuming that there is a world existing independently of human knowledge, but that all knowledge about this world must remain a – more or less adequate – sociocognitive construction. This basic assumption is crucial for multimethod approaches: Without the existence of a real world which serves as a benchmark, all mental constructions would be equivalent, no matter the method applied. On the other hand, without the difference between the real world and the knowledge about it, all research would have to focus on the best of all methods: the one that helps reveal reality itself. In both cases, triangulating methods and respective findings would be obsolete.

[2] Therefore, the methodological question arises as to how methods can be combined when rooted in different theories or even incompatible scientific paradigms (Kuhn 1996; Kuhn 1962).

In contrast, from a methodologically pragmatic, intermediate position, combining different methods fosters multiperspective approaches to the objects under investigation. Triangulating such approaches results in sometimes contradictory, but always multidimensional, complex, life-like reconstructions.

From a linguistic perspective, Realist Social Theory facilitates the interpretation of these life-like reconstructions by explaining both the micro dynamics of situated language production as well as long-term language change. In a case study of the IDÉE SUISSE project, the LEBA case (Perrin 2013 : 17-24), the journalist termed the trajectory of the boat *tranquille* instead of *express*. Like this, he coined a leitmotif that reframed a demonstration in Lebanon where the demonstrants where traveling to. By changing just one word, he succeeded in abandoning brash stereotypes – at least for the time frame of his media item. However, he did not change language or reality in a long-term perspective. Realist Social Theory clearly distinguishes between flexible structures, such as a newsroom's storytelling patterns, and robust structures, such as cultural stereotypes.

Only by triangulating methods can the relevance and meaning of such situated language use be contextualized: Without analyzing video recordings of editorial conferences, conducting a propositional analysis of editorial guidelines, coding writing processes, capturing interactions with the video editor and constructing a writing biography of the journalist under investigation by a guided interview, this – at first sight – marginal change from *tranquille* to *express* could easily be overlooked or misinterpreted . Triangulation and transdisciplinary discussions help shift the reconstructions toward a state in which they are perceived by ideally all relevant knowers as adequate. Objectivity, in this understanding, emerges from triangulating theories, methods, results, and interpretations (Denzin 1978; Flick 2004). It consists of as close as possible an approximation to a real world – a formal object which is, after all, neither the material object itself nor an arbitrary construction.

Such multiperspective views can, for example, shed light on the following facets of situated newswriting and text production:

- the source materials, such as handwritten notes, pictures, soundbytes, footage, and previously published texts in intertextual chains;

- the sequences of material revisions in the writing process, such as insertions and deletions on a micro level and their complex combinations;
- the text products, such as drafts and final versions as well as interim versions from various stages in collaborative text production;
- the macro products, such as television or radio news programs, newspapers , and news websites;
- the non-textual work context, such as the journalists' biographies, social environments, and workplace equipments;
- the journalists' thoughts and thought patterns, such as mental representations of ideas, decisions, strategies, practices, procedures, and routines;
- the normative framework, such as cultural norms, editorial mission statements, stylesheets, and language policies;
- the discursive evaluation of products and processes in follow-up discourses involving individual and collective authors, audiences, and further stakeholders, such as editors' comments, a readers' blog, or political discussions about legitimizing censorship.

The four types of methods distinguished above (§ 2) complement each other in providing access to the various facets of one and the same object, the newswriting process in context (Fig. 1).

Language as →	Product	Activity		
		Cognitive	Social	Socio-cognitive
Method type → Object facets ↓	Version analysis	Progression analysis	Variation analysis	Metadiscourse analysis
Source materials	text chain			
Work context		workplace, …		
Thought patterns		writing strategy		
Revisions		writing activity		
End products	Broadcast news piece, newspaper article, online feature …			
Macro products			news programs, news websites…	
Normative frame			esthetics, mission, policy, …	
Evaluation				norm discourse

Fig. 1 Methods of AL-informed research of newswriting as complementary approaches.

5. Conclusion

Using the example of newswriting, we have shown in this paper that in AL-informed writing research each perspective requires suitable methods. Questions about cognitive practices, for instance, can only be addressed by reaching beyond material activity; the same is true for social practices and their interactions. Investigating stretches of language in a “one-size fits all approach“ (Richardson 2007: 76) is not enough to allow writing research to explain what is special about text production in specific contexts (e.g. Philo 2007) and to reveal structures that “cannot be directly observed” (Ó Riain 2009: 294). This explains the predominance of pragmatic multi-method approaches in AL-informed writing research, despite their tendency towards theoretical vagueness. In transdisciplinary research projects, it is more important to sustainably solve socially relevant real-life problems with stakeholders from practice and society, e.g. by combining newsroom ethnography and linguistic analysis, than to completely eliminate the theoretical problems related to combining methods from potentially conflicting paradigms.

References

ALATIS, James E., Heidi E. HAMILTON & Ai-Hui TAN (Eds.) (2002), *Linguistics, language and the professions. Education, journalism, law, medicine, and technology*, Washington D.C., Georgetown University Press.

ARCHER, Margaret S. (2000), *Being human. The problem of agency*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

BELL, Allan (1991), *The language of news media*, Oxford, Blackwell.

BRIZEE, Allen, Morgan SOUSA & Dana Lynn DRISCOLL (2012), « Writing centers and students with disabilities. The user-centered approach, participatory design, and empirical research as collaborative methodologies », *Computers and Composition*, *29*(4), 341–366.

CAMPS, Joaquim (2003), « Concurrent and retrospective verbal reports as tools to better understand the role of attention in second language tasks », *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *13*(2), 201–221.

CANDLIN, Sally (2003), « Issues arising when the professional workplace is the site of applied linguistic research », *Applied Linguistics*, *24*(3), 386–394.

CHIN, Elaine (1994), « Redefining "context" in research on writing », *Written Communication*, *11*(4), 445–482.

CICOUREL, Aaron V. (2003), « On contextualizing applied linguistic research in the workplace », *Applied Linguistics*, *24*(3), 360–373.

COOK, Guy (2003), *Applied linguistics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

DEGENHARDT, Marion (2006), « CAMTASIA and CATMOVIE. Two digital tools for observing, documenting and analysing writing processes of university students ». In Van Waes Luuk, Mariëlle Leijten, & Christine M. Neuwirth (Eds.), *Writing and digital media* (pp. 180–186). Amsterdam, Elsevier.

DENZIN, Norman K. (1978), *The research act* (2 ed.), New York, Mc Graw-Hill.

EHRENSBERGER-DOW, Maureen & Daniel PERRIN (2009), « Capturing translation processes to access metalinguistic awareness », *Across Languages and Cultures*, *10*(2), 275–288.

EKSTRÖM, Mats (2001), « Politicians interviewed on television news », *Discourse & Society*, *12*(5), 563–584.

ERICSSON, Ken A. & Herbert A. SIMON (1984), *Protocol analysis. Verbal reports as data*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

ERICSSON, Ken A. & Herbert A. SIMON (1993), *Protocol analysis. Verbal reports as data. (Rev. ed.)*, Cambridge, MIT Press.

FANG, Irving (1991), *Writing style differences in newspaper, radio and television news*, Minnesota, Center for Interdisciplinary Studies of Writing, University of Minnesota.

FEILZER, Martina Yvonne (2010), « Doing mixed methods research pragmatically. Implications for the rediscovery of pragmatism as a research paradigm », *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 4*(1), 6–16.

FLICK, Uwe (2004), *Triangulation,* Wiesbaden, Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

FLINN, Jane Z. (1987), « Case studies of revision aided by keystroke recording and replaying software », *Computers and Composition, 5*(1), 31–44.

GNACH, Aleksandra, Esther WIESNER, Andrea BERTSCHI-KAUFMANN, & Daniel PERRIN (2007), « Children's writing processes when using computers. Insights based on combining analyses of product and process », *Research in Comparative and International Education, 2*(1), 13–28.

GRAVENGAARD, Gitte (2012), « The metaphors journalists live by. Journalists' conceptualisation of newswork », *Journalism, 2012*(13), 1064–1082.

GREENE, Stuart & Lorraine HIGGINS (1994), « "Once upon a time": The use of retrospective accounts in building theory in composition ». In Smagorinsky Peter (Ed.), *Speaking about writing. Reflections on research methodology* (pp. 115–140), Thousand Oaks et al., Sage.

HANSEN, Gyde (2006), « Retrospection methods in translator training and translation research », *Journal of Specialised Translation, 5*, 2–40. Retrieved from http://www.jostrans.org/issue05/art_hansen.php

HÄUSERMANN, Jürg (2007), « Zugespieltes Material. Der O-Ton und seine Interpretation ». In Maye Harun, Cornelius Reiber, & Nikolaus Wegmann (Eds.), *Original / Ton. Zur Mediengeschichte des O-Tons* (pp. 25–50). Konstanz, UVK.

JACOBS, Geert & Daniel PERRIN (2014), « Production modes. Writing as materializing and stimulating thoughts ». In Jakobs Eva-Maria & Daniel Perrin (Eds.), *Handbook of writing and text production* (Vol. 10, pp. 181–208). New York et al., De Gruyter.

JOHNSON, R. Burke, & Anthony J. ONWUEGBUZIE (2004), « Mixed methods research. A research paradigm whose time has come ». *Educational Researcher, 33*(7), 14–26.

KLEMM, Michael (2000), *Zuschauerkommunikation. Formen und Funktionen der alltäglichen kommunikativen Fernsehaneignung*, Frankfurt am Main et al., Lang.

KOLLER, Veronika (2004), « Businesswomen and war metaphors: "Possessive, jealous and pugnacious"? », *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *4*(1), 3–22.

KUHN, Thomas S. (1962), *The structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

KUHN, Thomas S. (1996), *The structure of scientific revolutions* (3rd ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

LAMS, Lutgard (2011), « Newspapers' narratives based on wire stories. Facsimiles of input? », *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(7), 1853–1864.

LEVIN, Tamar & Till WAGNER (2006), « In their own words: Understanding student conceptions of writing through their spontaneous metaphors in the science classroom », *Instructional Science*, *34*(3), 227–278.

LEVY, C. Michael, J. Pamela MAREK, & Joseph LEA (1996), « Concurrent and retrospective protocols in writing research ». In Rijlaarsdam Gert, Huub Van den Bergh, & Michael Couzijn (Eds.), *Theories, models and methodology in writing research* (pp. 542–556), Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

LINDGREN, Eva & Kirk SULLIVAN (2006), « Analysing online revision ». In Sullivan Kirk & Eva Lindgren (Eds.), *Computer keystroke logging and writing. Methods and applications* (pp. 157–188), Amsterdam, Elsevier.

LUGINBÜHL, Martin, Thomas BAUMBERGER, Kathrine SCHWAB, & Harald BURGER (2002), *Medientexte zwischen Autor und Publikum. Intertextualität in Presse, Radio und Fernsehen*, Zürich, Seismo.

MCCARTHY, Michael (2001), *Issues in applied linguistics*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

MEY, Jacob L. (2005), « Discourse and metadiscourse ». *Journal of Pragmatics*, *37*(9), 1323–1324. Retrieved from http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/B6VCW-4GFNG2S-1/2/dac0c825b9eadba65828bed3c97d7205

Ó RIAIN, Sean (2009), « Extending the ethnographic case study ». In Byrne David & Charles C. Ragin (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of case-based methods* (pp. 289–306), London, Sage.

OLSON, Lyle D. (1987), « Recent composition research is relevant to newswriting », *Journalism Educator*, *42*(3), 14–18.

PERRIN, Daniel (2003), « Progression analysis (PA). Investigating writing strategies at the workplace », *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*(6), 907–921.

PERRIN, Daniel (2011), *Medienlinguistik* (2 ed.), Konstanz, UVK.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The linguistics of newswriting*, Amsterdam, New York et al., John Benjamins.

PETERSON, Mark Allen (2001), « Getting to the story. Unwriteable discourse and interpretive practice in American journalism », *Anthropological Quarterly, 74*(4), 201–211.

PHILO, Greg. (2007), « Can discourse analysis successfully explain the content of media and journalistic practice? », *Journalism Studies*, *8*(2), 175–196.

POGNER, Karl-Heinz (1999). « Discourse community, culture and interaction. On writing by consulting engineers ». In Bargiela-Chiappini Francesca & Catherine Nickerson (Eds.), *Writing business. Genres, media and discourses* (pp. 101–127), Harlow, Longman.

POGNER, Karl-Heinz (2012), « A social perspective on writing in the workplace. Communities of Discourse (DC) and Communities of Practice (CoP) ». In Rothkegel Annely & Sonja Ruda (Eds.), *Communication on and via technology* (pp. 83–107), Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton.

QUANDT, Thorsten (2008), « News tuning and content management. An observation study of old and new routines in German online newsrooms ». In Paterson Chris & David Domingo (Eds.), *Making online news. The ethnography of new media production* (pp. 77–97), New York, Peter Lang.

RICHARDSON, John E. (2007), *Analysing newspapers. An approach from critical discourse analysis*, Houndmills, Palgrave Macmillan.

ROBINSON, Sue (2009), « A chronicle of chaos. Tracking the news story of hurricane Katrina from The Times-Picayune to its website », *Journalism, 10*(4), 431–450.

SANDERS, Ted, & Carel VAN WIJK (1996), « Text analysis as a research tool. How hierarchical text structure contributes to the understanding of conceptual processes in writing ». In Levy C. Michael & Sarah Ransdell (Eds.), *The science of writing. Theories, methods, individual differences and applications* (pp. 251–270), Mahwah, Erlbaum.

SEALEY, Alison, & Bob CARTER (2004), *Applied linguistics as social science*, London et al., Continuum.

SILVA, Mary Lourdes (2012), « Camtasia in the classroom. Student attitudes and preferences for video commentary or Microsoft Word comments during the revision process », *Computers and Composition, 29*(1), 1–22.

SLEURS, Kim, Geert JACOBS & Luuk VAN WAES (2003), « Constructing press releases, constructing quotations: A case study », *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*(2), 135–275.

SMAGORINSKY, Peter (2001), « Rethinking protocol analysis from a cultural perspective », *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *21*, 233–245.

SMAGORINSKY, Peter (Ed.) (1994), *Speaking about writing. Reflections on research methodology,* Thousand Oaks et al., Sage.

SPELMAN MILLER, Kristvan (2006), « Keystroke logging. An introduction ». In Sullivan Kirk & Eva Lindgren (Eds.), *Computer keystroke logging and writing. Methods and applications* (pp. 1–9). Amsterdam, Elsevier.

SPILKA, Rachel (Ed.) (1993), *Writing in the workplace. New research perspectives*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press.

STRÖMQVIST, Sven, Kenneth HOLMQVIST, Victoria JOHANSSON, Henrik KARLSSON & Åsa WENGELIN (2006), « What key-logging can reveal about writing ». In Sullivan Kirk & Eva Lindgren (Eds.), *Computer keystroke logging and writing. Methods and applications* (pp. 45–72). Amsterdam, Elsevier.

STUBBS, Michael (1997), « Critical comments on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) ». In Ryan Ann & Alison Wray (Eds.), *Evolving models of language* (pp. 100–116). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

SULLIVAN, Kirk & Eva LINDGREN (Eds.). (2006), *Computer keystroke logging and writing. Methods and applications*, Amsterdam, Elsevier.

THOMPSON, Isabelle (2009), « Scaffolding in the writing center. A microanalysis of an experienced tutor's verbal and nonverbal tutoring strategies », *Written Communication, 26*(4), 417–453.

VAN DIJK, Teun A. (1988), *News analysis. Case studies of international and national news in the press*, Hillsdale/London, Erlbaum.

VAN DIJK, Teun A. (2001), « Multidisciplinary CDA. A plea for diversity ». In Wodak Ruth & Michael Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 95–120), Los Angeles, Sage.

VAN HOUT, Tom & Geert JACOBS (2008), « News production theory and practice. Fieldwork notes on power, interaction and agency », *Pragmatics, 18*(1), 59–86.

VAN WAES, Luuk & Anne MANGEN (2012), « Introduction. Tools for studying and supporting writing. Technological advances in writing research ». In Torrance Mark, Denis Alamargot, Montserrat Castello, Franck Ganier, Otto Kruse, Anne Mangen, Liliana Tolchinsky, & Luuk Van Waes (Eds.), *Learning to write* *effectively. Current trends in European research* (pp. 345–351). Bingley, Emerald.

VAN WAES, Luuk & Liesbet VAN HERREWEGHE (1995), « Computerprotokolle in der Schreibprozessforschung. Der Gebrauch von Keytrap als Beobachtungsinstrument ». In Jakobs Eva-Maria, Dagmar Knorr, & Sylvie Molitor-Lübbert (Eds.), *Wissenschaftliche Textproduktion. Mit und ohne Computer* (pp. 35–51), Frankfurt am Main et al., Lang.

WEI, Li. (2007), « A user-friendly linguistics », *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *17*(1), 117–119.

WERLEN, Iwar (2000), « "Zum Schluss das Wetter". Struktur und Variation von Wetterberichten im Rundfunk ». In Niederhauser Jürg & Stanislaw Szlek (Eds.), *Sprachsplitter und Sprachspiele* (pp. 155–170), Bern, Lang.

WIDDOWSON, Henry G. (2000), « On the limitations of linguistics applied », *Applied Linguistics, 21*(1), 3–35.

ZHONG, Bu & John E. NEWHAGEN (2009), « How journalists think while they write. A transcultural model of news decision making », *Journal of Communication, 59*(3), 587–608.

NEWS PRODUCTION AND ATTRIBUTION CONSTRUCTION IN CHINESE LOCAL PRESS : A PROGRESSION ANALYSIS

Changpeng HUAN
Shanghai Jiao Tong University
huangchangpeng@hotmail.com

Abstract

This research undertakes a progression analysis to examine the distinction in the ways local and national/international news is produced in Chinese local press. It takes online newswriting processes of Chinese journalists as the analytical point of entry. Based on ethnographic data collected in a Chinese local newspaper, the study finds significant differences in the production of local and national/international news in Chinese local press. It is argued that such differences are relevant to the ways attribution is constructed. Interviews with Chinese journalists reveal that they foster distinctive strategies in constructing attribution in accord with the kinds of news they work on. Additionally, the study finds that attribution constitutes significant discursive resources through which journalists exercise power in news production.

Keywords: Journalistic attribution, Chinese local press, progression analysis, news production.

1. Introduction

This study explores the distinctive ways Chinese journalists construct local and national/international news stories in Chinese local press by taking their online writing processes as the analytical point of entry. It pays special attention to those strategies adopted by Chinese journalists to construct attribution and to the functions performed by attribution in news discourse. Attribution is defined in this paper as “any linguistic means one might use to indicate who is responsible for saying something” (Scollon 1997: 384). To analyze news production and attribution construction, this paper adopts a progression analysis (PA), which is “a computer-based, multilevel method for research on writing in the workplace (Perrin 2003: 907). Daniel Perrin further explains that “PA focuses on the situational context of the writing process (macro level), the movement of writing throughout the growing text (meso level), and the writer’s consciously applied revising strategies (micro level)” (Perrin 2003: 907).

Additionally, the study intends to investigate those strategies adopted by Chinese journalists in constructing attribution. This is different from other research into journalistic attribution that largely focuses on textual analysis of quotation markers (e.g. say) in news products (e.g. news stories) (see Sleurs and Jacobs 2003 for an exception), for instance, Bednarek (2006), Caldas-Coulthard (1994), Calsamiglia and Ferrero (2003), Clift (2006), Hsieh (2008), Jullian (2011), Scollon (1997), Smirnova (2009) and Sundar (1998), to name only a few.

Certainly, it is important to know how journalistic attribution is constructed through that which is linguistically (semiotically) expressed in news texts. However, it is equally important to understand how attribution is displayed through that which is absent in news texts. Hence, the study attempts to fill this research gap. To do so, Section 2 outlines the procedures in collecting ethnographic data. In Section 3, the study firstly explicates the writing situations of my research participants and examines their writing progression (Section 3.1); it then investigates the application of writing strategies to construct attribution in news discourse (Section 3.2); lastly, it explores the functions of journalistic attribution in news discourse (Section 3.3). The study is concluded with a summary of findings and discussion on limitations (Section 4).

The Chinese context was selected mainly for two reasons. One is that research on professional practices in the Western contexts has been largely detailed elsewhere (e.g. Bell 1991; Cotter 2010; Cottle 2007; Cottle & Ashton 1999; Davis 2000; Gans 2004/1979; Jacobs 2011; Machin & Niblock 2006; Perrin 2013; Van Hout, Pander Maat & De Preter, 2011). By contrast, accesses to Chinese news institutions have been extremely limited in China, and as such we have as yet insufficient knowledge about news production in relation to journalistic practices in the Chinese context. The other reason is that of convenience because the findings to be reported in this paper are part of a larger project investigating journalistic stance in Chinese and Australian hard news reporting (Huan 2015).

2. Methods

This section presents the methods adopted in collecting ethnographic data on filed sites. At first, it is necessary to briefly explain the Chinese context of newspaper publication. Basically, there are two major types of newspapers in Mainland China, one being official newspaper of the government and the committees of the Communist Party of China (CPC) at different levels (i.e. Party-organs) while the other being called market newspaper. Both are controlled by the government, but it is not compulsory for market newspapers to report routine official activities of local authorities, unless such activities are of great importance to local citizens.

The set of ethnographic data was collected in a municipal-level Party organ in a city in the middle part of China. This newspaper was chosen for several reasons. The most obvious one was that the newspaper under investigation was one of the few available news institutions to which I could gain access. Secondly, it was a Party newspaper that was considered in China as so-called "mainstream" newspaper, and thus could by and large represent the "mainstream" newspapers in China. Thirdly, that newspaper was a daily newspaper which built its reputation on hard news reporting. Fourthly, since all newspapers published in Mainland China were subject to censorship of the government at different levels, market papers and Party papers only differ from each other in form but not in substance. Lastly, the Party paper under investigation established a press conglomerate to commercialize itself, and as such it was able to show the most recent ways of journalistic professional practices in the Chinese context.

According to Blommaert & Dong (2006: 19), gaining access to the field is the first step to "understand and study the possible contexts in which your object will occur, micro as well as macro". However, due to the political nature of Chinese newspapers, accesses to newsrooms were extremely difficult to obtain. Additionally, the study is concerned with recording and analyzing journalists' newswriting processes, what requires journalists' great patience because I was not allowed to install on their computer the Inputlog tool that I adopted to record their writing. In this sense, my research participants needed to work on my computer, a matter that they found uncomfortable with. Eventually, I was successful in gaining access to the field by utilizing strategies as diverse as online carpet search and snowball strategy. By online carpet search, I mean I used *Weibo*, the Chinese version of *Twitter*, to find target journalists and sent them messages requesting their approval to be involved in my research. By snowball strategy, I mean I made use of some “guanxi” (social network) to maneuver this process. I contacted friends who might refer to me their journalist friends who might agree to either be involved in my research or be willing to recommend their fellow journalists. Eventually, five participants allowed me to log their writing processes. In accord with the ethics requirements of the project, all of them were clearly informed of ethic issues. Informed consent was obtained before interviews. They were aware that they could quit the research or refuse to answer any questions that they felt uncomfortable about at any time without giving any kind of notice to the interviewer. They were informed that their names and their affiliations would not be identified.

Datasets collected on field sites include field notes, media policy documents, keystroke logging data of newswriting processes, audio recordings of retrospective interviews after journalists’ newswriting, and interviews with journalists, editors and media managers. The interviews with journalists were conducted in mandarin Chinese and were consequently transcribed by the researcher.

To record, replay and analyze journalists’ newswriting processes, I deployed the tool of Inputlog (http://www.inputlog.net). According to Leijten & Van Waes (2013), Inputlog is a Microsoft Windows based logging tool that logs all types of input modes including keyboard, mouse and speech recognition, and it generates data files for pause, revision and source analyses. Since I was not allowed to install the software on journalists’ working computers, it was installed on my computer. It was subsequently activated from the moment the journalists said they were ready to start writing until they filed the news story and submitted online for copy-editing. A follow-up retrospective interview with the journalist was immediately conducted afterwards.

3. Findings

In the following, I will report findings surrounding three key research issues. The first one is concerned with a close examination of newswriting processes with a view to comparing the ways news sources are integrated in newswriting (Section 3.1). The second one relates to how Chinese journalists attribute to news sources of different social statuses (Section 3.2). The last issue pertains to an exploration of the functions of attribution (Section 3.3). Section 3.1 is based on the analysis of writing processes, whereas Section 3.2 and 3.3 are premised on interviews with Chinese journalists.

3.1. Writing process analysis

In this section, I outline the writing processes of two journalists who report local and national/international news. The analytical focus will be on the different manners through which news is produced in general, with a view to identifying the distinctive ways of attributing to different news sources in newswriting.

3.1.1. Writing process of journalist T working on local news

Let us firstly examine the writing process of journalist T who worked on reporting local economic and social news. The news story was about the rising industry of local intermediary. The main news fact was obtained from the inauguration conference of the provincial association of intermediary that the journalist T and I went and attended together. We were offered pre-formulated materials, together with publications of the news event in a provincial-level Party organ. After the conference, journalist T interviewed LP and HY, directors of the provincial and municipal Administration of Industry and Commerce respectively. Before journalist T started her writing, she quickly scanned the pre-formulated reports and other materials available at her disposal. This perhaps gave her a clear idea of what to be included in the news story, and in part explained why her writing process (Figure 1) shows no significant planning time as we would envisage in Figure 2 where she wrote a news story without pre-formulated reports.

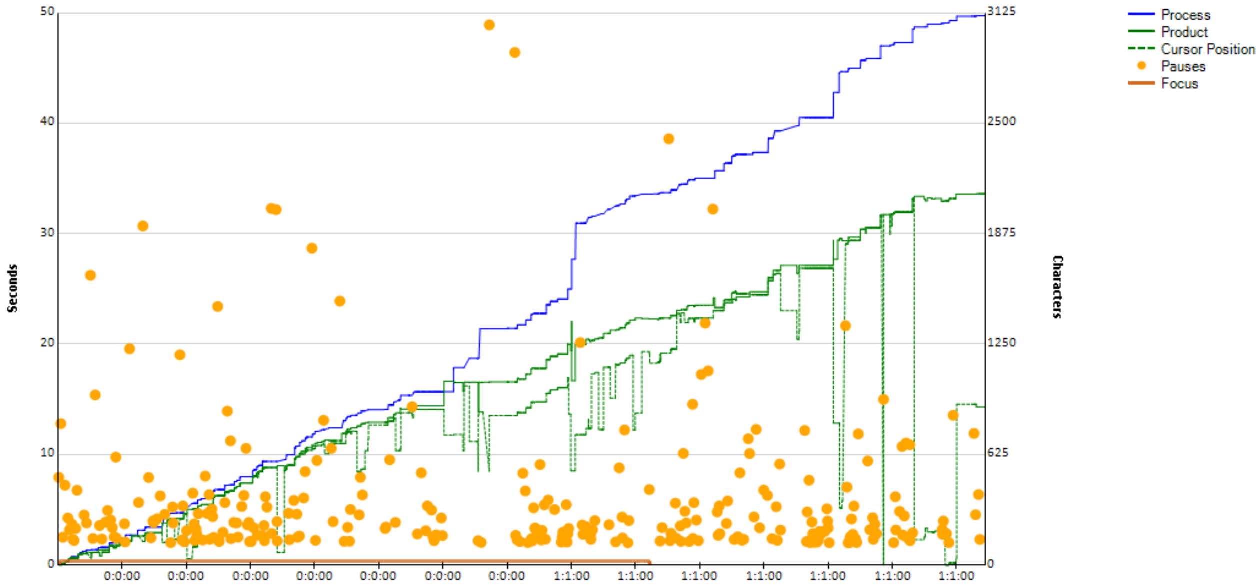


Figure 1: Graph of the writing process of the senior journalist T (example 1)

In Figure 1, the blue solid line indicates the writing process including all words produced by the writer from the beginning to the end (from zero to 3,125 words); the green solid line shows the final product of news story in terms of word count (from zero to 2,227 words). The green dotted line shows the cursor position. Figure 1 clearly demonstrates a writing process from the beginning of a text to its end, by which I mean she typed in every single word by herself as opposed to copying the text from elsewhere (see Figure 3 below in Section 3.1.2).

She spent one hour fifty-five minutes and thirty-three seconds in producing this news story with a total pause time of forty-five minutes. However, during the writing process, she was interrupted by a phone call and that took her around thirty-five minutes. Hence, the total pause time should be around ten minutes during the entire writing process. She produced a total of thirty-nine sentences amounting to 2,092 Chinese characters excluding spaces. Among them, she produced twenty-two sentences of attribution, accounting for 60 per cent of all sentences produced. That is to say, attribution constitutes a significant part of her writing, and this is further evidenced in her second newswriting.

The second example of the writing process of journalist T was shown here for purposes of comparison. The second news story produced was related to the deceiving use of scale in a local market by some shopkeepers. The journalist T and I followed officers at the municipal Bureau of Weights and Measures on the

World Metrology Day (20th May 2013) to a randomly selected local market to investigate possible deceiving use of scales. We were not offered any pre-formulated reports, but there were some materials providing background about the World Metrology Day itself.

She spent a total of two hours and forty-seven minutes on writing the news story with a total pause time of one hour and forty-six minutes. She produced a total of 13,010 words with 9,197 words typed in (excluding spaces). Among the twenty-nine sentences in the final news text, nine are quotations from other news sources, amounting to 805 words (46 per cent of the total 1,736 words in the final product).

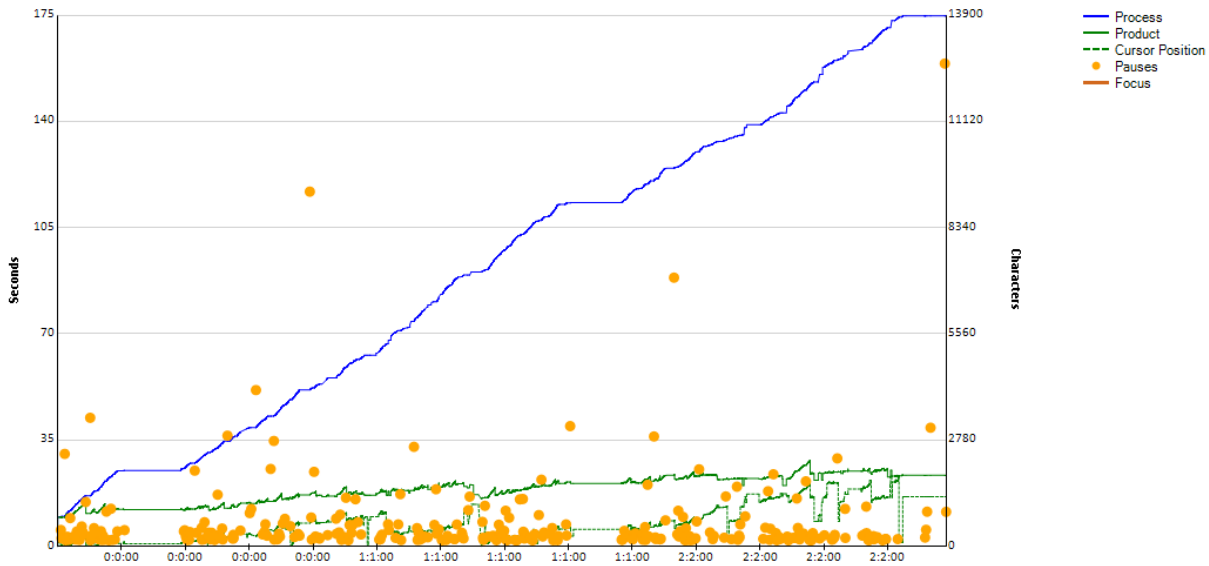


Figure 2: Graph of the writing process of the senior journalist T (example 2)

There are clearly three stages of writing in producing the second news, as indicated by three clusters of pauses (orange dots in the diagram). The first stage is short and mainly involves the planning of structures and the writing of opening frames. The second stage is the main stage of newswriting. The last stage is the revision process in which we envisage she moved the curser back and forth in news text at issue.

In short, the writing processes of journalist T show that her newswriting is gradual and normally takes a substantial amount of time and that the writing process is often interrupted by other activities. Additionally, attribution construction occupies a significant part of news production. That said, I now move to examine the writing process of journalist Z whose daily work involved reporting or editing national/international news.

3.1.2. Writing process of journalist Z working on national/international news

The typical writing process of journalist Z working on editing national/international news in local press is illustrated in Figure 3 which shows clearly that he copies a text into a document (from Xinhua News Agency online news database) and that he then deleted a substantial part of the text. The experienced editors, as I observed in their workplace, normally take less than fifteen minutes to produce a news story. In fact, I have found it difficult to label those journalism practitioners working on national/international news in Chinese local press, because on the one hand they do not report news events on their own in the way journalist T does, whereas on the other hand the news stories they produce are subject to further editing. Since the study is concerned with the production of local and national/international news rather than who produces such news, the distinction will not be made between different journalism practitioners working in Chinese local press.

The news story he produced was related to the notorious "Guomeimei Scandal" in relation to the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC). The lady Guomeimei, who registered her *Weibo* account as the commercial manager-in-general of the RCSC, was reportedly involved in an extramarital sex with a senior manager of the RCSC. The news story was selected from an online Xinhua database providing updated daily news happened in China and elsewhere in foreign countries. The news itself was about a press conference held by the RCSC in which reporters from Xinhua news agency challenged the ability of RCSC in handling the Guomeimei Scandal and its capacity in overseeing the organization itself. In producing the news story, the journalist Z also copied materials from other news stories provided by Xinhua news agency. He firstly opened the document but did not write a single word until one hour six minutes and twenty-five seconds later when copied a total of 4,322 words (including spaces) from the online database. He then browsed the text and started editing the text. He finished editing the news text in one hour fourteen minutes and thirty-nine seconds. That is to say, the total editing time lasted for around eight minutes and fifteen seconds, and during this time he deleted 3,107 words. The phrase he produced was limited to a frame at the end of the news text “据新华社6月14日电” (According to report by Xinhua News Agency on 14 June). I was told that this frame was a significant marker of news sources. He added that it signaled that the news story at issue was composed of several news stories from Xinhua. It is different from the frame of “新华社6月14日电” (Xinhua News Agency on 14 June), signaling that the news at issue was copied from Xinhua without revisions.

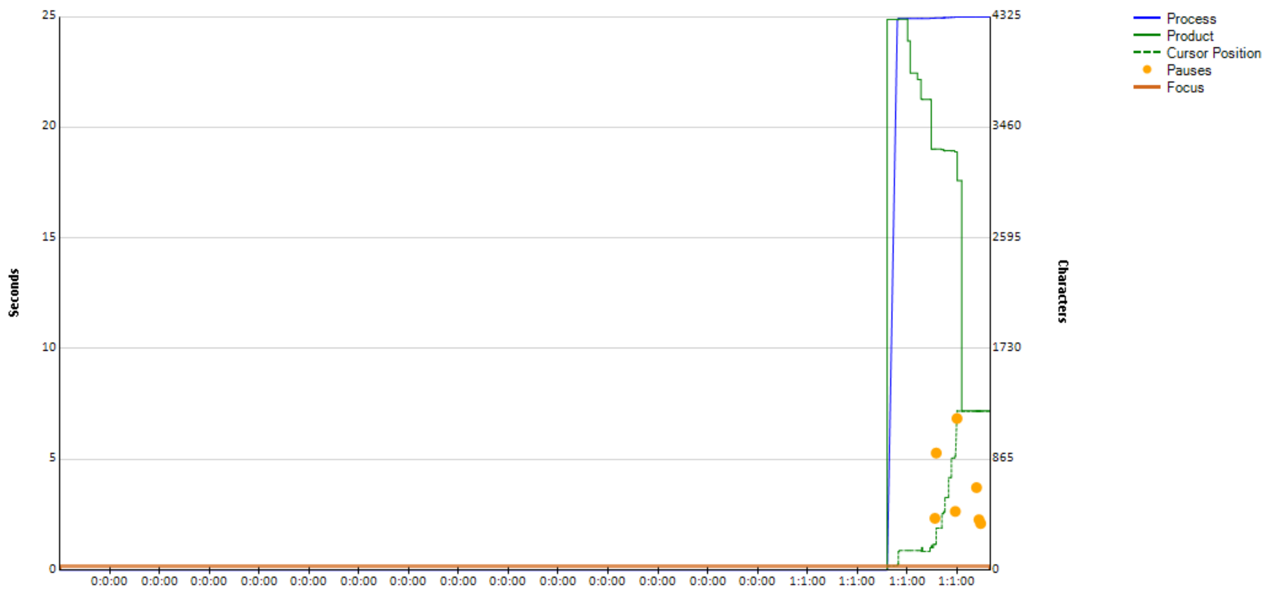


Figure 3: Newswriting process of journalist Z

The newswriting process, as shown in Figure 3 above, documents few pauses (dots in orange), marking a striking difference from the newswriting of the journalist T as shown in Section 3.1.1. Additionally, Figure 3 shows that the journalist Z mainly deleted some parts of the original news story and did so in the last part of the newswriting process. Certainly, journalist Z is not expected to write a news story from scratch in the manner journalist T did. However, the point is that journalists in Chinese local press produce news in strikingly different ways, and that reporting on national/international news events in Chinese local press (and hence journalistic stance therein) is mediated by national news agencies.

To summarize, the above analysis indicates that news production in Chinese local press should be treated with caution in that local and national/international news are produced in different ways. Additionally, journalistic attribution is not a homogenous concept in news discourse because it is constructed differently in different kinds of news in Chinese local newspapers as well.

3.2. Attributing to different news sources

In my interviews with journalists, I found that journalists had fostered distinctive strategies in constructing attribution to news sources of different social statuses (power elites vs. ordinary citizens). In the following, I will illustrate their strategies in attributing to foreign news agencies, to Xinhua News Agency, to local authorities, and to ordinary citizens.

3.2.1. Attributing to foreign news agencies

Broadly, Chinese local press and its reporters are not encouraged or perhaps not allowed to attribute directly to foreign news agencies. The main concern is related to different stances foreign news agencies or newspapers undertake. Chinese journalists have internationalized this rule in their daily practices, as shown in the following excerpt of an interview intending to elicit journalists' opinions on their stance taking practices.

IR: 那你们就是可以引用外媒的观点？

IR: Can you cite directly from foreign news agencies?

Y: 一般不用，一般一般是不用的，因为它这个你讲的新闻立场有差异。

Y: Normally we don't. Normally, normally no, because you know that they take a different stance.

The interview with a managing editor of the newspaper at issue revealed that the restriction on citing foreign news sources was imposed by the government. That is to say, all attributions to foreign news sources must be mediated by national news agencies or national media.

IR: 比如这个世界版是引自新华社还是国外通讯社？

IR: Let's take the "World" section as an example. Is this citing from Xinhua or foreign news agencies?

W: 根据中宣部的规定，我们不能直接引用国外通讯社。

W: According to requirements of the Publicity Department, we cannot directly cite foreign news agencies.

The finding suggests that constraining attribution to foreign news sources has been adopted as a significant means of regulating journalistic stance in Chinese local press. All news reporting about national and international events must be mediated by national news agencies and/or other national media (e.g. Chinese Central Television). In so doing, it prevents Chinese local press from directly accessing to foreign news reporting and at the same time prevents them from channelling different stances to their readership. In this sense, the finding corroborates Scollon's (1998) argument that "attending to topics" is an important mechanism to constrain stance, in addition to attending to channel and attending to interpersonal relationship.

3.2.2. Attributing to Xinhua news agency

I have indicated that news reports on national and international events in Chinese local press must be mediated by national news agencies or national media. Adding to such a constraint of news topics, news from national news agencies or national media would only permit slight modification of language and style for purposes of cohesion. This is evidenced below in an interview with a senior editor.

IR: 编辑新华社的稿件是不是要求特别严阿？

IR: Are there any kind of special requirements on editing news from Xinhua?

Y: 新华社的稿子，你只要不篡改它的意思就没问题[...]你可以说就是适当的调整，因为，因为新华社的稿子发过来是一篇稿子不，你如果编出的话，你等于是要跟别的稿子综合，综合两条稿子变成一条稿子的话，你肯定语句、细节方面要调整一下，不然的话语句不通了嘛。

Y: It is fine as long as you do not deliberately change the intended meanings in news reports provided by Xinhua. You can edit it because you need to integrate it with other news stories. Therefore, you could adjust its language and some details so as to make the final product coherent.

Certainly, journalists in Chinese local press may choose news topics from a repertoire of news stories provided by Xinhua. However, only national media are permitted to report on national and international news events. Thereby, journalists working in local press are unable to undertake stances other than those advanced and preferred by national media. Since one principal function of national media is to reproduce dominate social values of the central government, those social values are reproduced in local press as well.

3.2.3. Attributing to local authorities

The primary aim of the Party organ under investigation was to promote the official stance of the government, and accordingly official events were covered in the Party organ on a daily basis. Those events constitute an important source of exclusive news to the Party organ. In reporting local political news, every journalist in Chinese local press is responsible for liaising with a designated government department so as to ensure the coverage of official events in the local newspaper. However, all local news reports must be reviewed and subsequently approved by the local government department that was the major newsmaker in the news at issue prior to publication. According to my interviewee S who was responsible for reporting local political news, once these reports were signed off, no further revision should be made except for minor typographical errors.

> IR: 您负责报道x部门的时政新闻，那么他们是否在语言表达或者写作风格上有特定要求呢？
>
> IR: As you are following news regarding specific government sectors [name of local authorities], do they require a specific kind of language or style?
>
> S: 它的风格和其他新闻一样。他们对你的新闻报道不强加特殊的限制。但是，他们要审核我们的报道。我们完成报道之后需要送给他们审核、报批。
>
> S: Its style is the same as news style. They do not impose any specific constraints upon your news reporting. But they need to review our news reports. When we finish our reports, we send them [to concerned persons] to review and approve.

However, this is not to say that the government never imposes specific constraints on news reporting. On the contrary, it does so from time to time when necessary. For instance, negative local news in some cases cannot always find their way into press because the local publicity department intends to minimize the negative impact of the news, as evidenced in the following excerpt of an interview.

> IR: 你认为在政府工作人员在多大程度上影响你新闻写作中的立场表达？
>
> IR: To what extent do you think government officials may influence your expressions of stance in your news texts?
>
> Q: 他们只需要审核涉及他们部门的报道。省宣传部不会干预你的写作，但是他们会不让你报道某些负面新闻。
>
> Q: They only review those reports concerning themselves. Provincial Department of Publicity do not interfere with the way you report, but they will stop you from reporting certain negative events.

The above analyses have shown that attributions to foreign news agencies, Xinhua news agency and power elites are rather constrained in Chinese local press. That said, I now move to examine attributions to ordinary citizens.

3.2.4. Attributing to ordinary citizens

My corpus findings elsewhere (Huan, 2015; forthcoming) have indicated that Chinese journalists may employ a repertoire of language resources to evaluate and engage with citizen sources. Broadly, the voice of ordinary citizens in news texts is more likely to be opened up for alternative voices, and it is ordinary citizens who are more likely to be evaluated in negative ways. However, citizen sources are often adopted by Chinese journalists as eyewitness in news reporting.

My interviews with journalists reveal that ordinary citizens are generally considered as less important than elite sources in terms of the opinions they could provide about a news event. For instance, journalist L said "views from elite sources are definitely opinions about a specific field, and therefore more authoritative and professional. As for citizen sources, how could they possibly know [such a field]?". Additionally, journalist T mentioned that she always put elite sources in late part of her news texts, because they were more important.

In short, this section has indicated that journalists in Chinese local press have fostered different strategies to construct attribution to news sources of different kinds.

3.3. Functions of journalistic attribution

The different ways of attributing to news sources of various social statuses are relevant to the functions of attribution in news discourse. One major function is to take on different social-interactive roles. According to Goffman (1974; 1981), there are mainly three communicative roles: animator, author and principal. The "principal" role refers to "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words *say*" (Goffman 1981: 144, cited in Scollon 1997: 384). The "author" role is defined as "someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are *encoded* (Goffman 1981: 144, cited in Scollon 1997: 385); whereas the "animator" is what Goffman calls the "sounding box" through which utterances are made (Goffman 1981: 144).

To animate others' words in news discourse is a highly ambiguous act in that it is not the case that journalists always provide a verbatim account of news sources. For instance, journalist T said she was not quoting exactly what her news source said when I asked her about the use of a colloquial word.

IR: “开始尝到甜头”是他的原话吗？

IR: Is this his original words "begin to get some sweetener [benefits]?

T: 哪个？

T: Which one?

IR: 甜头

IR: Sweetener

T: 这个不是。我总结的。这是整个采访过程传递给我的信息。

T: This is not. I summarized it [from what he said]. This is the information he passed on to me in the whole interviewing process.

In quoting her news source, she assumed the power of animating the utterances based on the interviews. The journalist T recalled that the reason for doing so was twofold. One was that she needed to control information flow in news texts and thus to better organize news. The other reason was that she slightly modified utterances to appeal to readers. It is argued that such entextualization is an indispensable mechanism for the construction of journalistic professional authority (e.g. Park and Bucholtz 2009: 485). By "entextualization", I mean "the process by which circulable texts are produced by extracting discourse from its original context and reifying it as a bounded object" (Park and Bucholtz 2009: 485).

In the process of newswriting, my research participants normally start writing a byline displaying his or her name at the beginning of a story or displaying sources of news. One such typical example is presented as follows:

本报讯（记者X）

Name of News Agency, by Reporter (Name of the journalists)

As Ron Scollon observes "there is an ambiguity involved with being named as the author of a text. That is to say, having a text attributed to oneself may represent either the accretion of power or the denial of power" (Scollon 1997: 387). Journalist T said in the interview that bylines mainly served to fix responsibility. This is particularly important for political news reporting, because Chinese journalists are not allowed to coauthor with his/her correspondents if he/she contributes little to the concerned news text. Correspondents here mainly refer to government officials who occasionally produce a political news report on behalf of the local government. This rule is inscribed in news policy document of the newspaper under investigation (see below an example of the rule). Violation of the rule is subject to severe punishment.

三十二、记者应尊重通讯员的劳动，若对通讯员稿作了补充采访并作较大修改的，可加署记者名，否则，不能署名。对不该署记者名而加署名的，一经发现，将严肃处理。

Rule 32: Reporters should respect the work of correspondents. If substantial revision was made based on additional interviews, then reporters could be co-authors. Otherwise, this is not allowed. Anyone violating the rule will be severely punished.

In this sense, as Ron Scollon puts it succinctly, the power to command authorship in Chinese press could also be viewed to represent "the powerlessness of journalists in China" (Scollon 1997: 387).

The powerlessness of journalists in China is further reflected in the fact that they cannot decide whether or not power elites will be given voice. Their ability to delegate principalship or to delegate responsibility to power elites is rather constrained, although they retain animation.

Another function of attribution is to display journalistic stance. Abundant studies in the literature have demonstrated that attribution constitutes significant discursive resources through which journalists display stances in news discourse (e.g. Bednarek 2006; White 1998). Journalists do not simply reflect or mirror the objective world in news discourse, but engage in reconstructing news events through discursive resources (e.g. Beeman & Peterson 2001; Van Hout & Jacobs 2008). In this process, journalists take certain stances in line with social values that are currently operational in the society and institution at issue. For instance, based on my corpus findings elsewhere (Huan forthcoming), I found that Chinese journalists in general were more likely to open the dialogic space for alternative voices in attributing to ordinary citizens, but they were less likely to do so in attributing to power elites (e.g. government officials). One reason for this was to show alignment with the government. Certainly, stance taking practices are not limited to attribution, nor do they only function to align with the powerful. The point is that attribution may be manipulated by journalists to distance from or align with news sources in accord with different values they practice (see also Jacobs 1999). For instance, the journalist T said she would find an opposite voice when she questioned the voice at issue.

IR: 假如你不同意采访对象的观点，你通常怎么做？

IR: Supposing you disagree with your interviewee's viewpoints, what will you normally do?

T: 我会找另外一个声音。然后你可以平衡[两种观点]，并且读者会有他们自己的判断[. . .]如果我完全不同意他的观点，我就不会引用他。

T: I will then find a different voice. Then you can keep a balance, and readers can have their own judgment… If I totally disagree with him, I will not attribute to him.

Furthermore, attribution may index journalistic professional identity. Attribution is traditionally considered as an indicator of objectivity of news. Hence, the use of attribution in news texts shows that journalists attempt an objective news report rather than a fiction. For instance, journalist Q believed that direct quotations would add to the objectivity of news.

IR: 你会怎样引用采访对象的话？

IR: How would you quote your interviewees?

Q: [...]直接引语肯定比间接引语好啊，因为新闻毕竟是一个客观的报道嘛。

Q: [...]Direct quotations are definitely better than indirect ones, because news is after all an objective report.

To directly quote news sources is considered by journalist Q as a distinctive and professional way of practicing journalism. A senior managing journalist P said that the way news sources were incorporated was important as well. She emphasized that a good journalist should not be influenced by news sources.

IR: 你认为在多大程度上你的采访对象能够影响你的立场表达？

IR: To what extent do you think your sources have influenced your expression of stance in news writing?

P: 一个好的记者是不会被其他[新闻源]影响的。

P: A good journalist will never be influenced by others [news sources].

In saying that “a good journalist will never be influenced by others (news sources)”, journalist P indicates the link between various functions of attribution: commanding animation, delegating principalship, undertaking stances and displaying identity. In other words, being a good journalist, as assuming a professional identity, involves to effectively animate an utterance and to show appropriate stances, but at the same time retain the power to delegate or assume principalship to news sources.

4. Conclusion

The progression analysis of newswriting of journalists T and Z working on local and national/international news reporting has provided us with insights into understanding news production in the Chinese context, insights that are not available through traditional research into attribution in news products alone. The analysis shows that journalists in Chinese local press produce news in distinctive ways depending on the kind of news they report. The different ways in producing local and national/international news are relevant to the distinction in the manner attribution is constructed in news discourse. Broadly, journalists reporting local news have accesses to various news sources, whereas reporting national and international news must be mediated by national news agency and/or national media. Such ways of news production has direct and substantial impact on the strategies that journalists may employ to construct attribution. It is argued that adopting different strategies to construct attribution to news sources of different social statuses is relevant to performing various functions of attribution. Interviews with Chinese journalists, editors and media managers shows that, in addition to the display of journalistic stance and professional identity, attributions in news discourse constitute a significant mechanism through which journalists take on communicative roles of commanding animation, commanding authorship and delegating principalship.

However, the study is limited in several aspects. One limitation concerns the limited number of research participants involved in my study. The daily operation of Chinese press is supervised by the government, and as such Chinese journalists and news agencies are less willing to participate into research of the kind carried out in this study. Another limitation relates to the computer tool – Inputlog – which I adopted to register writing processes of Chinese journalists. This tool turned out to be less useful in logging the input of Chinese characters. Such a technological limitation has prevented me to analyze detailed revisions of journalists' writing of the kind carried out by Perrin (2003; 2013), Sleurs and Jacobs (2003) and Van Hout, Pander Maat & De Preter (2011). A further limitation is that I was only able to investigate writing processes of Chinese journalists in one Party organ, and in this sense the findings cannot represent professional practices of Chinese journalism practitioners in general. Perhaps the last caveat could be overcome by comparing journalistic professional practices in

Chinese newspapers of different kinds (e.g. market newspaper vs. Party organs), but that falls outside the scope of the present research.

References

BEDNAREK, Monika (2006), *Evaluation in Media Discourse: Analysis of a Newspaper Corpus*, London/New York, Continuum.

BEEMAN, William & Mark Allen PETERSON (2001), «Situations and Interpretations: Explorations in Interpretive Practice», *Anthropological Quarterly, 74*, 159-162.

BELL, Allan (1991), *The Language of News Media*, Oxford/Cambridge, Blackwell.

BLOMMAERT, Jan & Jie DONG (2006), *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*, New York, Multilingual Matters.

CALDAS-COULTHARD, C. R. (2002), «On Reporting Reporting: The Representation of Speech in Factual and Factional Narratives». In M. COULTHARD (Ed.), *Advances in Written Text Analysis* (pp. 295-308). London/New York, Routledge.

CALSAMIGLIA, Helena & Carmen López FERRERO (2003), «Role and Position of Scientific Voices: Reported Speech in the Media», *Discourse Studies, 5*(2), 147-173.

CLIFT, Rebecca (2006), «Indexing Stance: Reported Speech as an Interactional Evidential», *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 10*(5), 569-595.

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

COTTLE, Simon (2007), «Ethnography and News Production: New(s) Developments in the Field», *Sociology Compass, 1*(1), 1-16.

COTTLE, Simon & Mark ASHTON (1999), «From BBC Newsroom to BBC Newscentre: On Changing Technology and Journalist Practices», *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies, 5*(3), 22-43.

DAVIS, Aeron (2000), «Public Relations, News Production and Changing Patterns of Source Access in the British National Media», *Media, Culture & Society, 22*(1), 39-59.

GANS, Herbert (2004/1979), *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*, Illinois, Northwestern University Press.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1974), *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*, New York, Free Press.

GOFFMAN, Erving (1981), *Forms of Talk*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

HSIEH, Chia-Ling (2008), «Evidentiality in Chinese Newspaper Reports: Subjectivity/objectivity as a Factor», *Discourse Studies*, *10*(2), 205-229.

HUAN, Changpeng (2015), *Journalistic Stance in Chinese and Australian Hard News*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), Macquarie University, Sydney.

HUAN, Changpeng (forthcoming), «Journalistic Engagement Patterns and Power Relations: Corpus Evidence from Chinese and Australian Hard News Reporting», *Discourse & Communication*, 10(1). [Accepted on 15 August, 2015]

JACOBS, Geert (1999), *Preformulating the News: An Analysis of the Metapragmatics of Press Releases*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

JACOBS, Geert (2011), «Press Conferences on the Internet: Technology, Mediation and Access in the News», *Journal of Pragmatics*, *43*(7), 1900-1911.

JULLIAN, Paula M. (2011), «Appraising through Someone Else's Words: The Evaluative Power of Quotations in News Reports», *Discourse & Society*, *22*(6), 766-780.

LEIJTEN, Mariëlle & Luuk, VAN WAES (2013), «Keystroke Logging in Writing Research: Using Inputlog to Analyze and Visualize Writing Processes», *Written Communication*, *30*(3), 358-392.

MACHIN, David & Sara NIBLOCK (2006), *News Production: Theory and Practice*, London, Routledge.

PARK, Joseph Sung-Yul & Mary BUCHOLTZ (2009), «Public Transcripts: Entextualization and Linguistic Representation in Institutional Contexts», *Text & Talk*, *29*(5), 485-502.

PERRIN, Daniel (2003), «Progression Analysis (PA): Investigating Writing Strategies at the Workplace», *Journal of Pragmatics*, *35*(6), 907-921.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The Linguistics of Newswriting*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

SCOLLON, Ron (1997), «Attribution and Power in Hong Kong News Discourse», *World Englishes, 16*(3), 383-393.

SCOLLON, Ron (1998), *Mediated Discourse as Social Interaction: A Study of News Discourse*, New York, Routledge.

SLEURS, Kim, Geert JACOBS & Luuk, VAN WAES (2003), «Constructing Press Releases, Constructing Quotations: A Case Study», *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 7*(2), 192-212.

SMIRNOVA, Alla Vitaljevna (2009), «Reported Speech as an Element of Argumentative Newspaper Discourse», *Discourse & Communication*, *3*(1), 79-103.

SUNDAR, Shyam (1998), «Effect of Source Attribution on Perception of Online News Stories», *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 75*, 55–68.

VAN HOUT, Tom & Geert JACOBS (2008), «News Production Theory and Practice: Fieldwork Notes on Power, Interaction and Agency», *Pragmatics, 18*(1), 69-85.

VAN HOUT, Tom, Henk PANDER MAAT & Wim DE PRETER (2011), «Writing from News Sources: The Case of Apple TV», *Journal of Pragmatics, 43*(7), 1876-1889.

WHITE, Peter (1998), *Telling Media Tales: The News Story as Rhetoric.* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), University of Sydney, Sydney.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 97-122

RETHINKING QUOTING IN WRITTEN JOURNALISM: AN INTERTEXTUAL CHAIN FROM AN INTERVIEW INTO QUOTATIONS

Lauri Haapanen
University of Helsinki
lauri.haapanen@helsinki.fi

Abstract

This paper conceptualises the relation between an interview and its direct quotations in a journalistic article as an intertextual chain; it then presents an array of core practices that journalists adopt in this chaining. The analysis is based on data from stimulated recall sessions with several informant-journalists. The "stimuli" originate from the recordings of journalistic interviews conducted by the informants as well as on the articles based on those interviews. The quoting practices of the informant-journalists are structured according to a three-part model of the recontextualisation of quotations : ***decontextualisation practices*** **focus on selecting a suitable piece of information from the interview, while** ***contextualisation practices*** **influence the positioning of the quoted material in the final article and** ***textualisation practices*** **pertain to deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material itself. This paper constructs an authentic, empirically based formulation of the quoting practices and reveals that the overarching goal that guides these practices is to achieve the objective(s) of the article rather than to address the commonly advocated demand for 'directness'. This three-part model could be applied in various domains where similar practices may prevail, such as scientific writing, political discourse as well as police interrogations.**

Keywords: written journalism, quotations, quoting practices, intertextual chain, stimulated recall

1. Introduction

This paper analyses the practice of quoting in written journalism from a media linguistic point of view.[1] As a sub-discipline of applied linguistics, media linguistics focuses on language use in journalistic media. In terms of theory, media linguistics analyses data from media settings to solve research problems raised by linguistics itself (e.g. Perrin 2013: part A). Whereas quoting is a central

[1] I am grateful to Maija Töyry, Henna Makkonen-Craig, Ritva Laury and Daniel Perrin for their valuable comments on the manuscript and to Elina Sokka for helping me to convey my argumentsprecisely and grammatically in English. This research has been financed by the Academy of Finland, the Finnish Cultural Foundation and Journalistisen kulttuurin edistämissäätiö JOKES.

and frequently used linguistic action in general, the actual quoting practices adopted in some particular domain vary substantially and always serve some specific intent (e.g. Ekström 2006). In this paper, the main focus is to explore the transformational relationship between journalistic interviews and the quotations based on those interviews. I conceptualise this relationship as an *intertextual chain*, in which texts transform into other texts “in regular and predictable ways” (Fairclough 1992: 130). My main objective is to clarify this “chaining” process in the specific context of quoting in written journalism by presenting the following research question: What are the quoting practices that journalists both use and can recognise from their own work processes? While some research on actual quoting practices has been conducted (e.g. Haapanen in press; Lehrer 1989; Johnson Barella 2005), there is nonetheless a “pressing need” to examine quoting practices more closely (Nylund 2006b: 151).

In terms of practice, media linguistics aims to clarify problems in media practice by using linguistic tools. One such practical dimension in this paper pertains to the striking contradiction between the “official” perception of quoting practices and what actually occurs in real-life. By “official”, I refer to media terminology handbooks and journalism guidebooks, which refer to quotations as more or less verbatim repetitions of an original utterance – and while the *form* needs to be altered slightly, the *meaning* must be maintained (for example, see Zelizer & Allan 2010: 31; Brooks *et al*. 2002: 72–86; Goldstein 2009: 232; Kramer & Call 2007: 107–109). However, in practice, the relation between spoken utterances and written quotations is highly complex, as will be demonstrated in the next section.

To explain the quoting practices that journalists consciously adopt, I needed to trace the journalists' mental activities. Such a study of thought processes and intentions has been criticised as mere “introspection” and “too impressionistic to verify processes” (e.g. Smagorinsky 1994: ix-x).

However, most flaws in reliability and validity can be overcome by combining different data and methods (for instance, see Flick *et al* 2004; Beaufort 2008). A multi-method approach has been successfully demonstrated in the landmark project in the field of media linguistics, the Idée Suisse (for overview, see Perrin in this volume; Perrin 2013), which combines ethnographic observation and verbal inquiry as well as a handful of other methods. While ethnographic observation captures the activity but leaves it to the researchers to interpret the motive for the activity, verbal inquiry allows access to the mental reflections of the people under investigation, but the results might then be affected by their self-awareness. To sum up, varying methods compensate for each other's flaws. These types of methodologically complex research designs have led to promising results in media linguistics (e.g. Vandendaele, De Cuypere & Van Praet 2015).

The research design of this paper that will be introduced in the following section takes advantage of my empirically grounded model of journalistic quoting, which offers not only a holistic but also structured perception of the phenomenon at hand. From this premise, I then exploit a stimulated recall method that is designed to increase the informants' awareness of their actual work practices. Thus, this method offers a more authentic picture of journalistic quoting and the goals steering it than, for example, semi-structured interviews or even more simplistic research designs such as common surveys. My paper is organised as follows: section 2 presents the background of my research framework, and sections 3 and 4 respectively introduce data gathering and data analysis. Section 5 presents the results and section 6 is a concluding discussion on these findings.

2. Journalistic articles and quotations

In journalism, an umbrella term for texts such as news, profiles and fact-focused articles is *journalistic article*. In terms of family resemblance, they all share some particular characteristics. Firstly, they are produced by journalists, distributed as a printed compilation (although electronic platforms have diversified this situation) and financed by subscription fees, advertising revenues and/or by some interest group. Secondly, journalistic articles can be described in terms of their consumption; by reading them, the audience seeks information, benefit and entertainment (Tammi 2016). Furthermore, the frequent use of quotations is undoubtedly one recognisable characteristic of most written journalistic articles (e.g. Gibson & Hester 2000). In brief, a journalistic article is shaped by a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with a socially ratified type of activity (Fairclough 1992).

As for the origin of quotations in journalistic articles, quotations are almost solely based on oral interviews. Indeed, a major part of an article content is often based on interviews, although these recontextualised elements are only occasionally manifested as direct or indirect quoting (Haapanen in press 2016b;

forthcoming). Therefore, a journalistic interview is clearly (one of) the conventionalized premise(s) for information gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006), and it can be regarded as a separate, self-motivated genre: The oral, (most commonly) face-to-face interview is performed in a somewhat conventional way and, despite the variations in execution, it has an explicit purpose – most obviously, to gather information for an article − as well as a fixed structure and predetermined participant roles.

As the fundamental source for the journalistic article and its quotations is the journalistic interview, the relation between the interview and the article is an important research problem. In this study, this relationship is conceptualised as *an intertextual chain*. This term, coined by Fairclough (1992: 130–133), refers to the transformational relation between texts. During this “chaining”, a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text “in regular and predictable ways” (ibid. 130). Norman Fairclough exemplifies this procedure by citing the chain which links press releases with news, or medical consultations with medical records. This paper focuses on these conventional ways that guide the process of formulating quotations in written journalism.

To describe this “chaining” process in detail, I have adopted a theoretical model of journalistic quoting (see Haapanen forthcoming), which is based on the notion of *recontextualisation* as defined by Per Linell. He defines recontextualisation as “the dynamic transfer-and-transformation of something from one discourse/text-in-context […] to another” (Linell 1998: 154). Following Linell (ibid. 154–155), this model structures the process of “transfer-and-transformation” from an interview to quotations into three functions. It is important to note that this model is a simplification, and regardless of its chronological arrangement as presented in the following paragraphs, the functions are not so clearly defined and organised in reality, as they can overlap and occur simultaneously.

The first function is called *decontextualisation*. This refers to the process involving the journalist selecting and extracting the segments of the interview discourse s/he decides to exploit as a quotation in the journalistic article. In practice – and contrary to the guidance of manuals – journalists may combine utterances from two or more places in an interview into one single quotation, or merely quote the content of the original text with new wording, such as turning points of the narration.

The second function is *contextualisation*, which refers to a journalist positioning the selected discourse into the article – often, if not always, into a co-text that is different from the original. During this function, the material to be quoted is monologised: the interactive turn exchange as well as the presence and influence of the journalist in the original oral discourse is predominantly obscured in the article and the quotations are presented as the interviewee's independent, continuous and spontaneous speech (e.g. Haapanen submitted; Ekström 2001; Nylund 2006a).

The third function is *textualisation*. This function refers to a journalist modifying both textual and linguistic form and meaning. In addition, s/he might make deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material. However, the quality and quantity of these actions can range from minor revisions to substantial alterations. Moreover, journalists also formulate quotations that do not seem to be based on the journalistic interview they allegedly come from.

This paper adopts the three-part model of recontextualisation as a framework for gathering and analysing the data, which will be covered in the next section.

3. Data and methodology

Determining the answers to my research question required data and methods that capture the practitioners' chain of thought, writing strategies and intentions. A typical option for my data gathering would have been to conduct an inquiry that was based on interviews. However, this approach involves indirect access to mental processes, as the data would be based solely on the informants' explanations regarding what they were thinking and what they were both willing and able to share with the researcher. (Grésillon & Perrin 2014) This challenge materialised in my earlier research (Haapanen 2011) when I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with experienced journalists and journalism educators inquiring about their perceptions on quoting. The answers I received mostly repeated the idealistic standpoints expressed in journalism guidebooks and textbooks (see also Mitchell & Rosenstiel 2000). However, my own experience as a journalist made me realise the possible discrepancy between what informants claimed they did and what they actually did in practice.

It therefore became apparent to me that adopting only a conventional retrospective protocol, such as a semi-structured interview, would not work. Instead, a retrospective protocol needs to be linked concretely to the parts of the intertextual chain, that is, an interview and (the writing of) an article, to provide a better insight into concrete and actual work practices. Therefore, to overcome these potential problems in validity, I adopted the method of *Stimulated Recall* (SR) [2]. Traditionally, an SR begins with videotaping a selected person at work, after which the person is asked to view and comment on the video. The method is designed to increase the person's awareness of his/her performance and thus to reconstruct the trains of thought the person had while working. Due to the stimulus (the videotape), the method also prompts informants to "discuss processes and interactions that they otherwise might have neglected" (Smagorinsky 1994: xv)[3].

In general, SR is a flexible tool for various research frameworks (e.g. DiPardo 1994). In my application of the method, I used the transcript of the recording of the original journalistic interview[4] and the published article as stimuli for the reconstruction of the quoting process. Additionally, two aspects of my research design served to particularly enhance its reliability. Firstly, I guaranteed the anonymity of my informant-journalists, and this encouraged them to speak honestly about a sensitive topic. Secondly, I clearly introduced my own history as a journalist at the beginning of each SR session. Thus, the informant-journalists were aware that I was familiar with the various strategies that journalists used in quoting, and as a consequence, the informants were more likely to comment also on those quoting practices that contradicted the prevalent guidelines. Let us now turn to review the step-by-step procedures of the SR, which begins with two preparatory phases that are followed by the two cycles of the actual SR.

3.1. Preparatory phase

Before an actual SR session, two preparatory phases were completed. During the first phase, I requested that sixteen Finnish print media journalists (who had

[2] The SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills and decision-making in the field of educational, medical/clinical and second-language research (for overview, see Lyle 2003), but it has also been applied to media research (e.g. Rautkorpi 2011).
[3] see also Dempsey (2010: 350–351).
[4] Videotaping might have distorted the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee. The audio recording, in contrast, worked flawlessly, as it is commonly used in the field of journalism.

from 3 to 20 years of work experience) record one or two of their journalistic interviews for me. At this point, I did not divulge the exact nature of what I was studying. A rough transcript was then prepared for each of these recordings and these transcripts constitute Stimulus 1.

During the second preparatory phase, I collected the articles based on the aforementioned journalistic interviews. The types of these articles as well as the platforms of publication vary considerably. Indeed, the articles can be described as news articles, fact-focused articles, interview articles and profiles[5]. They were published in newspapers, magazines, customer magazines ("B-to-C magazines") as well as in web-publications. These articles comprised Stimulus 2. I then located the specific passages of text in Stimulus 1 that the quotations in the published articles were based on, and transcribed these passages in detail. Stimulus 1 and 2 are presented in Table 1. The example is an excerpt from an article published in a Finnish business magazine. The topic of the article is the career and company of an interviewee who is an immigrant from China. Both the journalistic interview and the article were originally in Finnish, but they are translated here into English[6].

---

[5] It should be noted that my data do not contain extensive literary-journalistic reportages, and this may have some impact on the array of practices unfolded in this paper.

[6] Since the interviewee is a non-native Finnish speaker, she not only has a foreign accent, but also makes frequent errors in inflection and word choice. However, these features were all "corrected" into standard Finnish in the original quotation in the article, and I have likewise not even attempted to replicate the incorrect language features in the transcript of the original journalistic interview. The original version of the example along with a complete analysis of it can be found in Haapanen (in press) and in English in Haapanen (submitted).

Stimulus 1: Transcription of the interview	**Stimulus 2: Published article**
Before the section below, the interviewee and the journalist reflected on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants. **Interviewee:** although I was so good… I can say that I was a diploma engineer and everything… education and career and… at the peak [of my career] in China that time **Journalist:** yeah **Interviewee:** but when I came here I am… a zero… **Journalist:** was it a hard situation to accept **Interviewee:** yes yes it was	At Midsummer of 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived to a deserted Helsinki with her husband. "In China I was a successful diploma engineer[7], here I was nothing. It was hard to accept."

Table 1: The transcript of a journalistic interview and a quotation based on it.

In the actual stimulated recall sessions that generated my data, I met each of the informant-journalists individually. I conducted SR sessions with 11 out of the 16 informants because at this point, their answers appeared to be "saturated" in that new aspects no longer seemed to arise. Each of these eleven informants has his/her personal identification number (I–XI), and whenever the excerpts from these SR sessions are mentioned, the informant's number is located at the end of the data excerpt.

The SR session began with enquiry of the informant's biographical information (such as education, work history, and received guidance on quoting, if any) and this was followed by two cycles of close reading of the transcript and the published article. These cycles were designed to reveal the practices of each of the quotation-making functions: *decontextualisation*, *contextualisation* as well as *textualisation*. I shall describe these two cycles below.

[7] *Diploma engineer* ('Master of Science in Technology') is a word-for-word translation of the Finnish degree of *diplomi-insinööri*, which refers to an engineer with a university degree.

3.2. First and second cycle of the SR

During the first cycle of the SR, the informant-journalist and I as a researcher examined each of the quotations in the published article separately. The aim of this first cycle of the SR was to determine the practices and motives concerning the first and second function of the process of quoting, namely decontextualisation and contextualisation. In practice, I asked the informant-journalist[8] to explain, firstly, her reason for selecting this particular text segment or content to be quoted, and secondly, why the quotation was positioned in this particular place in the article. Below are excerpts of the journalists' answers regarding (a) decontextualisation and (b) contextualisation in the data excerpts presented in Table 1.

a) Researcher: Why did you decide to use quotations in the first place and why did you select this particular segment to be quoted?
Informant-journalist: "Because this is a profile story where the interviewee is talking about themselves, of course the story will contain quotes. Here the interviewee presents opinions and also emotional matters, which she was allowed to say herself in the story". (I)

b) Researcher: Why was the quotation positioned in this particular place?
Informant-journalist: "First of all, what's practical about magazine writing is that you don't have to chronologically follow the course of the interview, as you can construct the storyline while writing the article afterwards. Additionally, the quotes and the body text need to form a kind of natural exchange, so that the text proceeds smoothly". (I)

During the second cycle of the SR, the informant-journalist and I closely read the published article and the transcript of the journalistic interview. The main objective of this SR cycle was to determine the practices and intentions for textualisation of the quoted discourse. In practice, the informants were asked the following: How would you describe your process of quoting in this particular case? Why did you edit the quoted material in this way? What influenced the process?

Below, there is an answer (c) describing the quoting practice of textualisation between the data excerpts presented in Table 1[9].

---

[8] When referring to my informant-journalists or to the interviewees mentioned in their articles, to maintain anonymity, I will consistently use the feminine pronoun regardless of the gender of the person in question.
[9] The particular SR data excerpts (a), (b) and (c) will be further examined in section 5.

c) Informant-journalist: "The point is that reality is what it all is based on – so that nothing is like coloured. But the fact is that these modifications happen all the time because quotations should be in proper standard Finnish – readable and smooth, not kinda clunky". (I)

The answers concerning each of the three functions of the quoting model were handled and analysed separately. All the SR sessions were tape-recorded and, as preparation for analysis, transcribed.

4. Analysis

The analysis of this research focused on the data which consist of the verbal protocols related to the quoting practices. In this analysis, I applied the two-cycle procedure proposed by Saldaña (2009). The first cycle identifies similar quoting processes, which emerged from the data, and then labels them with a common code. The second cycle identifies the similarities within these codes and organises similar codes into categories. These categories are the quoting practices that my informant-journalists use and can recognise from their work process. The coding and categorisation took place according to each of the three functions of recontextualisation. The analysis was conducted with ATLAS.ti. The two cycles of coding are described below and summarised in Table 2 with illustrative coding and categorisation examples.

Firstly, I demarcated all the individual segments where the informant-journalists somehow comment on their process of quoting. This diverse set of segments was subsequently coded with focused conceptualisations of the content of the segments. In the names of the codes, following Saldaña (2009), I used gerunds ("-ing" words) to help define what was actually occurring in each data segment. The segments with shared features, as those in terms of topic, purpose, goal, or practice, were assigned the same code.

After the data were coded, I categorised and reorganised the codes according to the similarity of the patterns of quoting process to eventually reach a compact number of conceptual categories (*pattern coding*, according to Saldaña 2009: 152). Since the categories are assigned conceptual names, which are more abstract than those given for the codes, the categories have the power to unite those conceptualisations pertaining to the same phenomenon.

I applied three conditions to enhance the credibility of my research. These conditions, which are elaborated on below, were to maintain the relevance of the analysis and keep its focus on the practices the informant-journalists have actually performed. Furthermore, these conditions were to prevent the analysis from becoming negatively influenced by the informant-journalists' second guessing what the researcher wanted to hear and from renewing the idealistic jargon of verbatim quoting (see Observer's Paradox in Labov 1972).

Condition 1. My analysis only considered those work practices that the informant-journalists actually recognised by themselves. In other words, I did not analyse practices that were not mentioned by the informant-journalists in SR interviews, even though they could have been plausibly inferred from the journalistic interviews, from their published articles, or from the research literature.

Condition 2. I considered only those sections that I was able to "confirm". That is, when the informant-journalist states "I took this filler word out" and points to an expletive that exists in the interview transcript, but not in the article, this phrase in the SR transcript was assigned the process code of <REMOVING EXPLETIVES>. However, I disregarded the sections where the informant-journalist imagined what she might have done in some hypothetical situation (for example, with the informant-journalist: "The demand for faithful word-for-word repetition could be important in those situations where the matter at hand is questionable, as in political matters, when someone denies something or justifies it. But this [= the article under scrutiny in this SR] isn't that kind of story".).

Condition 3. I did not include marginal practices that were mentioned by one informant only. However, these marginal examples are worth mentioning here because they reflect the diversity and often the practice-driven nature of quoting. Some of these occasional codes were the following: <QUOTING DIRECTLY BECAUSE DID NOT FULLY COMPREHEND THE INTERVIEWEE>, <SELECTING QUOTATIONS TO REACH A BALANCED PRESENCE BETWEEN INTERVIEWEES>, <INVENTING SOME WORDS BECAUSE THEY WERE UNCLEAR IN THE RECORDING>, <DISREGARDING THE WORD-FOR-WORD FIDELITY TO REDUCE HER OWN TIME CONSUMPTION>.

Table 2 comprises the analytical procedure of the data presented in section 3. I first identified and coded segments from the stimulated recall sessions. Then, I categorised these codes into groups of thematically and complementarily related codes. The last row of the table shows all the parallel categories in the same function of the recontextualisation process. I will elaborate on these categories in detail in the next section.

The function of the recontextualisation	**Decontextualisation (selection & extraction)**	**Contextualisation (positioning)**	**Textualisation (modification)**
The extract from an SR session in which the informant-journalist (I) comments on her process of quoting in this particular function	*Researcher: …why did you select this particular segment to be quoted?* Informant-journalist: “Here the interviewee presents opinions and also emotional matters, which she was allowed to say herself in the story”. (I)	*Researcher: Why was the quotation positioned in this particular place?* Informant-journalist: “First of all, what’s practical about magazine writing is that you don’t have to chronologically follow the course of the interview, as you can construct the storyline while writing the article afterwards”. (I)	*Researcher: Why did you modify the quote this way?* Informant-journalist: “The point is that reality is what it all is based on – so that nothing is like coloured. But the fact is that these modifications happen all the time because quotations should be in proper standard Finnish – readable and smooth, not kinda clunky”. (I)
Code	<TELLING AN OPINION>	<NOT NEEDING TO FOLLOW THE INTERVIEW>	<MODIFYING INTO PROPER STANDARD LANGUAGE>
Similar codes	• CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER • DESCRIBING PERSONAL DELIVERY • DESCRIBING THE SPEAKER’S RELATION TO THE SUBJECT MATTER • CONVEYING FIRST-HAND INFORMATION • DESCRIBING THE INTERVIEWEE’S WAY OF SEEING THE ISSUE	• MERGING SEVERAL UTTERANCES INTO ONE QUOTATION • CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE	• DELETING SPOKEN LANGUAGE FEATURES • SIMPLIFYING CLAUSE STRUCTURE • COMPLETING THE “SPOKEN” SPELLING OF WORDS • IMPROVING THE READABILITY

Main category (practice)	CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE	CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION	STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM
Other categories (in this function) The total number of codes combined in the category is in brackets.	• DISCLAIMING RESPONSIBILITY (6) • ADDING PLAUSIBILITY TO THE ARTICLE (4)	• PACING THE STRUCTURE (5)	• INTENTIONALLY INCLUDING VERNACULAR ASPECTS (5) • CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE (3) • SHARPENING THE FUNCTION OF THE QUOTATION (8)

Table 2: An example of the course of analysis.

5. Results

This section presents my findings on the quoting practices that the informant-journalists acknowledged. I recognise that the field of journalism is too broad and heterogeneous for any amount of qualitative data to exhaustively cover the quoting practices in written journalism. However, due to the diversity of the informant-journalists included in my study, I suggest that these results can, in fact, be generalised in a broader context.

In the stimulated recall sessions (section 3) as well as the data analysis (section 4), the process of quoting was divided into three functions based on my theoretical propositions (Haapanen forthcoming). Accordingly, I identified nine quoting practices and I will present them in this section classified under the particular functions of quoting in which they occur. These nine practices dynamically create the intertextual chain between the journalistic interviews and the quotations that occur in the journalistic articles.

To obtain an overview of quoting that transcends any individual quoting practices, I attempted to connect the categories axially in order to detect a *core category* (Saldaña 2009: 163–167). A core category is composed of all the products of the analysis condensed into a few words, and thus will "explain variation as well as the main point made by the data" (Strauss & Corbin 1998: 147). In other words, a core category needs to cover, and have an explanatory relevance for, all the practices revealed in this research, and therefore it needs to be a sufficiently abstract concept so that all the categories can be linked to it. The core category of this research is the overarching objective of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS">. In practical words, journalists aim primarily to make a good story with good quotes, not to transform spoken utterances into a written format as verbatim as possible, nor to maintain the exact meaning of these utterances.

It is important that the "objective of the article over the demand for 'directness'" be understood here as constituting an ideal preparation of an article in terms of content as well as the manner of representation. In other words, a journalist receives an assignment describing the task that she must complete, and this task serves as the objective the journalist strives to achieve when searching for sources, selecting interviewees, outlining the text, and finally writing an article. During this process of completing the task, she also formulates quotations by adopting the practices that will be presented in this section. However, it is worth noting that this same task, which will be realised as an article, might also serve other objectives for the other stakeholders in publishing, such as chief editors, media managers, and publishers as well as the target audience. This aspect will be discussed further at the end of this article.

5.1. Practices of decontextualisation

The duration of the journalistic interviews comprising my data varied between a few minutes and almost two hours. In each case, only selected parts of the interview are used as direct quotations in the article. These *decontextualisation practices* were classified into three categories.

a) Constructing the persona of the interviewee.

Journalists tend to quote the opinions, insights, viewpoints and other personal perceptions that describe the interviewee's mindset. In addition, utterances that reflect how the interviewee structures her thoughts and her reactions towards a subject matter are likewise quotable, as are utterances that describe the interviewee's delivery and distinctive manner of speaking.

> Informant-journalist: "I wanted the quote to be that difficult to understand, because I find someone speaking in such a complicated manner terribly interesting." (II)

> Informant-journalist: "If someone has an interesting or individualistic way of saying things, they are great to replicate in the quotations". (III)

> Informant-journalist: “I wanted to place that item in to the quote because it was so peculiar”. (IV)

b) Disclaiming responsibility.

The source of information is indicated by a quotation, or more precisely, the reporting clause. Journalists quote utterances on subject matters that cannot be easily verified, and thus they protect themselves by transferring the responsibility for the factual content to the interviewee. Quotations marks also confirm − or rather aim at creating an illusion − that word choices and other linguistic details in the quotation are originally from the interviewee.

> Researcher: If those issues weren't in a direct quotation, might they lack credibility?
>
> Informant-journalist: “Exactly, that’s because they are expressed in such a unique way”. (V)
>
> Informant-journalist: “Usually when a start-up entrepreneur speaks about her future and goals, I want to write the statements as direct quotations. That way the entrepreneur is personally responsible for what they said”. (VI)
>
> Informant-journalist: “Because it's impossible to check this, I can't get that info from anywhere”. [The informant-journalist tries to account for why she quoted directly.] (VII)

c) Adding plausibility to the article

A quotation that is attributed to an expert-interviewee strengthens her presence in the article (which is an intrinsic value in human-centred articles), and this in turn gives further credence to the veracity of the factual content covered in the article. Indeed, informant-journalists generally perceive quotations as having particular significance in relation to the body text of the article, and it therefore makes sense to place important and interesting content into a quotation. Furthermore, any content presented in the form of a quotation gains added value.

> Informant-journalist: “They were such strong and extreme opinions and I wanted to emphasise that, so I placed them in a quotation. In my opinion, when something is in a quotation it has more weight”. (II)
>
> Informant-journalist: “It gains more credibility when the person says it themselves. It might be a little milder way to use ‘according to Ms X…’ or ‘in Ms X's opinion…’”. (VII)

5.2. Practices of contextualisation.

Journalistic articles are not accounts of the course of the journalistic interviews they are based on. Therefore, the decontextualised segments cannot be mechanically transferred to their "right places" in the article. Instead, this contextualisation process requires deliberate and conscious decision-making.

a) Constructing the narration

A journalistic article is not an account of the course of a journalistic interview, but an independent text entity. For this reason, informant-journalists place the quoted content in the article in a way that best fits and contributes to the storyline.

> [Informant-journalist explained the merging of several sections from the interview into one single quotation.]
>
> "Here I'm also justifying this with that need for succinctness. Since we talk about that same thing in both sections and combining them doesn't alter either statement, then I think it's okay to do that". (VIII)
>
> Informant-journalist: "In a profile article like this, where the whole point is to characterise that person and bring up interesting things about her, then I think it's okay to change the order [of topics covered in the interview] more freely". (II).

b) Pacing the structure

The quotations and the body text need to alternate in a smooth and natural way. Journalists seem to share the common principle that they will not incorporate two quotations in succession without having at least a reporting clause between them. Furthermore, relatively short quotations are preferred and long quotations are avoided, although there are variations on formal preferences among journalists (cf. the first data extract below). Another observation is that the length of the final quotations does not need to correlate with the length of the original stretches of talk on which the quotation is based. In other words, however long the original stretches of text might be, they are truncated into relatively short quotations.

> Informant-journalist: "Generally I like long quotations, so that you let the interviewee really say and describe her way of thinking". (IX)
>
> Informant-journalist: "I'm trying to create an impression that me and the interviewee sort of tell this story together. I say something and the interviewee comments it. This dialogue moves the story forward, and it's also a kind of rhythm thing". (II)
>
> Informant-journalist: "That first quote came pretty late. Usually I like to bring in the interviewee a little closer to the beginning of the article". (IX).

5.3. Practices of textualisation

Quotations need to meet and fulfil their functions in the narration of the article (see Haapanen 2011). This often requires substantial modifications to the textual and linguistic form of the quoted text. However, it is important to note that when the original discourse fulfils the target that the journalist has set for this particular quotation-in-the-making, it can be quoted in its original linguistic form without modification.

a) Standardising the linguistic form.

Quotations are modified into standard language on a routine basis. This requires both deleting the "disfluencies" caused by the on-line nature of spoken language (such as colloquial words, re-starts, self-corrections and expletives) and simplifying clause structures that reflect the oral origin in their fragmental shape.

> Informant-journalist: "I don't feel the need to make my interviewees appear stupid in these stories [published in a regular column], so I want to portray them saying grammatically correct things in a comprehensible way". (VI)

> Informant-journalist: "We've talked in the office about editing quotations and our boss has given guidelines that the same grammatical rules that apply to the body text also apply to the quotations. This means that we don't have to leave colloquialisms into the quote unless leaving them in serves some specific purpose". (VIII).

b) Intentionally including vernacular aspects.

Deviations from universal standardisation are acceptable as a "flavour" (II), but these deviations need to serve some specific function in the storyline. Most often they concern a single informal word or phrase and thus they usually characterise the interviewee by indicating his/her original word choice or enunciation.

> Informant-journalist: "The story is about a Syrian man, who lives in South-eastern Finland. He used the word 'mie', which showed how well he's assimilated into Finland. So I included it once in the quotation". [*Mie* is a dialectical variant of the pronoun *minä* 'I'.] (I)

> Informant-journalist: "In a TV interview, you can see and hear the whole thing, questions and answers and the way they talk and explain things. All this gets easily left out in print articles, and that's why I think writing the quotation as verbatim as possible is the only way to inject a genuine feel to the story. Though of course some alterations and editing are unavoidable". (III)

The aforementioned quoting practices (a) Standardising the linguistic form and (b) Intentionally including vernacular aspects are all-embracing in my data. However, these strategies do not account for a considerable number of modifications. These modifications involve deletions and insertions as well as changes in the order of elements ranging from a suffix or word, to a phrase or a longer stretch of text. It is noteworthy that insertions can also include some linguistic elements that do not exist in the journalistic interview. To explain these modifications, the informant-journalists mentioned the following two practices.

c) Clarifying the original message.

Deletions, insertions and other modifications are used to clarify and condense the original message that the interviewee disseminates through quotation (or to be more accurate, the journalists clarify *their own* interpretation of the message). The following are the informant-journalists' observations on this:

> Informant-journalist: "You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said". (I)

> Informant-journalist: "The content has to be accurate, but you can modify the text grammatically so that it's more readable and understandable". (VII)

> Informant-journalist: "I think that when I first wrote that quote, I had a kind of feeling that there might be a risk of misunderstanding or incomprehension. So I added that 'I went to bed', it clarifies the whole thing – and it's probably true". (V).

d) Sharpening the function of the quotation.

Essentially, the modifications are made so that the quotations fulfil their function in the storyline. In other words, certain material is selected (decontextualised) from the interview and positioned (contextualised) into the storyline for some specific reason; and the quotation is modified (textualised) in a way that best fulfils this task.

> One emphatic quotation includes the Finnish word *helvetti*, 'hell', as a curse word. However, in the very section on which the quotation was based, the interviewee did not use the word *hell* or any other curse word − although it should be mentioned that the interviewee cursed profusely during the interview in general. During the SR session, the informant-journalist (V) told the researcher that the function of the insertion was to add "a couple of hammer blows to the end of that quotation".

> Informant-journalist: "We have really tight space restrictions and at the same time, we have to cover major issues from multiple angles. So that's why I think it's justifiable to make those kinds of changes [= deleting some words and repetitions

> which are caused by the process-likeness of spoken discourse], since they don’t alter the meaning in any way”. (VIII)
>
> Informant-journalist: “The interview section for this quote was pretty informal and disjointed, more like random chatting, but I had to pack it tightly in to the article. Therefore, all the colloquial meandering had to be taken out, and so did all the incomplete thoughts and ambiguous expressions”. (X)
>
> Informant-journalist: “This ain't a true direct quotation, more like a five-minute rant which I then condensed into a two-line quote, and I think it's okay to do something like that because that's in line with stories like this and because I had sent the story to her for checking [prior to publication] − which is common practice with these stories − and she was okay with the quote”. (VI)
>
> Researcher: The body text leading up to the quotation is different from the question to which the quote is given as an answer. I mean, the interpretational context has changed.
>
> Informant-journalist: “That’s true. When I wrote the story I slightly altered the theme we discussed in the interview and then I placed this quote under the new theme”. (III).

6. Conclusion

In the spirit of media linguistics, this paper has been guided by both theory and practice while it also claims to add back value to both of them. The main argument of this paper is that it is useful to conceptualise the relation between journalistic interviews and the quotations in journalistic articles as an *intertextual chain*. With respect to theory, this analysis classified the process of “chaining” into nine practices and presented each practice under the particular function of the process of recontextualisation it serves.

In *decontextualisation*, journalists aim at (1) constructing the persona of the interviewee, (2) disclaiming the responsibility for the content, and/or (3) adding plausibility to the article. In *contextualisation*, journalists aim at (4) constructing the narration and (5) pacing the structure. In *textualisation*, journalists aim at (6) standardising the linguistic form, although they occasionally (7) allow some vernacular aspects that serve a particular purpose in the storyline. Furthermore, journalists aim at (8) clarifying the original message and (9) sharpening the function of the quotation.

In order to acquire a broader view of quoting beyond any single practice, I connected the categories into the *core category* of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR “DIRECTNESS”>. This core category covers and has a high explanatory relevance for all the practices revealed in this research. In doing so, it indicates – contrary to the prevalent perception of journalism guidebooks – that quoting in written journalism does not primarily aim either at replicating the quoted text verbatim, or at maintaining its exact meaning. This finding is in line with the observations made about television news production: Both the interviews as well as the editing of the news stories are guided by the reporter's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like, rather than by the actual outcome of the interviews (Altheide 1974; Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003; 2006a; Sand & Helland 1998; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010).

The core category <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS"> also applies more widely to the process of making an article: For instance, the objectives of an article are negotiated before the gathering of information. This gathering, in turn, may lead to a revisit of the objectives; and these revisited objectives sometimes lead to different decisions than the original objectives. Finally, all these back and forth processes also affect the quotations.

Furthermore, the all-embracing core category does not appear out of thin air. One can presume that the fundamental motives for these objectives derive from factors such as the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of publications, the needs and interests of the audience and, furthermore, the current journalistic culture and the societal context in which publishing takes place at large (see Kang 2007; Helle & Töyry 2009). To confirm all these assumptions, further research beyond the scope of the data and methods used in this article is required.

Another theoretical outcome of this study concerns a phenomenon that I call *monologisation* (Haapanen submitted). This notion refers to the common procedure of eliminating the interview situation's interactive turn exchange between an interviewee and a journalist and presenting the quoted interaction in the article as the interviewee's independent, continuous and spontaneous speech. However, this study indicates that journalists may not be aware of this procedure. In the stimulated recall sessions, my informant-journalists did not encapsulate and conceptualise this process of *monologisation* at all. This is a significant "blind spot" for professional journalists to have and therefore it deserves more profound consideration.

From the perspective of practice, this analysis has demonstrated that the definitions of journalism terminology handbooks and the guidance of guidebooks and textbooks are contradictory to the actual and deliberately executed quoting practices of journalists. Therefore, the dissemination of actual quoting practices is not only useful but also essential for practitioners and newcomers alike. It is also fair to the audience: a question of the truthfulness of quotations and journalism in general is, to a great extent, a question of the transparency of the principles of work practices[10]. The results of my study have already been disseminated in lectures and through participation in public discussion both within the field of journalism as well as among the readers. Furthermore, the stimulated recall sessions themselves raised awareness and created positive experiences among the informants who were involved in my study.

In essence, quotations are a common and effective means for a number of reasons in written journalism. In order to formulate quotations as a journalist and to interpret them as a reader, it is necessary to understand the common objectives adopted in quoting and the circumstances involved in quoting. Furthermore, besides being interesting in their own right, quoting practices are a window for perceiving and better understanding the complex and intrinsically contradictory activity of journalistic writing.

[10] I owe this insight to my colleague Hanna Weselius, who made it originally about journalistic photos.

References

ALTHEIDE, David (1974), *Creating Reality: How TV News Distorts Events*, Beverly Hills, Sage.

BEAUFORT, Anne (2008), « Writing in the Professions ». In BAZERMAN, Charles (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Writing. History, Society, School, Individual, Text*, New York, Routledge, 221-235.

BROOKS, Brian S., George KENNEDY, Daryl R. MOEN & Don RANTLY (The Missouri Group) (2002), *News Reporting and Writing* (7th ed), Boston, Bedford.

CLAYMAN, Steven (1995), « Defining Moments, Presidential Debates and the Dynamics of Quotability», *Journal of Communication* 45(3), 118–146.

DEMPSEY, Nicholas P. (2010), « Stimulated Recall Interviews in Ethnography », *Qual Sociol* 33, 349–367.

DIPARDO, Anne (1994), « Stimulated Recall in Research on Writing: An Antidote to "I don't Know, It Was Fine" ». In SMAGORINSKY, Peter (ed.), *Speaking About Writing – Reflections on Research Methodology*, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, 163-181.

EKSTRÖM, Mats (2001), « Politicians interviewed on television news », *Discourse & Society* 12(5), 563–584.

EKSTRÖM, Mats (2006), « Interviewing, quoting, and the development of modern news journalism. A study of the Swedish press 1915 – 1995 ». In EKSTRÖM, Mats & Åsa KROON & Mats NYLUND (eds), *News from the Interview Society*, Göteborg, Nordicom, 21-48.

FAIRCLOUGH, Norman (1992), *Discourse and Social Change*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

FLICK, Uwe & Ernst VON KARDOFF & Ines STEINKE (eds) (2004), *A companion to qualitative research*, London, Sage.

GIBSON, Rhonda & Joe B. HESTER (2000), « Student Understanding of the Use of Quotes and Paraphrases », Journalism and Mass Communication Educator 54(4), 59–66.

GOLDSTEIN, Norm (2009), *The Associated Press Stylebook and Briefing on Media Law 2009*, New York, Basic Books.

GRÉSILLON, Almuth & Daniel PERRIN (2014), « Methodology: From speaking about writing to tracking text production ». In JAKOBS, Eva-Maria & Daniel

PERRIN (eds), *Handbook of Writing and Text Production*, Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton, 79-111.

HAAPANEN, Lauri (2011), « Sitaattien tehtävät ja tekeminen kaunokirjallis-journalistisissa lehtijutuissa [The functions and making of quotations in literary-journalistic magazine articles] », *Media & viestintä [Media & Communication]* 34(3), 64-89.

HAAPANEN, Lauri (in press a), « Directly from interview to quotations? Quoting practices in written journalism ». In LAURY, Ritva, Marja ETELÄMÄKI & Elizabeth COUPER-KUHLEN (eds), *Combining clauses and actions in social interaction*, Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

HAAPANEN, Lauri (in press b), « Siteeraus lehtijutuissa [Quoting in written journalism] ». In TIITTULA, Liisa & Pirkko NUOLIJÄRVI (eds), *Puheesta tekstiksi. Puheen kirjallisen esittämisen alueita, keinoja ja rajoja* [From spoken word to written text. Domains, means and restrictions of the representation of spoken language in written form], Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

HAAPANEN, Lauri (forthcoming), « Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun [Recontextualizing interview discourse into quotations for written media] », *Virittäjä*.

HAAPANEN, Lauri (submitted), « Monologisation as a practice of quoting. Obscuring the presence of the journalist in written journalism », Article manuscript.

HELLE, Merja & Maija TÖYRY (2009), « Media concept as a tool for analyzing change in media ». In OITTINEN, Pirkko & Hannu SAARELMA (eds), *Print Media. Principles, Processes and Quality*, Helsinki, Paper Engineers' Association/Paperi ja Puu Oy, 497-530.

JOHNSON BARELLA, Doris (2005), « La literalidad en el uso de las citas directas en las noticias de la prensa regional Navarra. Dos casos: Diario de Noticias y Diario de Navarra. *Comunicación y Sociedad [Communication and Society]* 2, 109-140.

KANG, Ji-Hae (2007), « Recontextualization of News Discourse », *The Translator* 13(2), 219-242.

KRAMER, Mark & Wendy CALL (eds) (2007), *Telling True Stories – a nonfiction writers' guide from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University*, London, Plume Books.

KROON LUNDELL, Åsa & Mats EKSTRÖM (2010), « 'Interview bites' in television news production and presentation », *Journalism Practice* 4(4), 476-491.

LABOV, William (1972), *Sociolinguistic patterns*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

LEHRER, Adrienne (1989), « Remembering and Representing Prose: Quoted Speech as a Data Source », *Discourse Processes* 12, 105-125.

LINELL, Per (1998), « *Approaching Dialogue: Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives* », Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

LYLE, John (2003), « Stimulated recall: a report on its use in naturalistic research », *British Educational Research Journal* 29, 861-878.

MITCHELL, Amy & Tom ROSENSTIEL (2000), « Don't touch that quote », Columbia Journalism Review 38(5), 34-36.

NYLUND, mats (2003), « Asking questions, making sound-bites: research reports, interviews and television news stories », *Discourse Studies* 5(4), 517-533.

NYLUND, Mats (2006a), « Control and Collaboration. Interviewing and Editing in Television News Production ». In EKSTRÖM, Mats, Åsa KROON & Mats NYLUND (eds), *News from the Interview Society*, Göteborg, Nordicom, 207-222.

NYLUND, Mats (2006b), « Journalism's Vitality. On the Narrative Functions of Quotes ». In EKSTRÖM, Mats, Åsa KROON & Mats NYLUND (eds), *News from the Interview Society*, Göteborg, Nordicom, 147-164.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The Linguistics of Newswriting.* Amsterdam/New York, John Benjamins.

RAUTKORPI, Tiina (2011), *Televisiokeskustelu yhteiskehittelynä: Tapaustutkimus tv-tuotannosta ja merkityksellistämisen taidosta [Television conversations as co-configuration: a case study of television production and the art of meaning construction]*, Tampere, Tampere University Press.

SALDAÑA, Johnny (2009), *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, Los Angeles, Sage.

SAND, Gunnar & Knut HELLAND (1998), *Bak TV-nyhetene: Produksjon og presentasjon I NRK og TV2* [Behind the TV news: Production and presentation on NRK and TV2], Bergen, Fagbokforlaget.

SMAGORINSKY, Peter (1994), « Introduction: Potential Problems and Problematic Potentials of Using Talk About Writing as Data About Writing

Process ». In SMAGORINSKY, Peter (ed), *Speaking About Writing: Reflections on Research Methodology*, Thousand Oaks, Sage, 163-181.

STRAUSS, Anselm & Juliet CORBIN (1998), *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.), Thousand Oaks, Sage.

TAMMI, Riitta (2016), *Engaging with Media in the Fragmented Media Environment*. Doctoral dissertation. Helsinki, Aalto University publication series.

VANDENDAELE, Astrid, Ludovic DE CUYPERE & Ellen VAN PRAET (2015), «Beyond 'trimming the Fat' – The Sub-editing Stage of Newswriting », *Written Communication* 32(4), 368-395.

ZELIZER, Barbie & Stuart ALLAN (2010), *Keywords in News and Journalism Studies*. Maidenhead/New York, Open University Press.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 123-150

CONSTRUCTING EXPERT IDENTITY AS A HEALTH JOURNALIST: A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS

Jana DECLERCQ [1]
Ghent University
Jana.declercq@ugent.be

Abstract

Health journalists have been heavily criticized in academic literature for bad and inaccurate reporting, but little research has considered factors like discursive identity and roles to gain a better understanding of their daily journalistic practice. This paper examines how specialized journalists construct and negotiate their expert identity in the field of health, medicine and science. We conducted a fine-grained analysis of three interviews, with journalists that have various degrees of specialisation, and different backgrounds and working circumstances. Taking into account discursive markers, this analysis provides us with new insights in the arguments and factors that journalists refer to when reflecting on and constructing their expert identity when discussing health topics.

Keywords: expert identity, health journalism, expertise, discursive analysis

1. Introduction

Nowadays, most research in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and ethnography is firmly rooted in the idea that identity is not a stable structure fixed in social categories or in the psyche of the individual, but a dynamic phenomenon that is actively and discursively constructed in social interaction (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall 2005). The construction of identities take place in numerous settings and on various levels, for instance on the work floor:

> «Discursive practices are used by members of a profession to shape events in the domains subject to their professional scrutiny. The shaping process creates the objects of knowledge that become the insignia of a profession's craft: the theories, the artifacts, and bodies of expertise that distinguish it from other professions» (Goodwin 1994: 606).

More recent research on professional identities, and more specifically on expert identities, also supports this line of thinking, as noted in Summerson Carr's literature review: "Expertise is something people do rather than something people

---

[1] Research centre Health, Media & Society (https://www.healthmediasociety.net/)

have or hold (…) Expertise is inherently interactional" (Carr 2010: 18). Expertise is then the process of employing specialized knowledge, gained through training and apprenticeship, to become an authorized voice in a certain institutionalized domain, which allows someone to evaluate, validate and authentificate people, products or processes that are somehow object of the field of expertise in question. As the authorization can only happen in relation to others, expertise is an ongoing, interactional process. Therefore, the expert must be able to phrase and prove his/her determinations, through what Matoesian (1999: 518) calls "the mastery verbal of performance"; the correct and specialized use of certain linguistic and metalinguistic resources, like jargon, acronyms, and certain narratives.

Inspired by Urban (2001), Summerson Carr also notes that "experts are people who make it their business to become intimate with classes of culturally valuable things that are relatively inaccessible or illegible to laypeople" (Carr 2010: 21). However, such a binary opposition between laypeople and experts is not always tenable. It is not required to be a real, formalized expert to partially, or completely construct an expert identity in social interactions, both on the work floor as well as in other settings. An interesting example is Matoesian's (1999) analysis of a lawyer who, as attorney of the defendant, takes up the role of a medical expert during his defence. He reinterprets the medical data that is used as evidence, to eventually make new meta-diagnostic deductions. Similarly, many conversational interactions will show discursive traits of expert identities if one interlocutor considers him or herself to hold some form of expert knowledge, considers it viable to take up an expert role, or when he or she is put in that position by other participants.

In this article, we examine the construction of expert identity of journalists who were interviewed on their work as health reporters. Our study is part of a broader ethnographic project on the dynamics and discursive practices underlying elderly-related health news. To prepare further ethnographic research, we believe studying interviews can provide us with interesting insights, as the dynamic nature of any identity will always be amplified in the interview setting. An interview is, by its nature, a pre-eminent form of social interaction in which the participants are invited to actively construct and manage their identity and self-representation through discourse and rhetorical devices. Yew-Lin Lee and Wolff-Michael Roth consider the interview and what is being said "as an outcome of the activity 'doing interviews'" (Lee & Roth 2004); and identities will be reinforced, modified or discarded during the activity.

The reason we are particularly interested in the expert identity of specialized health and science journalists is because this identity has not always been accepted by critical scholars. Health journalists are facing a widespread critique in the field of journalism studies, as they are being accused of inaccurate, sensationalist and biased reporting, and failing to engage publics in a meaningful dialogue, etc. (e.g. Amend & Secko 2012). However, the metareview shows that this critique is strongly rooted in research that mainly or exclusively considers sourcing practices and the relation between scientist and journalist (276). According to Amend & Secko (2012), more attention should be given to external factors in journalistic practice, journalist identity, and science literacy, and the critique should be reconsidered in the light of these three elements.

Similarly, Hallin & Briggs (2014) criticize that linear-reflectionist perspective in which news media are considered to be a means by which scientific information is transmitted to the mass public, and argue that we need to seek "a wider understanding of health journalism as a social institution and as a practice of knowledge production" (Hallin & Briggs 2014: 97).

Examining the discursive construction of specialized expert identities of health from the framework that was outlined above can be of help here to find that wider understanding. Specialized journalists are not necessarily formally part of the institutionalized domain they write about, but are still considered experts in the interaction with the other journalists in the newsroom and their public. This results in a tense situation: their expertise is inherently part of their identity of a specialized journalist, but they cannot really interactionally construct it because they lack formal education and/or a formal, authoritative position in the institutionalized domain. Their expertise can only exist by relying on other experts, giving these a voice in their news stories. Moreover, to do proper reporting, whether specialized or not, it is also paramount to employ journalistic expertise. Thus, specialized journalists have to keep a constant balance between two kinds of expertise: the expertise concerning their field of specialization, and their general journalistic expertise.

By examining the discursive construction of the expert identity of health journalists in qualitative research interviews and analysing the dynamics of these constructions, we can learn more about how journalists handle these tensions. In short, the research questions we aim to answer are as follows:

- How do journalists discursively construct their (relative) expertise on health in the particular context of research interviews?
- How do they explicitly reflect on and evaluate their expert identity?
- Which implicit traces of expert identity construction do we find in their language when talking about health topics and about writing about health?

2. Profile of the interviewees

The three interviews used for this in-depth analysis were part of a larger sample of seven interviews with newspaper and magazine journalists, of which one was a duo interview, resulting in eight interviewed journalists. The journalists were all (partly) working on health, science and/or medicine, with varying profiles in terms of experience, education, level of specialisation and focus on health in the magazine or newspapers. The journalists were selected because they were working for one of the four major newspapers or a major specialized magazine in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, and because they were considered to be the journalist in the newsroom who worked on health most often. The interviews were semi-structured and conducted in the tradition of Mortelmans (2007), between January and March 2015. They covered a wide range of topics and elements influencing or connected to their daily practice, like work floor structure, writing, sourcing and framing practices, the concept of "health", and "being healthy/ill". A health news story they had recently written was also always discussed, to retrospectively reconstruct the underlying production processes. The journalists were aware that the interviews were part of a research project on elderly-related health journalism. The three selected interviewees and the magazines they work for have the following profiles[2]:

- Jill works for a magazine targeting Belgian people over fifty and covering different topics, but with a very strong focus on health, law and finance. The magazine is published both in Dutch and in French, with a common editor-in-chief but journalists from both language regions producing content in their own language.

[2] For privacy concerns, the names are fictional.

- Ben works for a monthly science magazine targeting a highly educated Belgian, Dutch-speaking audience and reporting on natural sciences, medicine, social sciences and technology.
- Uma works for a very popular newspaper, targeting a very broad Dutch-speaking Belgian audience.

Jill, Ben and Uma were selected because they have different profiles and displayed different constructions of expert identity. By analyzing research interview fragments and comparing these analyses, we can gain more understanding about the diversity in their discursive constructions and the mechanisms behind this diversity.

3. Analysis

3.1. Jill's identity as an expert

Jill has been working for the same magazine for 21 years, of which she dedicated 15 years solely to health reporting. She is currently in charge of the website and covers a range of different, but still writes about health. She has a degree in physiotherapy and in hospital science and management, but she has always worked as a (health) journalist and as a translator of medical texts. However, when she introduces herself to me, she immediately presents herself in her position of a health professional, when I ask her to confirm whether she has worked solely as a health journalist for most of her career:

(1)

001 Jill:	ja ja absoluut, vele jaren
	yes yes absolutely, many years
002 Interviewer:	en en hoe
	and and how
003 Jill:	en en euh ik ben eigenlijk van opleiding licentiaat kiné
	and and uhm I actually am trained as a physiotherapist
004 Interviewer:	ah ja
	oh yes
005 Jill:	en ik heb nog een licentie ziekenhuiswetenschappen gedaan
	and I also have a master's degree in hospital sciences
006 Interviewer:	ah oké

	oh okay
007 Jill:	en ik ben eigenlijk vrij toevallig in de journalistiek beland
	and I actually ended up in journalism <u>quite accidentally</u>

While I did not ask her about her education or background, she does mention it immediately, and points out that she became a journalist "quite accidentally", putting her role as a health professional above her role as a journalist. This indicates that Jill seems quite confident about her identity as a health professional. Another quite explicit way of her legitimizing her expert role can be found in the following fragment. Jill explains why she hardly ever sends her final text to the expert she has interviewed, only when the interviewee asks her to do so, while her younger colleague always does this:

(2)

001 Jill:	aléja ik moet zeggen ik ik eeuh
	well I have to say I I uhm
002 Jill:	ben eh in een nest van dokters geboren dus eh
	was uhm <u>born in in a home of physicians so</u> uhm
003 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
004 Jill:	mijn vader, mijn broer
	my father, my brother
005 Interviewer:	oké
	okay
006 Jill:	mijn ex-man en
	my ex-husband and
007 Jill:	dus heel die medische terminologie is voor mij ook al
	so all that medical terminology is for me also
008 Interviewer:	ja en u heeft ook-
	yes and you have too-
009 Jill:	veel couranter dan dan
	<u>a lot more familiar</u> than than
010 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
011 Jill:	voor een buitenstaander.
	for an outsider.

To support the claim that her articles do not need proofreading, she argues that she gained (part of) her expert knowledge at home, being surrounded by health professionals, which makes it a lot easier for her to handle all the medical terminology.

Later in the interview, and more implicitly, it becomes clear in two fragments that she considers herself equal, a peer of the medical professionals in her environment. In the fragment below, she talks about her capacity for interpreting academic articles:

(3)

001 Interviewer:	en is dat voor u te doen om dat dan te interpreteren die, die artikels
	and is that doable for you to then to interpret those, those articles
002 Interviewer:	euh of hoe gaat u daarmee om gaat u dan eh
	uhm or how do you deal with that then uhm
003 Jill:	goh het ene wel het andere niet maar ik eh alé
	oh one is and another isn't but I uhm you know
004 Jill:	als ik ze niet begrijp of of niet door dan ga ik daarmee naar
	if I don't understand them or or don't get then I take them to
005 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
006 Jill:	artsen in mijn omgeving om dat alé
	physicians in my environment to that- you know
007 Jill:	heel vaak met mijn met mijn ex-echtgenoot euhm
	very often with my ex-husband uhm
008 Jill:	zitten wij urenlang nog te brainstormen zo over-
	we brainstorm for hours like that about
	(four turns omitted)
014 Jill:	dan eh boo- zetten we daar een boompje over op
	then we have a long conversation about it

In turn 3 to 6, she indicates she sometimes does need help interpreting articles in medical journals; she does not consider herself a full-blown expert at all times. But then she attenuates this statement by explaining how she sometimes discusses medical issues with her ex-husband. The translation of the expression *een boompje opzetten* ("we have a long conversation about it") in l.14 does not fully convey its full meaning: the expression means having an informal, cosy and long discussion. This again suggests that she and her ex-husbands are peers who can informally discuss health topics.

In the following fragment, she talks about an interview she had with a gynaecologist for an article on menopause:

(4)

001 Jill:	toen hebben we meer dan een uur zitten praten
	then we have been talking for more than an hour
002 Interviewer:	ja oké
	yes okay
003 Jill:	maar we zijn een beetje afgedwaald ook
	but we have strayed off a bit too
004 Interviewer:	oké (smiling voice)
	okay
005 Jill:	over eh andere gynaecologische dingen, maar ehm
	about uhm other gynaecological stuff, but uhm
006 Interviewer	oké
	okay
007 Jill:	ja nee we hebben zeker meer dan een uur eh
	yes no we have certainly for more than uhm an hour
008 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
009 Jill:	zitten praten
	been talking

Jill mentions twice that she has talked with the gynaecologist for over an hour, explaining that they were “straying off a bit”. This expression also implies that Jill’s contact with this expert was casual, informal, as between (close) colleagues or friends.

The constant negotiation of her expert identity like in excerpt (3) can be found many times during the interview and occurs in different ways. In the following fragment (5), she answers the question why health is an important topic to write about:

(5)

001 Jill:	omdat dat ook heel belangrijk is in het leven van een mens
	because that also is very important in someone's life
002 Interviewer:	Ja
	yes
003 Jill:	gezondheid
	health
	(two turns omitted)
006 Jill:	hoe ouder de mensen worden, hoe meer dat dat naar voor komt
	the older people get, the more it becomes apparent
007 Jill:	in alle enquêtes die we doen, dat gezondheid eh
	in all the surveys we do, that health uh
008 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
009 Jill:	eh je mag rijk zijn je mag geld hebben om op reis te gaan je mag eeh
	uhm you can be rich, you can have money to travel you can uh
010 Jill:	een schitterend- kinderen die goed terechtgekomen zijn enzovoort
	a great- have kids that grew up fine and so on
011 Jill:	als je begint te sukkelen zeggen ze,
	if you start getting troubles they say
012 Jill:	dan is het gedaan want dan word je terug afhankelijk,
	then it's over, because then you become dependent again
013 Jill:	dan dan ben je met al de rest niets meer
	then then the rest is worth nothing anymore
	(two turns omitted)
016 Jill:	[dat] is echt de hoofdangst die mensen
	[that] really is the main fear people
017 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
018 Jill:	uiten in in alle dingen die we- in alle enquêtes die we doen
	people express in in all things that we- in all surveys that we do

Jill's answer is quite a strong statement; to back it up, she refers to evidence she has, in the form of the surveys they have conducted, and does so twice. This on the one hand can confirm her expert identity: like a researcher would, she interprets data and uses it as evidence, and makes generalizing claims. On the other hand, it may be a way to convince me of her expert identity: she may want to clarify that she is not making this up, but that what she says is backed up by evidence. Similar examples can be found in the interview, for instance when she argues how environmental factors influence our health; she refers to scientific evidence, saying that "it is proven", to make her statement authoritative. Furthermore, there are no markers of tentativeness or subjectivizers like "I think"; her entire answer is assertive.

However, some of her answers in which she discusses health issues are more tentative. But mostly, she constantly moves between a tentative and an authoritative tone, for instance when we are discussing the meaning of "being ill":

(6)

001 Jill:	dat is een afwijking en een probleem maar
	that is an anomaly and a problem but
002 Jill:	alé ik ik voor mij is het ook belangrijk dat dat mentale aspect
	well I I for me it is also important that the mental aspect
003 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
004 Jill:	euh daarbij bekeken wordt
	is considered as well
005 Jill:	want lichaam en geest zijn denk ik wel alé beïnvloeden elkaar enorm
	because body and mind are I do think well influence each other enormously
006 Interviewer:	hm
	hm
007 Jill:	en ehm in de geneeskunde wordt wordt heel vaak alé
	and uhm in medicine very often does does well
008 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
009 Jill:	artsen hebben zich altijd maar meer en meer en meer gespecialiseerd
	physicians have been specializing more and more and more
010 Jill:	maar kijken daardoor ook meer en meer alleen maar
	but because of that also they look more and more only
011 Jill:	naar hun stukje vakgebied en
	at their field of study

012 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
013 Jill:	en <u>ik denk</u> dat gezondheid echt alleen maar gezien worden
	and <u>I think</u> that health can only be seen
014 Interviewer:	in dat hele in dat holistische plaatje
	in that entire in that holistic picture
015 Jill:	in dat gehele plaatje
	in that entire picture.

Initially, Jill's answer contains subjectivizers ("for me it is also important", "I think"). However, then she critically starts describing the changes in medicine as a general trend, without any of these markers. By uttering such a critical, strong statement expressed very factually and assertively, she takes up a combined expert role again, integrating her expert knowledge as a health professional and as a critical journalist. But then she softens the coerciveness of her statement, in the following sentence, by reformulating it as a personal stance, again using "I think".

In several fragments, Jill also positions herself as an expert in relation to her readers. The following fragment is part of a discussion in which Jill criticizes the sometimes inaccurate health reporting in newspapers:

(7)

001 Jill:	ja en dat is spijtig, want dan kan jij jaren geprobeerd hebben van
	yes and it's a pity, because you may have tried for years to
002 Jill:	een beetje <u>educatief te werken</u> en dat wordt dan door door door
	do some <u>educational work</u> and that then all gets undone by by by
003 Jill:	ergens een journalist die veel te snel op een onderwerp gesprongen is
	a journalist somewhere who jumped on a topic way too quickly
004 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
005 Jill:	teniet gedaan en <u>dat duurt opnieuw maanden om terug</u>
	<u>and then it takes months</u>
006 Jill:	<u>enig vertrouwen te te kweken</u>
	<u>to gain a bit of trust again</u>

Her role of an educator is something that came up a lot during the interview, and is emphasized here as well. Being an educator, of course, presupposes holding a certain level of expertise. Moreover, in this fragment, she also connects it to trust, saying that the audience must trust her so that she can take up this educational role. Trust is, just like expert identity, relational and co-constructed (Pelsmaekers *et al.* 2014) and a relation of trust is based on the ability, benevolence and integrity of the trustee. Ability is defined as having "a group of skills, competencies, and characteristics that enable a part to have influence within some specific domain" (Mayer *et al.* 1995: 717). Moreover, trust is the background condition for all meaningful action in a society (Garfinkel 1963). So, only when Jill is considered an expert, her writing can be meaningful, and in order to be trusted and be credible, the readers must find her skilled and competent; i.e., an expert. Jill is aware of this and indicates in the fragment that the audience co-constructs her credibility as an expert through (not) trusting her, and that she finds it important that they acknowledge her expert identity.

In fragment (8), she discusses giving advice to the readers. She has just explained that the magazine receives a lot of e-mails from worried readers:

(8)

001 Jill:	want ik steek eigenlijk toch wel behoorlijk veel tijd
	because actually I do put a lot of time
002 Jill:	in het beantwoorden van mails ook
	in answering e-mails too
003 Interviewer:	ah ja oké
	oh yes, okay
004 Jill:	ja ja
	yes yes
005 Jill:	<u>zonder euh medisch advies te geven hé</u>
	<u>*without uh giving medical advice you know*</u>
006 Interviewer:	ja ja
	yes yes
007 Jill:	<u>het eindadvies blijft altijd: spreek erover met uw huisarts</u>
	<u>*the final advice always is: talk about it with your GP*</u>
008 Jill:	maar dùrf hem dat en dat en dat vragen, durf eh
	but dare to ask him this or this, dare uh
009 Interviewer:	ja
	yes

010 Jill:	durf een stap zetten naar een dokter
	dare to go and talk to a doctor

In this fragment, Jill again negotiates her expert identity. She has explained earlier in the interview that she finds it important to answer e-mails and that she puts a lot of effort in it. But she seems to realise she is actually not qualified to give actual medical advice and immediately mitigates her statement. She emphasizes that she is not the expert and does not give actual medical advice, and that the real expert here is the general practitioner.

In sum, Jill presents herself primarily as a health professional and considers it legitimate to construct a degree of a health expert identity and indicates she feels comfortable being around and talking with medical experts like doctors and researchers. She also strongly emphasizes her expert identity as a journalist, referring to her many years of experience, her senior role in the newsroom, and critically evaluates her peers. However, she seems to realise that in this interview setting, she cannot fully represent herself as a real health expert; that would not be socially acceptable because she is not in the right institutionalized domain (medicine, medical research) to do so. Therefore, she constantly negotiates her expertise and always mitigates statements in which she may sound as a real medical expert like a doctor: sometimes by using markers of tentativeness or subjectivizers, or by explicitly stating that she is not in the position to give real medical advice. However, she does feel confident in her expert role and likes to express that, to the extent that it is socially acceptable.

3.2. Ben’s identity as an expert

Ben is a science journalist who has been working for a science magazine for about six years, with a degree in both bio-engineering and journalism. Because of his training as a bio-engineer, he can rely on certain skills, like being able to interpret difficult statistical data, which can be considered as a form of expert knowledge which other journalists without his kind of background lack. Furthermore, he is a specialized journalist often writing about health, in a specialized magazine, who has a lot of time to really dig deep into the topics he covers, reading dozens of articles and reports, and interviewing several sources face to face for about an hour or more, for just one article. But interestingly, throughout the interview, it becomes clear he does not construct a health expert identity whatsoever, as the following fragment illustrates:

(9)

001 Interviewer:	en als ik dat zo hier op tafel gooi, gezondheid en vijftigplussers
	and if I put on the table like that, health and people over fifty
002 Interviewer:	aan waar denk jij dan aan?
	what do you think about?
003 Interviewer:	zo een beetje associatief gewoon, wat komt er zo in u op dan?
	you know, a bit associatively, what pops up in your head?
004 Ben:	ja, waar krijg je dan last van (lacht)
	uh yeah, what do you actually suffer from then (laughs)
005 Ben:	osteoporose, hart- en vaatziekten, euh, Alzheimer
	osteoporosis, cardiovascular diseases, uhm, Alzheimer's disease
006 Interviewer:	hm
	hm
007 Ben:	over Alzheimer (<u>lachen</u>) hebben we wel al een keer iets gehad.
	about Alzheimer's (<u>laughs</u>) we have had those before
008 Jana:	ja
	yes
009 Ben:	euh, nu, niet dat ik, want ik zit hier te zeggen, we schrijven niet zoveel
	<u>uhm, now, not that I, because I'm just saying all this</u>; we don't write much,
010 Ben:	maar we hebben wel zo al een keer artikels gehad, bijvoorbeeld
	but we have had a few articles before, for instance,
011 Ben:	ja, Alzheimer, dat hebben we zeker al gehad
	yes, Alzheimer's disease, that we have certainly had,
012 Ben:	euh zo valpreventie en dat soort van dingen
	Uhm like fall prevention and those kind of things
013 Ben:	zijn wel al een keer aan bod gekomen in [the magazine] he.
	have been discussed in [the magazine].
014 Interviewer:	ja maar zitten daar
	yes but are there
015 Ben:	misschien niet zo bewust met het idee van

	maybe not really deliberately with the idea of
016 Interviewer:	ja ewel het is dat
	yes well that's it
017 Ben:	we gaan een keer iets doen over problemen van oude mensen maar ja, bon,
	we'll write something about old people issues, but yes, good
018 Ben:	aangezien dat veel medische problemen zich bij ouderen mensen afspelen
	as many medical problems happen to older people,
019 Ben:	zitten die er automatisch wel in
	they are automatically in it (= the magazine), actually

Ben's answers are sensible and the analysis that many medical problems mainly happen to older people is quite sharp. Also, I have told him that the question is somewhat difficult to answer without time to think, so that he should not be afraid to answer the question in an associative way. But surprisingly, there are many clues in the answer that Ben is uncomfortable making authoritative allegations on this topic, or any kind of allegation, and that he finds it hard to answer the question on the spot. He begins with a rhetorical question ("Uh yeah what do you actually suffer from then?") followed by laughter, trying to win some time and revealing that he is feeling uneasy. When he has named some diseases, he laughs again. The metapragmatic comment ("because I'm just saying all this") is a form of self-correction: he feels like he has given the impression that it is one of the magazine's goals to focus on or be an authority on elderly-related health issues, which he then realizes is not what he wants to say.

The following explanation is meant to clarify that; they actually do not want to write about the elderly as such, but that it is something that happens along the way. At the same time, the explanation allows him to talk about the magazine and to not make general statements about the actual topic of discussion, but to confine his expertise to the level of the magazine, and to implicitly reason why he is not the right person to answer this question.

This fragment already illustrates a very different construction of expert identity than Jill's; while she is confident and tries to sound like a health expert as much as possible, Ben avoids this in every possible way. When we discuss the use of academic journals as a source, Ben provides us with the following reflection:

(10)

001 Ben:	euh ja, over het algemeen
	uhm yes, in general
002 Ben:	goh en zeker voor iemand die die die geen geneeskunde
	well and especially for someone who who who hasn't studied medicine
003 Ben:	ge- gestudeerd heeft, euh is het allemaal nogal ingewikkeld he (lacht)
	uhm it is all quite complicated, isn't it (laughs)
004 Ben:	hé dus je je moet eigenlijk euh vaak de hulp van van experts inroepen
	so often you have to ask experts for help to be really able
005 Ben:	om echt te kunnen uitmaken eh of of dat, wat er wat er instaat
	to be really able to find out if if it, what it what it's about
	(7 lines omitted)
013 Ben:	als het echt gaat over studies naar naar de de effectiviteit
	if it's really about research on on the the effectivity
014 Ben:	van bepaalde medische interventies of of van geneesmiddelen,
	of certain medical interventions or of medication
015 Ben:	ja, dan is dat moeilijk als eh als niet-medisch geschoolde
	yes, then it is difficult as uh a non-medical professional
016 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
017 Ben:	en misschien zelfs als medisch geschoolde in een ander domein
	and maybe even as a medical professional in another domain
018 Interviewer:	zeker ja
	sure yes
019 Ben:	om daar eh om daar iets van te maken
	domain to uh make something of it

By referring to the fact that he is not part of the institutionalized domain of medicine, he confirms he lacks expertise to properly interpret the literature. He later adds that, even for medical experts, it may be difficult to interpret literature that belongs to another subfield. This can be interpreted as an explanation why he is not troubled to ask for help and admitting this: even for experts, it can be very hard. The fact that he does not mind not being in an expert role and therefore obliged to ask for help when reading journal articles, is also supported in (11). In this fragment, he is asked about whether he likes doing interviews with researchers and doctors:

(11)

001 Ben:	ik vind dat wel uh aangenaam, ja.
	I find it uh enjoyable, yes
002 Interviewer:	ja
	yes
003 Ben:	ja ja
	yes yes
005 Interviewer:	altijd goede ervaringen?
	always a good experience?
006 Ben:	ja om zo een keer efkes een eh soort privéles euh te krijgen, ja.
	yes to have some kind of a uh private tutoring uh, yes.

Ben puts himself in the position of a student, which is contrary to that of an expert, and says he finds it enjoyable. This is opposite to Jill, who considers herself a peer of the doctors around her. Many other instances in the interview indicate that Ben writes his articles based on what he personally finds interesting, on what he wants to learn more about, which also points to the fact that he feels comfortable in this student role. The following fragment, in which I ask him about his personal opinion on an article we have just discussed, illustrates this once more:

(12)

001 Ben:	(lacht) euh, goh ja, ik ben nu ook on-onvoldoende
	(laughs) uhm, well you know, I also haven't enough,
002 Ben:	ik ben daar een tijdje mee bezig geweest,
	I have been working on that for some time
003 Ben:	maar natuurlijk niet lang genoeg om om nu echt te zeggen dat ik eh
	but of course not long enough to say that I uh
004 Ben:	dat ik daar nu een expert in ben
	that I'm an expert now
005 Ben:	maar allez, ik heb wel een zekere sympathie voor dat alternatief model
	but well, I do have some sympathy for the alternative model

006 Ben:	dat die Nederlandse onderzoekers voorstellen *that those Dutch researcher propose*

Before giving his opinion, he laughs when he hears the question, and then explicitly states he "of course" is not an expert, implying he is not able to make a proper judgment and form a solid opinion. When actually telling what he thinks, he uses the phrase "I do have some sympathy for", which makes his statement personal and tentative.

Although Ben could claim a certain degree of expertise on health issues – because of his background as a bio-engineer, his personal interests, his six years of experience in investigative, extensive health and science reporting – he constantly avoids constructing an expert identity. In opposition to Jill, he does not feel comfortable making authoritative statements on health issues and emphasizes his non-expert identity, which is remarkable given the fact that he works for a specialized magazine.

3.3. Uma's identity as an expert

Uma is a domestic reporter, with four years of experience, who is informally specializing in health reporting. The newspaper does not officially work with real specialist journalists, but informally, some journalists do specialize. In opposition to Jill and Ben, she has no background in health or science whatsoever, which is something she seems to struggle with:

(13)

001 Interviewer 1[3]:	en u heeft niets eh u specifiek in de gezondheidssector als als achtergrond *and you have nothing eh specifically in the health sector as as a background*
002 Uma:	nee nee nee. Wel een interesse ehm, *no no no. I do have an interest uh,*
003 Uma:	mijn vader was topsporter en mijn broer is osteopaat *my father was an elite athlete and my brother is an osteopath*
004 Uma:	dus er is bij ons thuis wel altijd ehm mja *so at home there is always uhm well*

[3] Some of the interviews were conducted with fellow researchers. In this case, interviewer 1 is a colleague and I am interviewer 2.

005 Uma:	daar wel altijd de aandacht voor geweest,
	always been attention given to it
006 Uma:	maar eigenlijk heb ik geen
	but I have to say really I have no
007 Uma:	ik heb zelfs eigenlijk geen wetenschappelijke opleiding om
	I even have no scientific background to
	de de journals te lezen of of, maar goed, dat kan ik wel,
	read the journals, but okay, I can do that though,
	dus alé ze kijken daar natuurlijk ook wel een beetje naar
	so, I mean, they took that into account too a little of course
008 Interviewer 2:	en hoe heeft u dat dan geleerd
	and how did you learn it then
009 Uma:	ja (zucht) ik heb wel ik heb ik heb acht uur wiskunde gedaan hé
	yes (sighs) I did do, I have I have done an eight hour-math program[4]
010 Uma:	dus ik heb wel veel statistiek gedaan, alé gehad in het middelbaar
	so I have actually done a lot of statistics, I mean taught in secondary school.
011 Uma:	ehm ja door de juiste experts te bellen denk ik in het begin
	uhm yes by calling the right experts I think in the beginning
012 Uma:	die u kunnen uitleggen van ja dit is dat, dat dat onderzoek is wel goed,
	who can explain to you yes this is that that, that research is actually good
013 Uma:	dat onderzoek is niet goed
	that research is not good
	ehm door dat veel te lezen zijde daar wel mee bezig
	uhm by reading a lot you are spending a lot of time on it

Uma clearly is very careful when constructing her expert identity, as she knows she is not in the right institutionalized domain to call herself an expert. However, she somehow wants to prove she does hold some form of expertise. Her caution becomes apparent as she constantly makes claims and counterclaims that sometimes affirm her expert identity and then immediately attenuate it. She gives a negative answer to the first question, but counters it by referring to her family situation, which gives her some credibility as an expert on health and medicine. But she seems to know this is not a very legitimate claim, as the following

[4] In Belgium, eight hours of math is the highest possible number of math lessons you can take per week in secondary school, and therefore is the highest level of math you can do.

sentence counters this again with a confession-like statement; she admits that in reality she "*even* has no scientific background to read the journals" (l. 7). This is immediately countered again, saying that she actually can do it, and she supports this with the argument that the editors check this when someone becomes a specialised reporter.

By referring to their authority, she can legitimize the claim which she herself found somewhat unstable. When she is asked how she has eventually learnt to read the journals, she mentions several elements. Again, she shifts between claims that prove she was already capable to do the interpretation, to statements that attenuate those; first, she tells us about her education in secondary school, which has prepared her to understand difficult statistical data. But then she mentions that she had to call the right experts in the beginning to help her out. She eventually refers to her experience, saying that she has learnt a lot by just spending time on it. This final claim balances out what she is trying to say: it comprises both the fact that she's lacking formal education, but does give her some credibility as an expert, as she has self-educated herself and gathered some expert knowledge through experience.

The issue of formal education returns later in the interview:

(14)

001 Uma:	en ik denk dat het eigenlijk niet slecht zou zijn om inderdaad
	and I think that it actually wouldn't be bad indeed
002 Uma:	wat opleiding te hebben in
	to have some training in
003 Uma:	euh alé, alhoewel moest ik nu een dokter zijn, zou dat zoveel meer
	uhm I mean although, would I have been a doctor, would it
004 Uma:	ik weet dat niet, ik kijk nu natuurlijk
	I don't know, of course, I now look
005 Uma:	naar gezondheid zoals iedere mens naar gezondheid kijkt
	at health like every normal person does
006 Uma:	ik denk als je daar iemand met echt een vooropleiding heeft daarin
	I think if you put someone there with a degree out here
007 Uma:	ik weet niet of dat nodig is
	I don't know if that's necessary
	(three lines omitted)
011 Uma:	ik denk dat een goede interesse en en

	I think that a proper interest and and
012 Uma:	een beetje slim zijn alé om daarmee -om te gaan- genoeg zijn
	and some intelligence, I mean, to that- to go- are enough
013 Uma:	om het te kunnen doen
	to be able to do this
014 Uma:	want anders zit je veel te specifiek in bepaalde onderwerpen
	otherwise you're way too involved in certain subjects

The argument that being too specialized obscures a journalist's ability to judge the newsworthiness of a beat recurs in several of the interviews (not all discussed in this analysis). Uma here consciously does not construct a health expert identity, arguing that it impairs or invalidates her expertise as a journalist. This tension between her journalist identity and her health expert identity occurs a lot during the interview, like when she talks about objectivity as the most important goal of a journalist:

(15)

001 Uma:	goh ik denk zo <u>breed mogelijk, zo objectief mogelijk, zo juist mogelijk</u>
	uhm I think as <u>broad as possible, as objective as possible, as correct as possible</u>
	(3 lines omitted)
005 Uma:	ik ga nooit beginnen met met een fixe idee op voorhand van
	I will never start with with a fixed idea beforehand like
006 Uma:	'ik wil hier iets negatiefs hierover, of ik wil iets positiefs daarover'
	'I want something negative about this, or something positive about that'
007 Uma:	ik ga het altijd laten afhangen van de mensen
	I will always let that depend on the people
008 Uma:	die daar veel meer vanaf weten dan ik
	who know a lot more about it than I do
009 Uma:	ik kan wel goed, denk ik,
	what I'm good at is, I think
010 Uma:	<u>samenvatten en de boodschap halen</u> uit wat dat zij zeggen
	<u>summarizing and extracting the essence</u> of what they say
011 Uma:	en ik denk dat dat <u>mijn rol</u> is, daarin
	and I think that's <u>my role</u>, in that

012 Uma: en dan zoals dat ik zei, ik vind het wel belangrijk om de mensen ehm ja
and then like I said, I do think it is important to let people uhm yes
013 Uma: over bepaalde zaken dingen te laten lezen
read about certain things
014 Uma: die ze anders misschien niet zouden lezen
which they otherwise might not read
015 Uma: <u>een keer te laten nadenken</u>
<u>let think them about it once</u>

The fact that she is not able to actually interpret and judge scientific data herself is explicitly mentioned or alluded to several times: "I alone am not enough to judge or explain something", "I am not a doctor". Moreover, when discussing which sources she uses most, her answer is 'experts', "because those are the people who have information, the most factual information, and knowledge to interpret it or verify it".

At the same time, she grasps this moment as an opportunity to explain that her expertise lies in summarizing and extracting the essence of what actual experts tell her, in being objective and correct as possible, and in raising awareness. All these elements are typical journalistic values as found in a lot of research (Carpentier 2005; Deuze 2005; Cotter 2010), and she feels confident about these ("that is what I'm good at"). Her confidence in constructing an expert identity as a journalist contrasts with her unstable, hesitant construction of her health expert identity. This contrast occurs several times during the interview:

(16)

001 Uma: goh (kucht) ja je hebt natuurlijk
well (coughs) yes you of course have
002 Uma: <u>als je daar al vier jaar mee bezig zijt,</u> iets meer eh-
<u>if you have been working on it for four years</u>
003 Uma: ik weet rapper ofdat iets nieuws is of niet,
I can teller if something is news or not faster
004 Uma: hé omdat je houdt dat natuurlijk in de gaten
because you keep an eye on everything
005 Uma: je leest er ook veel meer over euhm
you read a lot more about it uhm
006 Uma: dus ga- <u>uw expertise is groter sowieso</u>.

	so your expertise will be bigger for sure
007 Uma:	ik weet- er gaan ook heel veel collega's naar mij komen van ja zeg
	I know- a lot of colleagues will come to you saying: you know what
008 Uma:	we hebben dat gezien of dat gezien denkt jij dat daar iets in zit
	we've seen this or that, do you think it's something
009 Uma:	is dat heeft dat al een keer ergens in gestaan
	is that something that has been written about before
010 Uma:	kunnen we daar nog iets mee doen?
	can we do something with that?
011 Uma:	ik weet daar ook niet altijd antwoord op maar
	I don't always have the answers but
012 Uma:	je hebt daar wel meer expertise over dan
	you do have more expertise on that than
013 Uma:	als je een late shift een stuk moet schrijven over IS
	when you have to write about IS in a late shift

Here, Uma constructs her expert identity as a health reporter, rather than as a health professional. She talks about her ability to judge newsworthiness and to spot possibilities for framing, the know-how of how much has been written about a subject before, which are also typical journalistic skills.

The importance of journalistic values like being correct, being objective, being relevant, being able to judge newsworthiness and being able to construct proper and interesting stories are of course not only found in the interview with Uma, but are actually present in every interview. But for Jill, for instance, this is not connected to her health expert identity; expertise in journalism and in health issues exist separately and are both very developed. Uma, however, tends to connect these and define the one through the other. She cannot describe herself as a health expert like Jill, so she ascribes herself some traits of a health expert (without really being one) through her identity of specialised health journalist. Ben does not explicitly connect traits of health expertise to his journalistic expertise. He uses his journalistic identity to avoid taking up a health expert identity (like in (9)).

Finally, when we look at the implicit construction of expertise when we ask her about the meaning of the concept of health, we find the same uncomfortableness like Ben's:

(17)

001 Interviewer:	hoe zou je dat definiëren *how would you define that*
002 Interviewer:	dus niet zozeer in termen van nieuws of van een stuk schrijven *so not in terms of news or writing an article*
003 Interviewer:	maar hoe zou je gezondheid als mens definiëren? *but how would you define health as a person*
004 Uma:	dat is een heel moeilijke, open vraag dus eh *that is a very difficult, open question so uhm*
005 Uma:	amai je had mij misschien beter wat wat vragen doorgestuurd op voorhand *wow you maybe had better send me some some questions beforehand*
006 Interviewer:	(lacht) maar het is alé het is niet erg dat het associatief *(laughs) but you know it's no problem if it's associative*
007 Uma:	hoe zou ik dat definiëren? *how would I define that?*
008 Uma:	is alé het is gewoon het is geen gemakkelijke vraag *I mean it is just not an easy question*
009 Uma:	er is ook geen antwoord op dus eh *there is no real answer to it*
010 Uma:	alles wat dat te maken heeft met- *everything that has to do with-*
011 Uma:	voor mij is dat alles wat te maken heeft met *for me that is everything that has to do with*
012 Uma:	dat mensen zich al dan niet goed voelen, geestelijk, fysiek ehm *people feeling good or not, mentally, physically uhm*
013 Uma:	ook wat meer misschien *also a bit maybe*
014 Uma:	alé ik ben ook wel geïnteresseerd in wat meer zo lifestyle-achtig *well I am also interested in a bit lifestyle-kind of stuff*
015 Uma:	wat daar dan ook wel zo wat op kan aansluiten maar ehm ja *which ties in with that but uhm yeah*

Just like Ben, Uma tries to win some time and expresses uncomfortableness, in this case by saying that she would have liked to have the questions sent to her before the interview, indicating that she needs time to think about it, even though I just said that it is a difficult question, and also by posing a rhetorical question ("how would I define that?"). When she actually answers, she starts phrasing an assertive statement, but corrects it to an opinion, by rephrasing it and adding the subjectivizer “for me”. Then, just like Ben, she avoids making further general statements and transfers the topic of her answer to what she considers interesting and what she likes to write about. The discussion goes on a bit beyond this fragment and includes many markers indicating personal opinion and tentativeness, like the subjectivizers “I think”, “I believe”, “I find it interesting”, “for me” and the use of conditional verbs.

When talking about her background, Uma knows that she cannot claim an expert position in health and/or medicine, but she does try to legitimize a certain level of expertise. However, she realises that she must be careful, and constantly mitigates and negotiates her expert identity. Where Jill and Ben are (relative) extremes on the continuum of expert identity construction, she seems to be somewhere in the middle. Later, it becomes clear Uma finds journalistic expertise more valuable and more useful than expertise on health. When we consider her answers on health questions, she seems rather insecure and avoids sounding authoritative.

4. Conclusion

This analysis examined three journalists with different profiles to find out whether and how this could yield three different constructions of health expert identities. By looking both at explicit reflections and evaluations, and implicit markers in discussion on the topic of health, we were able to demonstrate a few interesting tendencies in the interview data.

Most notable is the diversity in the construction of expert identity; even though the three reporters all fit in the broad category of health reporters, there are big differences in how they perceive their own level of expertise. At first sight, this is not surprising, but it is interesting that the differences in their constructions do not necessarily correlate with their background and education. While Ben and Jill both have certain qualifications which gives them the credibility to claim and defend a certain level of expertise, Jill does construct a strong expert identity, while Ben constantly avoids sounding like an expert. And while Uma does not really have any of these qualifications, she does come up with reasons why she deserves some level of expert identity. Of course educational background is not the only factor determining how someone constructs and perceives their own expert identity and level of expertise. There are many other factors that should be taken into account, which will be further examined in ethnographic research.

First, whether a journalist is formally recognized as specialised health or science journalists in the newsroom, or whether they are informally expected to cover health topics if they come up is likely to play a role. As we assume that expert identity is socially constructed, how the journalist is perceived and treated by other colleagues may influence their identity construction.

Second, journalists are supposed to gain expert knowledge through self-education, often in their leisure time. This is a perpetual, irregular and non-formalised process and as there is no formal evaluation of their expert knowledge, journalists can only evaluate their expert knowledge themselves, which they most likely do with different standards.

Third, the journalist's identity as a health and/or science specialist is very personal, because journalists always have their own preferences in terms of practice, and a personal opinion on what health reporting should entail (e.g. Amend & Secko 2012). This is illustrated by Uma's opinion on the balance of journalistic expertise versus health expertise. As any specialized journalist, they constantly have to mediate between their identity as a journalist and identity as a specialist. Uma and several other interviewees believe that when a journalist is thinking and working too much as a specialist, s/he may no longer be able to perform their journalistic task of judging the level of newsworthiness of a beat; because s/he will consider everything to be important.

Yet, regardless of this diversity, there is one general tendency in all three interviews: the expert identity is extremely dynamic, and it becomes very apparent that journalists struggle with the fact a) that they are experts in the newsroom and towards the public, but not in the institutional domain they report on and b) they are journalists in the first place, which means their journalistic expertise must remain the dominant field of expertise. The identities are constantly negotiated, modified, attenuated and then amplified again, often in the same answer, and even in the same sentence. The journalists seem to be very aware that they have to be careful identifying themselves as a health expert. Being part of the right institutionalized domain is important in any profession, but is probably even more crucial for people in the domain of medicine. Doctors and medical researchers are much respected and allocated a lot of status for the long training they have gone through and the work they do, which concerns the health of people and has a direct influence on the quality of their patients' lives. Moreover, most of them are aware of the critique on health reporting, and are extra careful in that respect as well.

In that regard, this analysis can put the critique on health reporting in a new light; by understanding that journalists seem to struggle with their expert identity on health, we can re-evaluate their journalistic reporting and help practitioners understand this often tacit struggle and make them aware of the contradictions in their practice. To completely understand and explain where the observed differences in expert identity originate from, and to understand the repercussion of their expert identity on their practice, many more elements have to be considered: the newsroom structure, the relation with editors and colleagues, standards and means of self-evaluation, the relation and interaction with expert sources, insights from the writing process and source selection process, et cetera. As many of these elements can only be observed in the field, an in-depth ethnographic study and a product oriented analysis is needed to provide us with more answers.

References

AMEND, Elyse & David M. SECKO (2012), «In the Face of Critique: A Metasynthesis of the Experiences of Journalists Covering Health and Science», *Science Communication* 34 (2), 241–82.

BUCHOLTZ, Mary & Kira HALL (2005), «Identity and Interaction: A Sociocultural Linguistic Approach», *Discourse Studies* 7 (4-5), 585–614.

CARPENTIER, Nico (2005), «Identity, Contingency and Rigidity: The (counter-)hegemonic Constructions of the Identity of the Media Professional», *Journalism* 6 (2), 199–219.

CARR, E. Summerson (2010), «Enactments of Expertise», *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39, 17–32.

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*, New York, Cambridge University Press.

DEUZE, Mark (2005), «What Is Journalism? Professional Identity and Ideology of Journalists Reconsidered», *Journalism* 6 (4), 442–64.

GARFINKEL, Harold (1963), «Conception of, and Experiments with, “Trust” as a Condition of Stable Concerted Action», *Motivation and Social Interaction*, New York, Rowald Press.

GOODWIN, Charles (1994) «Professional Vision», *American Anthropologist* 96 (3), 606–33.

HALLIN, Daniel. C. & Charles. L. BRIGGS (2014), «Transcending the Medical/media Opposition in Research on News Coverage of Health and Medicine», *Media, Culture & Society* 37 (1), 85–100.

LEE, Yew-Lin & Wolff-Michael ROTH (2004), «Making a Scientist Discursive "Doing" of Identity and Self-Presentation During Research Interviews», Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research 5 (1). Available at: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/655/1418>. Date accessed: 13 April 2015.

MATOESIAN, Gregory M. (1999), «The Grammaticalization of Participant Roles in the Constitution of Expert Identity», *Language in Society* 28 (4), 491–521.

MAYER, Roger C., James H. DAVIS & F. David SCHOORMAN (1995), «An Integrative Model of Organizational Trust», *Academy of Management Review* 20 (3), 709–34.

MORTELMANS, Dimitri (2007), *Handboek kwalitatieve onderzoeksmethoden*, Leuven, Acco.

PELSMAEKERS, Katja, Geert JACOBS & Craig ROLLO (2014), «Trust and Discursive Interaction in Organizational Settings», *Trust and Discourse. Organizational perspectives*, 1–10.

URBAN, Greg (2001), *Metaculture: How Culture Moves Through the World*, Minneapolis, University Minneapolis Press.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 151-174

JOURNALISTS' ARGUING NEWSMAKING DECISIONS ON THE BASIS OF ANTICIPATED AUDIENCE UPTAKE

Margherita LUCIANI
Università della Svizzera italiana
Margherita.luciani@usi.ch

Andrea ROCCI
Università della Svizzera italiana
Andrea.rocci@usi.ch

Abstract

Journalists' expectations concerning the way in which the audience will react to news strongly influence their decisions in newsmaking. This article investigates the argumentative dimension of journalists' anticipatory inferences in newsroom editorial conferences. In order to study journalists' reasoning processes concerning audience uptake that lead journalists to publish a certain news instead of another or to publish a news in a certain way, we will use the Pragma-Dialectical framework at the interactional level and Argumentum Model of Topics at the inferential level. Through a case study, we will investigate the anticipation of the audience interest and the anticipation of the audience persuasion, showing how editorial conferences function as places of reflection in which certain kinds of standpoints are at stake and particular aspects of the audience uptake are anticipated.

Keywords: newsmaking, anticipatory inferences, metapragmatic strategies, pragma-dialectics, argumentum model of topics

1. Introduction

This paper sets out to explore the argumentative dimension of journalists' anticipated audience uptake in editorial conferences, with a special focus on print-journalism domain and on the handling of cross-mediatic topics in newspapers[1]. More specifically, we aim at clarifying the role of these strategies in taking newsmaking decisions about news selection and news editing. We will provide

[1] The present paper has been developed within the framework of the project "Argumentation in newsmaking process and product" aimed at examining the role of argumentative practices in newsmaking discourse with a special attention to the forms of practical argumentation in newsroom decision-making (funded by the SNF (PDFMP1_137181/1, 2012-2015)

an empirical case study concerning a complex argumentation in a deliberative editorial conference at the *Corriere del Ticino*, the main newspaper in the Italian speaking part of Switzerland (see section 4). We will observe how journalists come to decisions whereby an analysis of their reasoning in editorial conferences.

It is known from the literature that journalists' expectations concerning the way in which the audience will react to news strongly influence decisions in newsmaking (e.g. Bell 1991). We will sketch an overview of how journalists accommodate not only their news style but also the topics of the news to their audience cognitive and emotive demands, by looking at their argumentative discussions concerning the audience's uptake in editorial conferences discussions. Two types of anticipation of uptake will be discussed: the anticipation of the audience's interest and that of persuasion. The anticipation of the audience interest can be said to be subordinate to the anticipation of persuasion, indeed raising interest in the audience is a strategy, which in the end aims at persuading the audience. We will show that the anticipation of persuasion plays a crucial role in journalists' anticipatory reasoning concerning audience uptake. However, journalists' attempt to be persuasive represent only a part of their aims; indeed, they also aim at conveying a balanced view of the event they are reporting and at enabling readers to build an autonomous opinion on it.

2. Journalists' anticipated audience uptake.

The prototypical nature of news style, *i.e.* the way in which journalists present their news in terms of choosing relative importance and intended audience, can be said to be set in the idea that journalists are making inferences in an attempt to respond to their audience[2]. This is usually displayed in a journalist shifting his style to be more suitable to the purpose he wants to reach with the audience he/she is talking to. Therefore, as Allan Bell observes, "the basic dimension on which we can examine a speaker's style is therefore a responsive one"[3] (Bell 1991: 105). In this endeavor, traditionally, we can distinguish two types of approaches

[2] As a matter of fact, we will see that all levels of a journalist's linguistic choices are concerned.

[3] Audience design parallels closely the principles of the Soviet literary theorist and philosopher of language, Michael Bakhtin. Bakhtin's theories are founded on the dialogic nature of speech and literature: "For the word (and, consequently, for a human being) nothing is more terrible than a lack of response" (Bakhtin 1986: 127). For someone to speak is to respond and be responded to: "An essential (constitutive) marker of the utterance is its quality of being directed to someone, its addressivity" (Bakhtin 1986: 95).

studying the way in which a speaker constructs his message for his audience; while Bell's strand of research, focused on audience design, came from a disciplinary background in sociolinguistics applied to journalism and media, a parallel approach arose in social psychology, namely accommodation theory. As the theory was largely accounting for how speakers modify their speech in interpersonal encounters, the context of mass media characterized by an absent audience shows specific accommodative strategies exploiting stereotyped audiences. This state of affair calls for the consideration of the link between two domains, namely journalism studies and pragmatics. On the one hand, the research trend concerning the audience demand in journalism studies (e.g. Peters 2012, 2013; Witschge 2012, 2013) focuses on audience demand as a social criteria, and is based on theories which aim at standardizing the random pressure of social forces on newsmaking decisions, so that audience demand is considered a simple *criterium* intervening in journalists' newsmaking discussions. On the other hand, pragmatics (e.g. Grice 1969, 1991, 2001; Recanati 1988, 2003; Sbisà & Turner 2013; Senft 2014) which traditionally studies how the speaker takes advantage of the expectations concerning the way in which the other speaker will intervene, lacks however of an empirical study of practices in context.

Therefore, these approaches do not say much about how journalists actually reason starting from their expectations concerning audience uptake in the everyday life of news organization. Starting from the assumption that such expectations strongly influence journalists' decisions in newsmaking, the present paper aims at investigating this anticipating dimension of newsmaking from an argumentative perspective. The main research questions of the paper are the following:

a) which types of standpoint do journalists put forth? Where do they speak overtly about that?

b) does a correlation exist between the specific place of reflection, such as evaluative/deliberative formal or informal editorial meeting and a particular type of standpoint?

c) does the audience uptake anticipation aspects concerning interest and persuasion correlate with a specific type of premises?

d) can we postulate the existence of some naïve pragmatics theories among journalists, which are in turn due to empathy and identification with the audience?

The argumentative lens that we adopt gives the chance to shed light on the reasoning processes concerning audience reaction that lead to publish a certain news instead of another and on the way in which journalists decide to publish a news, starting from their anticipatory inferences concerning audience reaction. Indeed, an argumentative approach allows us to understand the audience design not just in terms of the abstract mapping of speakers' anticipations concerning the audience uptake onto the message, but, in terms of a reasoning process which does not take place exclusively at an intra-individual level, but rather that is worked out publicly at a collective level through concrete speaking practices within conference meetings. As a matter of fact, looking at argued anticipatory strategies in the newsroom gives an important contribution to socio-linguistic research on newsmaking, and is complementary to the focus that a large share of it places on audience design (e.g. Bell 1984; Bell 1991), and more generally on message design (e.g. O'Keefe 1991).

The analysis of argumentation helps us to understand how writers adapt to their audience because it captures the reasoning that formed the basis of editorial choices and on the basis of this reasoning it allows the reconstruction of the conscious pragmatic theories of journalists.

3. Data and methodology.

The corpus on which our investigation is based enables comparative and contrastive studies from a multilingual as well as a multimedia perspective, since data are gained from both TV-journalism and print-journalism in the three linguistic areas of Switzerland. Part of the corpus was collected at the Swiss public service television (SRG SSR) in French and German[4]. A more recent dataset was collected at *Corriere del Ticino* (CdT), the main Italian-language newspaper in the country[5]. Both datasets were collected with the same methodology

[4] This part of the corpus was collected during the project "Idée Suisse: Language policy, norms and practice as exemplified by Swiss Radio and Television" (SNF NRP 56, 2005-2010).
[5] These data were collected during the project "Argumentation in newsmaking process and product" (SNF PDFMP1_137181/1, 2012-2015).

(Progression Analysis: see Perrin 2003, 2013), and comprise audio-visual recordings of various newsroom activities, such as formal and informal editorial meeting discussions, retrospective verbal protocols, interviews with journalists, s-notation protocols, television news items and newspaper articles.

For the scope of the present paper, we will focus on the Italian data of *CdT*, and more specifically on morning editorial conference discussions. In this paper we reconstruct the context of newsmaking by means of the model of communication context developed by Rigotti & Rocci (2006). According to this model, the social context of communication can be subdivided in two dimensions: the institutionalized and the interpersonal dimension. The institutionalized dimension is based on the key-notion of activity type, which is composed of an interaction field and of an interaction scheme. An interaction field is a social reality in which the interaction takes place and that is affected by the interaction; interaction schemes are part of a virtual social reality, as they consist of a culturally shared knowledge determining certain roles. Rigotti and Rocci define interaction schemes

> culturally shared 'recipes' for interaction congruent with more or less broad classes of joint goals and involving scheme-roles presupposing generic requirements (Rigotti & Rocci 2006: 173)

Hence, the newsroom is considered as an interaction field where specific interaction schemes are activated. In the case of editorial conferences, the interaction scheme of *deliberation* or of *evaluation* is mapped onto the interaction field of a given newsroom, resulting in the activity type "deliberative editorial conference" or "evaluative editorial conference". In this activity types, questions, issues, disagreements or explicit confrontations emerge in the pursuit of shared goals.

We will carry out *a)* an argumentative analysis of newsroom discussions dealing with the distinct aspects of audience's uptake in the activity type "editorial conference", which are strictly bound to the distinct premises at stake, and *b)* we will verify the implementation of the journalists' strategies in the respective news products. In our argumentative reconstructions of editorial conferences, we follow pragma-dialectical principles (Eemeren van & Grootendorst 2002, 2004), *i.e.* we identify the issue at stake, the related standpoints and the arguments supporting each standpoint. Then, our fine-grained analysis goes one step further, also investigating the inferential level of arguments, following the Argumentum

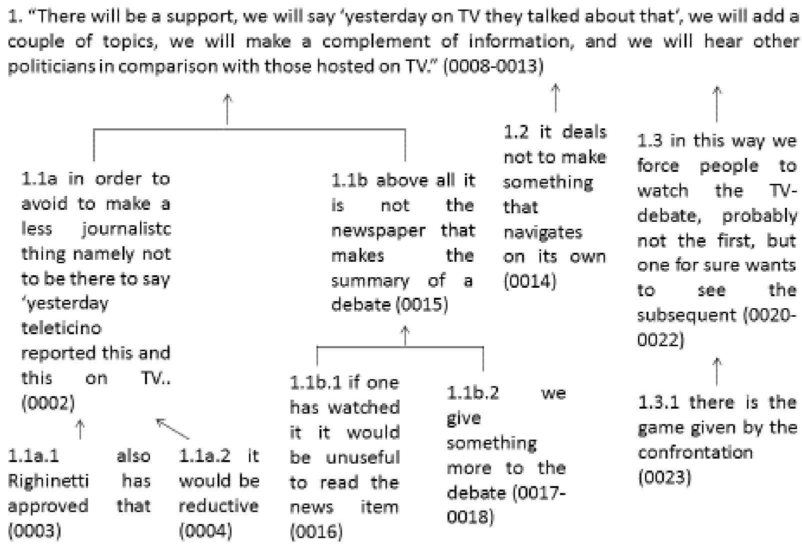
Model of Topics (Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2010; Rigotti & Greco in preparation), in order to deepen the distinct types of hidden premises bound with the distinct aspects of audience uptake.

4. Argumentative analysis of an editorial conference discussion

Our case study is based on a Monday morning editorial conference, held on the 21st January 2013 in the newsroom of *CdT*. Typically, during Monday morning editorial conferences, journalists argue newsmaking decisions about news items for the whole week. In the case under investigation the discussion is focused on the way in which a news item, referring to a political debate to be broadcasted on TV, should be published in order to raise the reader's interest. The debate deals with the incoming federal elections in Switzerland, to be held in April 2013, for the renewal of the Legislative. The local TV- station *Teleticino* is owned by the same media company controlling *Corriere del Ticino* and the political talk-show *Piazza del Corriere* employs the same brand of the newspaper *CdT*. At that time two political debates concerning these elections were broadcast on the local TV-channel, during a television program called *Piazza del Corriere*, a Swiss-Italian program devoted to debates. The two recently hired debates were discussed in the editorial conference in relation to two newspaper articles. One newspaper article should have been published before that the TV debate was broadcast, whereas the second item should have been published some days after the debate. It is interesting to stress that the case study deals with the interweaving of print-journalism and TV-journalism; indeed, we observe an inter-media chain in the editorial conferences, which can be found also in the news items published in the newspaper.

In order to understand the reasoning processes at play when the journalist deals with the anticipated audience uptake and in order to understand the reasons why print- and TV- journalism are strongly interweaved in this case study, it is necessary to reconstruct the argumentative structure of the selected excerpt of the editorial conference in which the journalist argues in favor of the necessity to interconnect in an interesting way the newspaper item with the TV- item (see the transcript of the data in the Appendix):

Fig. 1. Argumentative reconstruction of the standpoint that the journalist supports



As we can see from the Figure above, the argumentative structure in support of the journalist's standpoint is multiple and subordinative. The journalist argues that they will publish a news item concerning the elections and mentioning the tv-debate broadcasted on the previous evening; however, the journalist asserts that it is necessary to add some new information, in order to make the topic less 'journalistic', meaning more newsworthy (1.1a), which is in turn further supported by the argument of authority "we discussed it also with Righinetti and he has approved that" (1.1a.1); Righinetti has a strong authority in the field, since he is not only a prominent figure in the editorial board of *CdT*, but also the journalist leading the debate of the TV-program to be announced in the newspaper. While the first argumentative line deals with the necessity to follow an editorial norm, namely to avoid to publish something less journalistic, the second argumentative line (1.2) supports the need to make something coherent with the TV debate, something logically linked with the information already given on TV. Looking at the whole argumentation structure, we notice that the third argumentative line takes a different direction, focusing on incentivizating the newspaper audience to watch the TV debate; we observe a shift of focus on an "inter-mediatic" continuum, spacing from the newspaper to the TV. In the first and second argumentative lines the journalist refers to the already broadcast TV debate and pays attention not to publish a summary of the debate, then the journalist focuses on the connection of the newspaper item with the TV item, taking into account the information already given on TV. Finally, in the third argumentative line she completely concentrates on the way in which the audience could be persuaded to watch the forthcoming TV-debate, so that the newspaper item becomes a means of persuasion. The use of clearly evaluative arguments reinforces the journalist's will to reach the desirable end of persuading readers to read the news item and to subsequently persuade them to watch the TV-debate. This move is played out through the third argumentative line (1.3; 1.3.1), which deploys the strategy to be played out concerning the intriguing cognitive effect given by the curiosity raised in the readers by the confrontation between the already broadcasted debate and the one to be broadcasted.

We can gain evidence of the journalists' will to persuade the audience also in the usage of evaluative terms within arguments, since the first argumentative line, even though the persuasive aim becomes prominent only in the third argumentative line; in (1.1a) he uses "to avoid to make a *less journalistic* thing" in order to signal the will to distinguish the newspapers' article style from the purely news reporting, traditionally associated with poor quality news articles. Furthermore, in the second argumentative line the journalist supports his standpoint by arguing that the news item should be published referring to the debate broadcasted on the previous evening so that "it is not something that *navigates on its own*", implicitly judging in a negative way a newspaper item which does not take into account audience previous knowledge on the topic already presented on the TV debate.

It is in this scenario that we can identify the evocation of two distinct frames: the frame of a desirable outcome of the news, aiming at an audience persuasion, and the frame of an undesirable outcome of the news, which would not interest readers and therefore not persuade them to read and to watch the TV-debate. Moreover, in the last argumentative line (1.3), the word "game", which has a positive value connotation, functions as link in the "inter-mediatic" chain and bridges the newspaper media level to the TV media level. By arguing, the journalist goes one step further in the third argumentative line, and we observe a shift in the aspect of the anticipation of the audience uptake; by saying "we should make a complement of information on the newspaper because in this way we force people to watch the debate" the journalist this time explicitly appeals to anticipation of persuasion. Nevertheless, the third argumentative line not only shifts to the anticipation of persuasion, but also comprehends a shift from rising interest in newspaper audience to persuading readers to 'become' TV-audience.

Therefore, the analysis of the whole argumentation enables us to observe a case of inter-mediatic connection, in which some objectives of newspaper practice, for example in this case the objective to make an interesting news item carried out by using a certain template deals in the last analysis to persuade audience to watch a TV-debate.

The journalist's will to persuade the *CdT* readers to watch the TV-debate is reinforced in the discussion by the subsequent practical standpoint, which follows the previous one mentioned above, and which is put forth by the *CdT* journalist who will lead the TV-debate:

(2) "the day of the debate, as previously planned, we will make the typical launch of the tradition in the news section of Lugano and Mendrisio as we usually do when the tv-program *Piazza del Corriere* is broadcasted and in the first page I ordered to insert a slightly modified appendix".

Concluding, the first part of the case study under investigation enables us to identify the correlation between the deliberative editorial conference meeting as a place of reflection and the emergence of a practical standpoint on the basis of journalists' anticipated audience uptake.

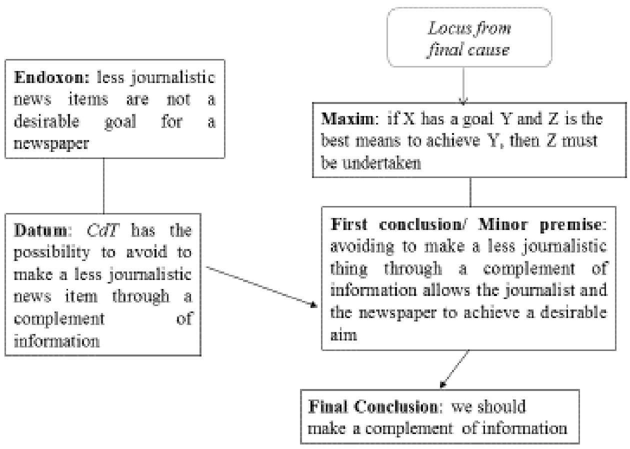
4.1. Argumentative analysis at the inferential structure level

Until now this paper has focused on the interactional or sequential level of argumentation; however, in order to prove the crucial role of journalists' audience uptake anticipation strategies in achieving reasonable decisions, it is necessary to make a more in-depth analysis and to investigate the inferential structure of arguments. The analysis of the inferential structure of arguments permits to identify the type of premises bound with the specific aspect of the anticipation of the audience uptake at stake.

We propose an analysis of the inferential structure of arguments following the approach known as Argumentum Model of Topics (henceforth AMT) (Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2010) for we claim that it offers a proof of the implicit premises at stake in journalists' anticipation strategies. The AMT aims at proposing a coherent and founded approach to the study of argument schemes, which can overcome several emerging difficulties, yet being in line with previous achievements on this aspect. In general, argumentation scholars conceive argument schemes as the bearing structure that connects the premises to the standpoint or conclusion in a piece of real argumentation. In the AMT, the argument scheme combines a procedural component (universal and abstract), in which an inferential connection (maxim) is activated, with a material component, guaranteeing for the applicability of the maxim to the actual situation considered in the argument (Rigotti & Greco Morasso 2010). In order to move from the argumentation structure to the Y-structure, the fundamental principle that must be kept in mind is that each arrow of the argumentation structure corresponds to a Y-structure diagram (Rigotti & Palmieri 2010).

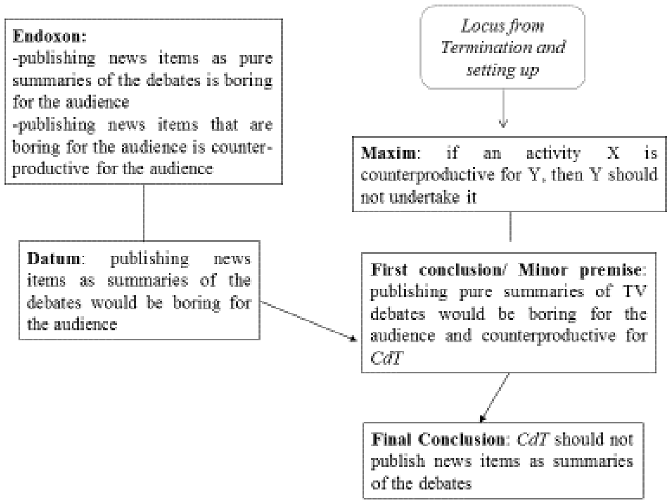
In this empirical part of the paper we will analyze, according to the AMT, the focal argument schemes of the three argumentative lines of the editorial discussion analysed in the previous section, analyzing the underlying reasoning processes at stake bound with the contextual premises at stake. We will now sketch the Y-structure of the single argumentation "we should make a complement of information since in that way we can avoid to make a less journalistic thing" in the first argumentative line, in which the journalist starts by arguing in favor of the editorial template that enables to avoid to make a less journalistic thing. According to the taxonomy of loci, this can be classified as a *locus from final cause*, shown in the Figure below:

Fig. 2. Inferential structure of the *locus from final cause*.



In this Y-structure we notice that the *endoxon* is based on the undesirability of following a certain editorial guideline. On the contrary, in the inferential analysis of the focal point of the second argumentative line (1.1b), which can be classified as a *locus from termination and setting up*, we can observe the presence of an *endoxon* based on the inability of a certain editorial template to raise interest in the audience, as we show in Fig. 3;

Fig. 3. Inferential structure of *locus from termination and setting up*.



The *datum* also deals with the interest of the audience, more specifically it deals with the actual possibility of raising disinterest by carrying out an action (publishing the news in form of a summary of a debate) that would be boring for the audience. The conjunction of the statements of the *endoxon* and *datum* creates an inferential effect leading to the first conclusion "Publishing pure summaries of TV debates would be boring for the audience and counterproductive". This conclusion perfectly meets the condition established by the maxim and, conjoined with it, allows inferring the standpoint. We know from the maxim that "if an activity X is counterproductive for Y, then Y should not undertake it", and from the first conclusion/minor premise that "publishing the news in form of a summary would be boring for the audience". Therefore, the journalist is forced to conclude that they "should not publish news items as summaries of the debates".

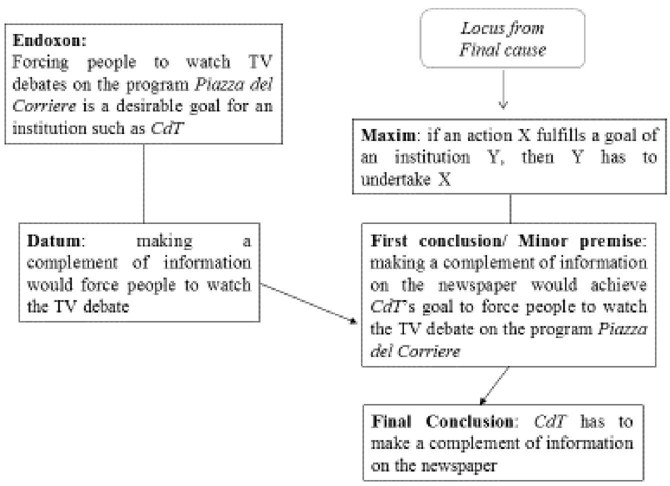
As we can see from the figure above, for what concerns the interweaving of the material and procedural components at the horizontal level of analysis, the basic function of the *endoxon* is to identify the context-bound entities implementing the locus. Furthermore, the datum implements the minor premise of the logical form activated in the procedural starting point. Concluding, the first conclusion/minor premise that is obtained is equally exploited by the procedural starting point as well as by the material starting point. This point of intersection is crucial in the perspective of the AMT since it represents the junction between the material and the procedural starting points and shows how different types of premises are combined in real argumentation.

At this stage of the analysis, we consider the single argumentation in the focal point of the third argumentative line that deals with the journalist arguing in favor of the need to add new information in order to foster curiosity and therefore to persuade the audience to watch the TV-debate (1.3). Again, according to the taxonomy of *loci*, this argument concerning the anticipation of persuasion can be classified as a *locus from final cause*. Generally speaking, in editorial conferences

> the locus from the final cause can be expected to recur frequently because deliberative discussions aim at fulfilling institutional goals, therefore arguments will draw upon a standpoint's validity in relation to such goals (Zampa 2015: 125).

In the figure below we analyze more in depth the argument scheme under investigation by producing another Y-structure:

Fig.4. Inferential structure of the *locus from final cause*.



A careful analysis of the *locus from final cause* through the Y-structure permits to observe the presence of an *endoxon* centered on the desirability of persuading readers to watch the TV debate and of a *datum* focused on the actual contextual circumstances that enable *CdT* to carry out this goal. On the vertical level of the structure the conjunction of the *endoxon* and of *datum* creates an inferential effect leading to a first conclusion, which is determined by the desirability of the action, which permits to achieve a good goal, namely forcing people to watch the TV-debate; the first conclusion that is obtained from the material starting point is equally exploited by the procedural starting point. Indeed, this conclusion perfectly meets the condition established by the maxim and, conjoined with it, allows inferring the standpoint "we need to make a complement of information on the newspaper". We know from the maxim that "if an action X fulfills a goal of an institution Y, then Y has to undertake X" and from the minor premise that "making a complement of information on the newspaper would achieve *CdT*'s goal to force people to watch the TV-debate on the program *Piazza del Corriere*". As a result of this, we can conclude that "*CdT* has to make a complement of information on the newspaper". It is interesting to notice that journalists' strategies concerning audience interest and audience persuasion mainly correlate with loci from final cause and loci from termination and setting up; these are the most deployed due to their usefulness in reaching newsroom's desirable shared goals, and due to the fact that the main purpose of an editorial newsroom is to satisfy audience demand and to continue to do that whereby productive editorial practices.

4.2. Verifying journalists' anticipatory strategies in the newspapers' items.

At this stage of the analysis, a test of the implementation of the strategy discussed in the editorial meeting, *i.e.* the attempt to persuade the newspaper audience to watch the first and the second debate, is carried out. On the day of the first TV-debate, namely on the 25th January 2013, a newspaper item with the participants to the debate and with the most intriguing topics of elections is published, as we can see in the Figure below.

Fig. 5. News item of the 25th January 2013 about the TV debate of the evening.

Since from the title "Elections Lugano is the centre of the world?"[6], which sounds as a rhetorical question, we can understand the persuading nature of the article, which raises curiosity through the announcement of the present hosts of the program and of the main topics to be discussed during the debate, *i.e.* the renewal of legislative branch of the State. The rhetorical question in the title contains a semantically strong idiom, which compares the elections of Lugano to the 'world's belly-button', inducing the audience to construe Lugano as the place in which the most important political debates of the world take place. In this way, the article follows the mind of the imagined audience, trying to raise interest and curiosity. Moving on to the highlight "The relationships with the others: from the millions given to the Canton to the wink to Expo and to China", the reader finds a motivation to believe that Lugano's elections are so important to be considered the belly-button of the world, thanks to the topics introduced by the journalist, namely the national and foreign affairs, ranging from the money given to the

[6] We translate.

Canton, to Expo, and arriving far beyond European boundaries mentioning China, in a sort of ascendant climax.

Going on, the reader, in the body of the article, finds all the elements that contextualize the event taking place on that evening: the journalist introduces the main information concerning the debate. She carefully explains them with the usage of linguistic markers specifically referring to the event to take place, such as 'this evening' and specifies the exact time 'from 20-45 to 21.45' and virtual place 'on TeleTicino'. The journalist also specifies exactly who will be hosted, by listing the candidates to the Municipality of Lugano and Mendrisio, and who will mediate the debate, namely the journalist Righinetti.

An interesting point, emphasizing the grandiosity of the city elections announced in the title and raising interest in the audience, is the usage of the propositional phrase 'from the always bigger Lugano', which with the usage of the adverb *always* and of the majorative adjective *bigger* conveys durability to the growth of the city, as we can see in an extract from the news item below:

Excerpt 1. Excerpt from the news item "Elezioni Lugano è l'ombelico del mondo?"

> Today we start from the always bigger Lugano that on the 14th of April will renew the Executive and Legislative branch of the Government. The campaign in the city seems to be exciting not only among the parties fighting for the seats of power, but also within political forces. Some tensions have already clearly emerged. In the socialist party after the abandonment of Nenad Stojanovic, now it is Patriza Pesenti's surrender that cause a stir.

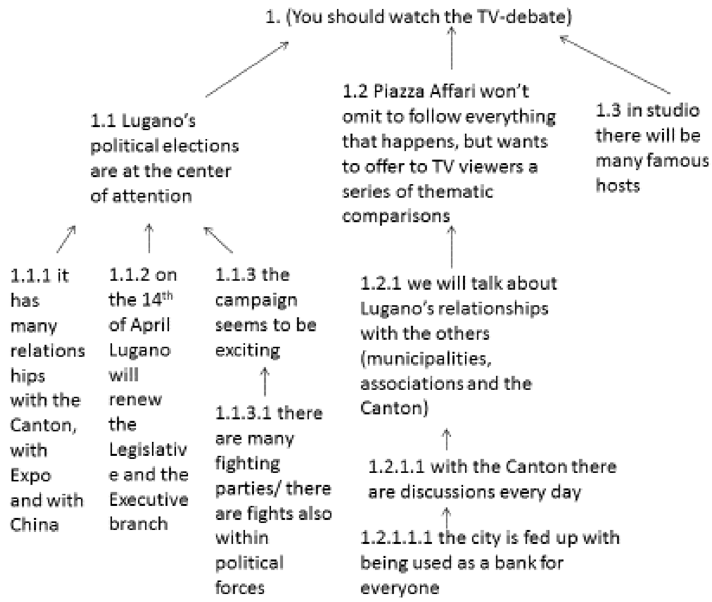
The frequent usage of evaluative vocabulary, such as 'the campaign *seems* to be *exciting'*, and the metaphorical framing of the event of the elections as a battle field via the verb *to fight* 'the parties are *fighting*' give evidence of the journalist's will to encourage the audience to follow the topic with interest. Furthermore, we observe the usage of the concessive argument 'the campaign announces to be interesting *not only* with fighting parties, *but also* within political forces', aiming at persuading readers that the debate seems to be interesting from many points of view. The journalist goes on arguing in favor of the prevision that the TV debate will be exciting by adding an evidential basis, namely the fact that some tensions had already emerged, quoting one of them, namely the abandonment of one leader and the refusal of another one of the party PS. However, it is with the concessive argument 'Piazza affair won't omit to follow everything that happens, *but* intends to offer to his TV viewer a series of thematic comparisons' that the news item reaches the top of its persuasiveness; this argument recalls the standpoint put forth by the journalist in the editorial meeting analyzed in section 4.1. Indeed, the conceded argument ‘Piazza affair won’t omit everything that happens’ is presented to the audience as less important than the argument following the adversative conjunction ‘but’, namely ‘intends to offer to his TV viewer a series of thematic comparisons’; this sequence perfectly meets the decisions taken by the journalist during the editorial meeting, namely not doing simply a news reporting, but rather rising the audience interest by presenting thematic confrontations, able to open a cognitive gap that can be filled only by the audience minds.

In general, we can notice a very high frequency of concessive arguments, in which the adversative ‘but’ splits the two arguments, giving prominence to the second one and stimulating readers’ curiosity. Many other rhetorical questions insinuating doubts and raising curiosity follow in the whole body of the text; ‘Lugano must only pay and be silent?’, ‘the crisis of the branch is given only by the recession and by the change euro-franc or is there something else?’, ‘Is it something fruitful or is it only a marketing?’. The threefold reiteration of the adverb *only* in these three rhetorical questions insinuates that there is something else to discover, something that can be discovered only by watching the TV debate.

Furthermore, in the last paragraph of the news item, the explicit recall to the readers to send a feedback via e-mail or via twitter “we are waiting for your suggestions since now via twitter, and before of the live recording also via e-mail to piazza@teleticino.ch” is an explicit strategy in order to incentivize the audience to get involved and to be responsive, which is a desirable consequence of persuasiveness, acted out by the journalist in the previous parts of the body copy. Even with the aid of visual elements, the journalist attempts to raise curiosity, by visually showing the hosts of the debate and by adding the special colored column saying ‘special elections Lugano, Teleticino Piazza del Corriere’.

In order to give evidence of the coherent continuum of the inter-textual chain consisting of editorial conference and news item, we show the argumentative reconstruction of the news item in the Figure below;

Figure 6. Argumentative reconstruction of the news article.



Via the argumentative reconstruction of the news item the link between the journalistic intention to persuade the audience in the editorial conference and the argumentative nature as well as the rhetorical implementation of the text, also conveyed by linguistic markers used in the news item, becomes evident.

Another clue of the persuasive nature of the anticipatory strategy planned by the journalists in the editorial conference can be verified by observing the subsequent news item published on the 26th January, *i.e.* the day after the TV-debate of the 25th January, and aiming at fostering audience to watch the second debate. Again, the journalist attempts to increase the persuasiveness of the item by adding new informational elements aiming at promoting the debate and by using evaluative terms, signaling the journalist's will to persuade the readers. Consider Figure 7. below:

Fig. 7. News appendix published on the 26th January 2013.

IDEE A CONFRONTO

LUGANO E IL GOVERNO

È giusto che la Città abbia un canale preferenziale di dialogo?

ROBERTO BADARACCO (PLR)

«Lugano ha 60.000 abitanti e una grande forza finanziaria. Con tutto il rispetto per gli altri Comuni, è giusto che la Città abbia un canale preferenziale con il Governo. Non è un privilegio, ma una necessità per evitare conflitti. Per un cantone piccolo come il Ticino, la cosa peggiore è quella di essere in conflitto con la sua città-polo».

LUGANO E GLI ALTRI COMUNI

Lugano investe da sola in opere di cui beneficia tutta la regione: serve una nuova ripartizione delle spese?

CRISTINA ZANINI BARZAGHI (PS)

«In generale è giusto che i Comuni partecipino a questi investimenti. Sul LAC, ad esempio, Paradiso avrebbe dovuto fare la sua parte. Sono convinta che le aggregazioni potranno dirsi concluse solo quando a Lugano si uniranno i Comuni importanti già integrati a livello territoriale, ma fino ad allora servirà più collaborazione».

LUGANO E BERNA

La Città viene considerata abbastanza dalla Confederazione, ad esempio nei sussidi per le opere viarie?

ANGELO JELMINI (PPD)

«La Confederazione ci ha dato 207 milioni di franchi per la galleria Vedeggio-Cassarate, ma il finanziamento era legato al piano viario del polo: una misura fiancheggiatrice che proprio Berna aveva imposto al Municipio e al Consiglio

Since from the title of the column "ideas in comparison" the attempt of fostering curiosity in the audience seems to be the main aim; every subtitle is underlined in red and followed by a question, answered by a political participant, covering the three main areas of intervention bound with Lugano: the government, the other municipalities and the relationships with Bern. We can observe the presence of a complement of information in addition to what was broadcasted in the debate, as planned by the journalist in the editorial conference we analyzed (Fig.1); indeed, the journalist does not simply report information concerning the previous debates, but rather he adds the opinions of new interviewed experts, and fosters the curiosity of the audience through questions insinuating still open political issues. From a linguistic point of view, we find many markers that indicate evaluation in these provoking questions. In the first one 'is it *right* for the town to have a preferential channel of dialogue?' the adjective 'right', inserted in such a question, insinuates the possibility of an error and therefore incentivizes the need for further information, which is given through the subsequent quotation of the expert. In the second highlight an insinuating question is preceded by an implicitly evaluative sentence: 'Lugano invests *alone* in activities in which the *whole* region is involved: do we need a new expenses repartition?'. Here we notice the negative evaluation of how Lugano's investments are managed, by using the adverb 'alone', which contrasts with the idea of totality evoked by the adjective 'whole', implicitly suggesting that satisfying the needs of the *whole* Canton is too much if Lugano invests *alone*. The colon after the sentence and before the question has the function to raise a doubt in the reader and aims to foster the reader to go on to read the quotation. Even the third highlight presents a provoking question; 'The city is considered enough from the Confederation, for example concerning the subsidies for the various activities?'. This question again is representative of the whole item, indeed it raises curiosity whereby the usage of the evaluative verb 'consider' and the adverb 'enough', which declare an implicit negative stance of the journalist towards the money management acted out by the Confederation, and insinuates the doubt in the reader, so that he is invited to read more. Even though at a first glance we may think that the journalist simply quotes the answers of the interviewed, the journalist does much more than this and takes a stance by choosing which quotation to publish, therefore framing the news in a particular way, constructing his own viewpoint and fostering persuasiveness. The structure of this second news item, with direct open questions and with the answers of new experts in respect to those of the broadcasted debate, opens a space for argumentative reasoning also in readers' minds and fosters curiosity, leading them to go on in deepening the raised issue, and therefore persuading them to watch the next TV-debate.

5. Conclusion

Concluding, we claim that the argumentative lens offers a valid aim in understanding journalists' anticipatory inferences about audience uptake emerging in newsroom discussions at a conscious and collective level. The argumentative analysis we have conducted lends support to Bell's claim (1991) that style suits a news outlet's audience by means of specific linguistic variables. The results of our study add to this conclusion that journalist's anticipatory strategies, standing behind editorial decisions and guiding the choice of item's selection and items' details, are continuously discussed and redefined via argumentative practices.

The argumentative analysis has illustrated two focal points, which play a crucial role in the argumentative discussion of the editorial conference at stake, namely *a)* a certain editorial template is used as a means to raise audience interest in the news, and *b)* this interest is deployed in order to persuade the audience to watch the TV-debate, following an inter-media chain from the newspaper to the audience. Therefore, we can conclude that an argumentative analysis of newsroom interaction and the test of the implementation strategy in the news product is a sound methodology for uncovering the focal points of a discussion dealing with decisions about journalists' audience anticipation, and for understanding the way in which these strategies can be retrieved in news products.

We have also shown that audience anticipation in newsroom editorial conferences often leads to the emergence of a deliberative standpoint, focused on the ways in which news items should be produced taking into account the audience uptake.

Furthermore, we also carried out an argumentative analysis at the inferential structure level; we have shown that the AMT approach gives us the chance to understand that the specific anticipatory aspects concerning ‘raising audience interest’ and ‘persuasion’ correlate with two types of loci, which can be used to build goal-directed and productive-oriented inferences, namely locus from final cause and locus from termination and setting up. These inferential mechanisms fit well with journalists’ main aim, namely performing news able to satisfy the audience demand. As a result of an interactional or sequential and of an inferential argumentative analysis, we can postulate the existence of some naïve pragmatic theories among journalists, which are due to their spontaneous anticipation of the consequences of their editing decisions for their audience; indeed, when they reach a collective agreement on the anticipatory strategy to follow, they find a confirmation of their expectations.

However, much remains to be done and the analysis poses further challenges. At the inferential level, the correlation between the aspect of the anticipation at stake and locus should be deepened also with a quantitative study. Furthermore, future work should be devoted to better analyze the relationship between journalists’ anticipatory inferences strategies and arguments’ acceptability for readers.

References

BEDNAREK, Monica & Helen CAPLE (2012), «Value added’. Language, image and news values », *Discourse, Context & Media* (1), 103-113.

BELL, Allan (1984), « Language style as audience design », *Language in Society*, 13:2, 145-204.

BELL, Allan (1991), *The language of news media*, Oxford, Blackwell.

COUPLAND, Nicholas *et al*. «Accomodating the elderly: invoking and extending a theory », *Language in society*, 17:1, 1-41.

EEMEREN, Frans Hans, Rob GROOTENDORST & Francisca SNOEK HENKEMANS (2002), « *Argumentation: Analysis, Evaluation, Presentation* », London/ New York, Routledge.

EEMEREN, Frans Hans, & Rob GROOTENDORST (2004), « *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*», Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

GILES, Howard *et al.* (1987), «Speech accommodation theory: the first decade and beyond ». In MCLAUGHLIN Margaret L (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 10*, Beverly Hills, Sage, 13-48.

GILES, Howard, & Peter POWESLAND, (1975) *Speech Style and Social Evaluation*, London, Academic Press.

GRECO, Sara (2003/2), «*When presupposing becomes dangerous. How the procedure of presuppositional accommodation can be exploited in manipulative discourse*»,, *Studies in Communication Sciences*, III, 217-234.

GRICE, Herbert Paul (1991), *The conception of value*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

GRICE, Herbert Paul (2001), *Aspects of reason*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

O'KEEFE, Barbara J. (1991), «Message design logic and the management of multiple goals». In K. Tracy (ed.), *Understanding face-to-face interaction: issues linking goals and discourse*, Hillsdale, NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum, 101-117.

PERRIN, Daniel (2003), «Progression analysis (PA): investigating writing strategies at the workplace», *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 6, 907–921.

PERRIN, Daniel (2012), «Stancing: Strategies of entextualizing stance in newswriting», *Discourse, Context & Media* 1, 135-147.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The Linguistics of Newswriting*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia, John Benjamins.

PETERS, Chris (2012), *Journalism to go: the changing spaces of news consumption*, Journalism studies, 13: 5-6, pp. 695-705.

PETERS, Chris (2013), *Rethinking journalism trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*, New York, Routledge.

RECANATI, Francois (1988), «Rigidity and direct reference», *Philosophical studies* 53, pp. 103-117.

RECANATI, Francois (2003), *'What is said' and the semantics/pragmatics distinction*, in Claudia Bianchi, Carlo Penco. The Semantics/Pragmatics distinction: Proceedings from WOC 2002 (ed.), CSLI Publications pp. 45-64.

RIGOTTI, Eddo & Andrea ROCCI (2006), «Towards a definition of communication context », *Studies in Communication Sciences*, 6/2, 155-180.

RIGOTTI, Eddo, & Sara GRECO MORASSO (2010), «Comparing the Argumentum Model of Topics to Other Contemporary Approaches to Argument Schemes: The Procedural and Material Components», *Argumentation*, 24(4), 489–512.

RIGOTTI, Eddo & Sara GRECO (In preparation), *Inference in argumentation: A topics-based approach to argument schemes*. To be submitted to the Springer Argumentation Library.

RIGOTTI, Eddo & Rudi PALMIERI (2010), «Analyzing and evaluating complex argumentation in an economic-financial context», in REED Chris & Christopher W. TINDALE (eds.), *Dialectics, Dialogue and Argumentation. An examination of Douglas Walton's Theories of Reasoning and Argument*, London, College Publications, 85-99.

SBISÀ Marina & Ken TURNER (2013), *Pragmatics of speech actions*, Berlin, De Gruyter Mouton.

SENFT Gunter (2014), *Understanding pragmatics*, Oxon/New York, Routledge.

THAKERAR, Jitendra *et al.* (1982), «Psychological and linguistic parameters of speech accommodation theory». In FRASER Colin & Klaus R. SCHERER (eds), *Advances in the Social Psychology of Language*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 205-255.

WITSCHGE, Tamara (2012), *Changing audience, changing journalism?*. In LEE-WRIGHT Peter *et al.* (eds), *Changing Journalism*, London, Routledge, 117-134.

WITSCHGE, Tamara (2013), *Transforming Journalistic Practice: A Profession Caught Between Change and Tradition*. In PETERS C. *et al.* (eds.), *Rethinking Journalism*, London, Routledge.

ZAMPA, Marta (2015), *News values as endoxa of newsmaking*, PhD Dissertation.

Appendix

Transcript of interactional data used:
Monday morning editorial meeting; 13/01/2013

```
 [start at: min 16.20]
X1 0001: sulla base del progrmma che gentilmente ci ha fatto avere righinetti
On the basis of the program kindly received from righinetti
0002: come cronaca per evitare di fare una cosa veramente poco giornalistica
as news section in order to avoid to do a very less journalistic thing
0003: ne abbiamo discusso con lo stesso righinetti
we discussed also with righinetti
0004: ovvero stare lì a fare ah ieri sera teleticino si è fatta la tribuna etc
that is just saying yesterday evening teleticino made electoral debates
0005: allora noi prendendo il suo tema che sono quelli i temi poi
then we retaking this topic these are the topics
0006: noi probabilmente ne aggiungeremo un paio
we will probably add another couple of topics
0007: comunque a partire dal venticinque noi usciamo
However starting from the twentyfive we will publish
0008: il ventisei noi usciamo con ieri sera dibattito
on the twentysix we will say yesterday evening there was the debate
0009: e poi sentiremo altri politici rispetto a quelli che avevi tu in studio quella sera
and then we will hear other politicians in respect with the other that you had in studio that evening
0010: con una breve dichiarazione su quell tema e la gente
with a brief declaration on this topic and we will hear people
0011: soprattutto le persone interessate alla socialità
above all people interested in sociality
0012: ci sarà un appoggio dicendo ieri sera si è parlato di questo
there will be a recall saying yesterday they talked about that
0013: si farà un complement di informazione sul giornale
we will make a complement of information on the newspaper
0014: di modo che non è una cosa che naviga a sé stante
so that it is not something that navigates on its own
0015: ma soprattutto non è il giornale che fa il riassuntino di un dibattito
but above all it is not the newspaper that makes the summary of a debate
0016: che se uno l'ha già visto che cavolo se lo legge a fare il giorno dopo
```

that if one has yet seen the debate it is unuseful to read it the day after
0017: cioè gli diamo qualcosa in più al dibattito
indeed we give something more to the debate
0018: dicendo che c'era il giudice che c'era questo che c'era quello
saying that there was the judge that there was this host and this
0019: e in definitiva parlando coi colleghi si è detto
and finally speaking with the collegues we said
0020: in questo modo costringiamo la gente a guardarsi il dibattito
in this way we force people to watch the debate
0021: probabilmente non il primo perché usciamo il ventisei
probably not the first because we publish on the twentysix
0022: però quello successivo uno se lo guarda sicuramente
But for sure one watches the next one
0023: perché c'è il giochetto del confronto
because there is the game of the confrontation
X2 0024: una cosa che non ho detto
a thing that I haven't said
0025: che il giorno del dibattito
that the day of the debate
0026: come concordato in cronaca di lugano e di mendrisio si fa
as agreed in the news section of lugano and mendrisio we will make
0027: il classico lancio della tradizione e in prima pagina
the classical launch of the tradition and as a splash
0028: ho fatto fare uno strilloncino leggermente modificato
I prepared a slightly modified column

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 175-204

"MAYBE THERE'S A VERY SIMPLE DEBATE": HOW JOURNALISTS FRAME A PUBLIC DEBATE IN THE NEWSROOM

Marcel BURGER
University of Lausanne
marcel.burger@unil.ch

Laura DELALOYE
University of Lausanne
laura.delaloyesaillen@unil.ch

Abstract

Taking the perspective of a newsroom ethnographic approach, our paper interrogates the decision-making process that leads to establish a public debate as a news product. More precisely our paper details the argumentation in interaction engaging broadcast journalists during an editorial conference: who argues? When and how is argumentation joint constructed? By the means of what interactional and linguistic ressources? How does argumentation in interaction shape the news product? In our case study we focus on how argumentation develops within the specific genre of "debate", and how the journalists come to debate about a specific genre of news item : a public debate to be broadcast as a report in the news bulletin.

Keywords : newsroom ethnography, editorial conference, decision-making process, public debate, argumentation in interaction.

1. Introduction

Adopting the framework of a newsroom ethnographic approach of news media discourse, our paper focuses on one specific backstage activity of broadcast journalists : argumentation during editorial conferences. How and why do journalists propose, discuss, and attribute the topics of the reports of the news bulletin? More precisely, we interrogate the complex decision-making process that leads to establish a public debate as a news product. On the basis of data collected in 2007 in the newsroom of the French-speaking public service television (TSR) in Switzerland, our paper details the argumentation in interaction during the morning meeting : who argues and when? How is argumentation joint constructed? By the means of what interactional and linguistic ressources? What is it for? Also, what is at stake with it? More specifically, how does argumentation in interaction shape the news product? The aim of this paper is to reflect on one important aspect of news making processes and products : the double role of argumentation in interaction and that of linguistic markers. Indeed, arguing in the newsroom favors moments of metadiscourse reflecting the norms and values of the community of practitioners and at the same time shapes and constitutes the community itself.

Our paper is divided into four sections. In section §2, we position briefly our paper within the domain of linguistic ethnography and make explicit a relevant link between an ethnographic approach of news media and media linguistics as a sub-domain of applied linguistics. We also evoke in section §2 the broader research projects in which our paper is anchored. Then, in section §3 we define the paradoxical constraints of current news media practices and its functioning in terms of « critical situations ». In such professional contexts, the norms, the values, and the ideologies that shape journalism as a specific community of practitioners are emerging and discussed. As for section §4, it is dedicated to a complex and yet representative case study: during the morning editorial conference at the News Department department of the TSR, the topics of the news bulletin are discussed and attributed. One of these topics has to acquire a more specific status. Indeed, « Point fort » is a debate sequence engaging experts disputing on air about a hard news. What is at stake with « Point fort » is to make the audience engage in a public discussion in turn. As a matter of fact, the journalists and editorial staff disagree on what a public debate is. In the conclusion of the paper (§5), we explicit some positive outcomes of an ethnographic approach for media linguistics and for the study of news media discourse.

2. An ethnographic approach to news media

Our paper is rooted in the domain of the linguistics of the news production (NTT 2011) or the linguistics of newswriting (Perrin 2013). Broadly speaking, such a perspective comprises all language issues of « research on the media that is informed by newsroom realities » (Cotter 2010 : 10). As such, the linguistics of news production or newswriting is an ethnographically grounded approach to news media analysis. “Doing ethnography means trying to understand a community, by looking at how a community works” (Cotter 2010: 19). We are considering the community of news people and we look at what these practitioners do: how do they use language by the means of what discursive practices to produce what language of the news? To detail the dynamics of news production, we focus on a specific site of engagement, i.e. the newsroom, and the actions of particular participants, i.e. the journalists and editors, both as individuals and as members of a media organization. Day after day, they engage jointly in complex news production processes leading to specific news products. They work according to particular routines, rules, expectations and ideologies that reflect and at the same time define and shape their community of practice.

The linguistics of news production or newswriting focuses on language use in a particular social domain. Therefore, it resorts to the broader domain of applied linguistics (see Perrin 2013: 1-40). Generally speaking, the findings and outputs of an applied perspective concern both the researchers and the practitioners. The former gain a better understanding of the functioning of a specific community of practice (journalism), a particular language use (the language of news media), and complex discursive products (the news items within genres). The latter gain language awareness by reflecting on what they do (instead of what they say or think they are doing). Thus, the practitioners benefit from a repertoire of good and bad practices on how to handle a certain journalistic task. Thus, in the long-term the perspective can lead to knowledge transformation of the insiders, and possibly improve the news practices of the newsroom under investigation (see §5).

Our paper is anchored in two broader ethnographic research projects in the Swiss media. Both are aimed at a greater understanding of the community of practice of the news journalists[1] (for a synthesis see Perrin *et al.* 2009 ; Luciani, Rocci & Zampa 2015 ; also Perrin & Fürer and Luciani & Rocci, both in this issue). We collected data in three newsrooms in distinct linguistic parts of Switzerland (French, German and Italian-speaking parts). Twenty news journalists were under investigation during one week each. We video taped, recorded, and observed the participants in various activity fields : editorial conferences, individual work place sessions, cutting rooms interactions. We also did biographical interviews and retrospective verbal protocols.

---

[1] "Idée Suisse: Language policy, norms and practice as exemplified by Swiss Radio and Television" (SNF NRP 56, 2005-2010), and "Argumentation in newsmaking process and product" (SNF PDFMP1_137181/1, 2012-2015).

Besides the consideration of the newsmaking processes, we gathered two types of news products : the reports of the broadcast news bulletin of the TSR and SF (e.g. the Swiss public companies broadcasting in French and German), and the editorials published in the Corriere del Ticino (e.g. the main written press newspaper in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland). The double focus on processes and products is useful as it provides a rather relevant picture of the pratictioners at work. Indeed, the projects allows us to reflect on how the norms of practices brought into being in the processes constrain and at the same time shape the newsproducts.

Analytically, an ethnographic approach is a claim to interdisciplinary relevance, and methodologically it calls for a multi-method or multi-perspective of analysis (Rampton, Maybin & Roberts 2015 : 32-40). We use the framework of « progression analysis » (Perrin *et al.* 2009), collecting and analyzing data related to three levels: before, during and after the writing and production processes of news items (for the details see Perrin 2013 : 63-68). In our paper, we concentrate on the first level: the talk at work at the TSR during editorial conferences. Then, the journalists and editors discuss and attribute the topics to be part of the newsbulletin. They formulate arguments, support thesis, form alliances, and challenge authority on the basis of complex institutional, organizational, practical but also personal concerns. Our focus is on the decision-making process that leads to establishing a topic as a news product. As a preamble of our analysis in §4, we briefly introduce the tension that charaterize journalism and the current news media practices.

3. Journalism and newsmedia : practices under influence

An increasing amount of research suggest the news practices are under influence. Indeed, the newsmedia face complex and antagonistic constraints. News has a civic function of informing about the public spheres, but at the same time news has a commercial function of winning the loyalty of buyers. Hence, on the one hand, news addresses an audience of citizens. It is therefore a means to participate to public discussion and the construction of public opinion (e.g. Livingstone & Lunt 1994; Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001; Koller & Wodak 2010; Gonzalez & Skuza 2014; Charaudeau 2015). But on the other hand, news addresses the same audience considered as customers as well: it then aims to gain audience (e.g. Mc Manus 1994; Thompson 1995; Croteau & Hoynes 2001; Charaudeau 2005; Tolson 2006). Such an apparently contradictory state of affair defines the news practices from the origins and constitutes the main dimension of what sociologists and ethnographers call the “media mediation” (Macé 2005: 135[2]) or the “craft principle” (Cotter 2010: 32). Pierre Bourdieu comments on this matter in terms of “the principle that determines what journalists select both within social reality and among symbolic productions as a whole. [It is] a journalistic selection in order to catch the public eye [with] the effect of censorship, which journalists practice without even being aware of it” (Bourdieu 1998: 47)[3].

3.1. Big media utopias and small journalistic assemblages

We consider here one fundamental dimension of the “craft principle” underlying news media practices: the critical situations that journalists are facing everyday. According to Daniel Perrin, “critical situations denote exemplary constellations of circumstances which could lead to a failure” when managing a task (Perrin 2013: 2020). Journalists possibly “overcome critical situations with good practices – good according to their own, their organizations’, and/or theoretically – grounded principles” (*ibid*). As a matter of fact, besides blending civic and commercial concerns, journalists must subtly combine various antagonistic constraints in the news items. As an example, they have to take into account local as well as global considerations, mono- but at the same time multilingual aspects; make it simple and summarize but put it complex and develop; articulate textual together with visual scripts, etc.

As a consequence, “critical situations” are contexts that directly rely on and reflect best the complexity of news practices. The challenging task for the practitioners is to take into account simultaneously the ideological and the practical concerns of the craft principle. Both can lead by themselves to potential critical situations. We suggest to call the former “big media utopias” and the latter “small journalistic assemblages”. The utopias resort to ideology : it’s an abstract matter that reflects the prevalent vision of newsvalue of a given media (what is

[2] “médiation médiatique”, in French.

[3] News media analysts also characterize the “craft principle” in terms of “news value” or “newsworthiness” (e.g. Bell 1991; Montgomery 1997).

news ?). Thus, the big media utopias necessarily lead to discussions. They are controversial, and fundamentally negotiable[4]. In terms of agency, the big media utopias resort at first to the macro political and institutional decision level of media managers. Conversely, the small journalistic assemblages resort at first to logistical ressources (how to manage a news item ?) : it's a practical matter to be achieved according to time and space constraints of a given newsroom. Thus, small journalistic assemblages call for prompt, pragmatic and appropriate decisions by the newsmakers (e.g. journalists, desk editors, sub & copy editors, animators, technicians, etc.) and operate at the micro organizational level of the desk or the department[5].

3.2. Editorial conferences as a site of (meta) argumentation

Our data show that editorial conferences (EC) represent a privileged locus for the study of decision-making processes. EC's involve both the "big media utopias" and the "small journalistic assemblages" issues and show how these dimensions are entangled. Both are necessarily closely tied up when it comes to decide to cover a news item; though one of the dimensions could appear as dominant depending on the moment of negotiation that is under investigation. As an example, during the morning editorial conference at the TSR on Thursday March 8, 2008[6], 10:00 a.m., the journalists dispute ideologically (the what?) and practically (the how?) about to report the International's women day: should they do the interview of a woman politician or rather make a report on a day of a supermarket cashier? Should they already use available archives or send a crew to hit the ground to meet with people? If so, when? Given that the report should already be broadcast at noon. And with what TV crew? Given that no technician is yet available? Deciding whether the micro topic should be a "woman politician" or a "women supermarket cashier" resorts to the media utopias: it's an ideological matter that can infinitely be debated. This matter is closely linked with journalistic

---

[4] Big media utopias (BMU) are uncertain and undecidable by nature. They cannot lead to a broad consensus or general agreement. Nevertheless, every media culture favors more or less the same utopias: this is the "circular circulation of information" criticized by Bourdieu (1998: 23). In terms of linguistic markers, BMU resort to the intra-propositional semantic level of a speech act, while the small journalistic assemblages (SJA) concern the pragmatic level of illocutionary forces (see § 4.3.).

[5] In terms of Bell's roles in producing news language (Bell 1991 :39), the macro level of "utopia" is that of the influence of policy makers, proprietors and managers. Which does not imply that the micro level of "assemblage" has not an influential role in turn: It has.

[6] tsr_tj_070308_0830_editorial_1_discourse.mov

assemblage: there’s only a couple of hours left to do the report and in addition no crew is able to film outside the studio. This represents a decisive practical concern constraining in turn the media utopia.

For our case study in section §4, we focus on editorial conferences at the TSR with the aim of describing the decision-making process supported by utopias and assemblages and realized through argumentation in interaction. At the News department where the news bulletin is produced, the journalists and editorial staff meet three times a day: at 8:30, then 9:30 in the morning, and again in the afternoon at 2:30. The morning EC are aimed at defining the topics of the first news bulletin (broadcast at noon). The afternoon session is mainly a discussion aimed at improving the edition then broadcast in the evening. The screen shots below show the EC settings:

Figure 1: the setting of the morning EC

8 :30 a.m. **9 :30 a.m**.

The setting changes minimally. Indeed, the editorial staff, i.e. the editor-in-chief (R) and his associate (AR) are always sitting at the end of the table. At 8:30 a.m. only 5 to 8 desk editors attend the EC to be held in R’s office. Conversely, at 9 :30 a.m., the EC is held in a large conference room open to all journalists (without obligation), but, likewise, journalists with higher-status such as the TV anchorman/woman and the desk editors sit immediately on the right and on the left of R (and or RA).

The EC that took place at 9 :30 a.m. on March 1, 2007 is our focus. After a brief review of the broadcast of the previous day, it comes to choose the « Point fort », that is the main report of the bulletin in terms of content and length. This specific news item resorts to a debate as a genre: it has to show at least two antagonistic voices arguing against each other about an issue of public interest[7]. On the EC of March 1, 2007, the decision-making process about such a report gave rise to a complex discussion engaging both levels of the big media utopias and the small journalistic assemblages. Alliances formed and rapidly argumentation in interaction developed so that a debate about what a public debate is took place in the newsroom. We propose a close consideration of this argumentation linked with what is at stake with it in terms of the « craft principle ». What are the newsmaking rule and procedures that are invoked? How are these entangled in « media utopias » and/or « journalistic assemblages » ? Why and how is (meta) argumentation developed? By whom and at what moment?

4. Journalists debating on how to stage a public debate

We take here a micro-linguistics perspective to analyse how the news topic is decided through argumentation in interaction among journalists. We take into account the institutional and interactional identities (Van De Mieroop 2008; Norris 2011) manifesting the constitution of leadership; and besides verbal ressources, we also look closely at the para- and non verbal dimensions of the EC. Empirical studies on gatekeeping based on interaction analysis and power management (Clayman & Reissner 1998, Van Hout & Van Praet 2011, Gravengaard & Rimestad 2012), provide us with a theoretical framework that we aim to complement with an argumentative approach to decision-making in editorial conferences as a polylogal interaction.

Indeed, we observe during EC's that the journalists use categories[8] to discuss the state of affairs of a current event. They orient towards a specific framing of the event and at some occasions they rise objection against competing framings. We call the management of objections in this context "argumentation in interaction". During the EC, a moment of argumentation displays the crucial role

[7] There is an increasing amount of research about debate and public discussion as a news media genre (e.g. Livingstone & Lunt 1994; Hutchby 1996; Bourdieu 1998; Luginbuehl 2007; Burger 2009, 2013; Thornborrow 2015; Charaudeau 2015). Interestingly, everyone agrees that debate as a genre realizes best a major contradiction of news media: a debate is at the same time a "spectacle" chaired and favored by a media and a means to contribute to the construction of the "public opinion".

[8] In the sense of the ethnomethological perspective in sociology (Sacks 1979): see the recent research of Fitzgerald, Jaworski & Housley (2008); , Housley & Fitzgerald (2015), Stokoe & Attenborough (2015).

of language and negotiation skills beside institutional power: indeed, the selection of an event as a news item depends on the institutional leadership of the editor-in-chief as much as on the journalists who are free to intervene. The outcome of the news-item is then partly determined by the ability of journalists to bring into being a discursive and interactional leadership (Hutchby 1996, Ekström 2007). This helps form coalition to challenge and negotiate an issue at stake (Heritage & Raymond 2005; Heritage 2012) and lastly allows « to gain primacy in the management of meaning for the organization » (Clifton 2012 : 154).

4.1. Framing a public debate : macro and argumentative analysis

Let’s consider the excerpt 1 below. It shows how journalists frame a potential public debate as a news item. The issue is about the new smokefree law in Switzerland as a possible news-item to be broadcast for Point Fort. It shows what a controversial event in a public sphere is :

Excerpt 1. (R: editor-in-chief / OC: economy-swiss desk)

```
0007 OC  there is gastrosuisse
0008     that submits an an alternative to secondhand smoke
0009     today in bern (.)
0010     it could be a debate topic (.)
0011     there is the initiative of gutzwiller
0012     that plans to make into law
0013     the protection of workers=
0014 R   =yeah=
0015 OC  euh against secondhand smoke
0016     and then gastrosuisse fearing this initiative
0017     and fearing that the motion comes into force
0018     what would lead all the bistros eh being non-smoking area
0019     therefore presents an alternative in bern this morning
0020     here there is (.) maybe a very simple debate=
```

A public debate represents at least two voices arguing against each other in the public and political sphere about a controversial social issue. This is what the journalist OC establishes[9]. He puts that “Gastrosuisse” (l.7) constitutes an “alternative” (l.8) to a citizen activism (an “initiative” l.11; a “motion” l. 17). The issue is of public interest (“to make into law the protection of workers against

[9] OC refers metonymically to the Swiss government (“Bern” l. 9 & l.19) and to Swiss public & political spheres (“Gastrosuisse” l.7 & l.11, “initiative of Gutzwiller” l.16). Gastrosuisse is the Swiss Caterers Association, and Felix Gutzwiller is a deputy at the Swiss National Assembly. He is also working in the field of preventiv medicine.

secondhand smoke" l. 13-15), and therefore, it represents a possible "debate topic" (l. 10 & 20).

Argumentation in interaction develops on this basis that day during the EC. It appears that two antagonistic argumentative positions (proponent: PRO & opponent: OPP) are cristallized around one argumentative question (QU):

QU: Is the Gastrosuisse initiative a potential topic for *Point Fort*?

PRO: Yes (because it raises a public debate between Gutzwiller and Gastrosuisse)

OPP: No (because smoking in restaurants is no controverial point anymore)

To give a comprehensive view of the argumentation that emerges in the newsroom, we propose to sketch step by step the argumentation in interaction, as on Figure 1[10].

[10] The scheme is based on recent propositions for mapping debates (Plantin 1996; Jacquin 2014). It provides a sequential overview of the emerging arguments of PRO & OPP used by the participants to define what is at stake with the topic and to support their standpoint about QU.

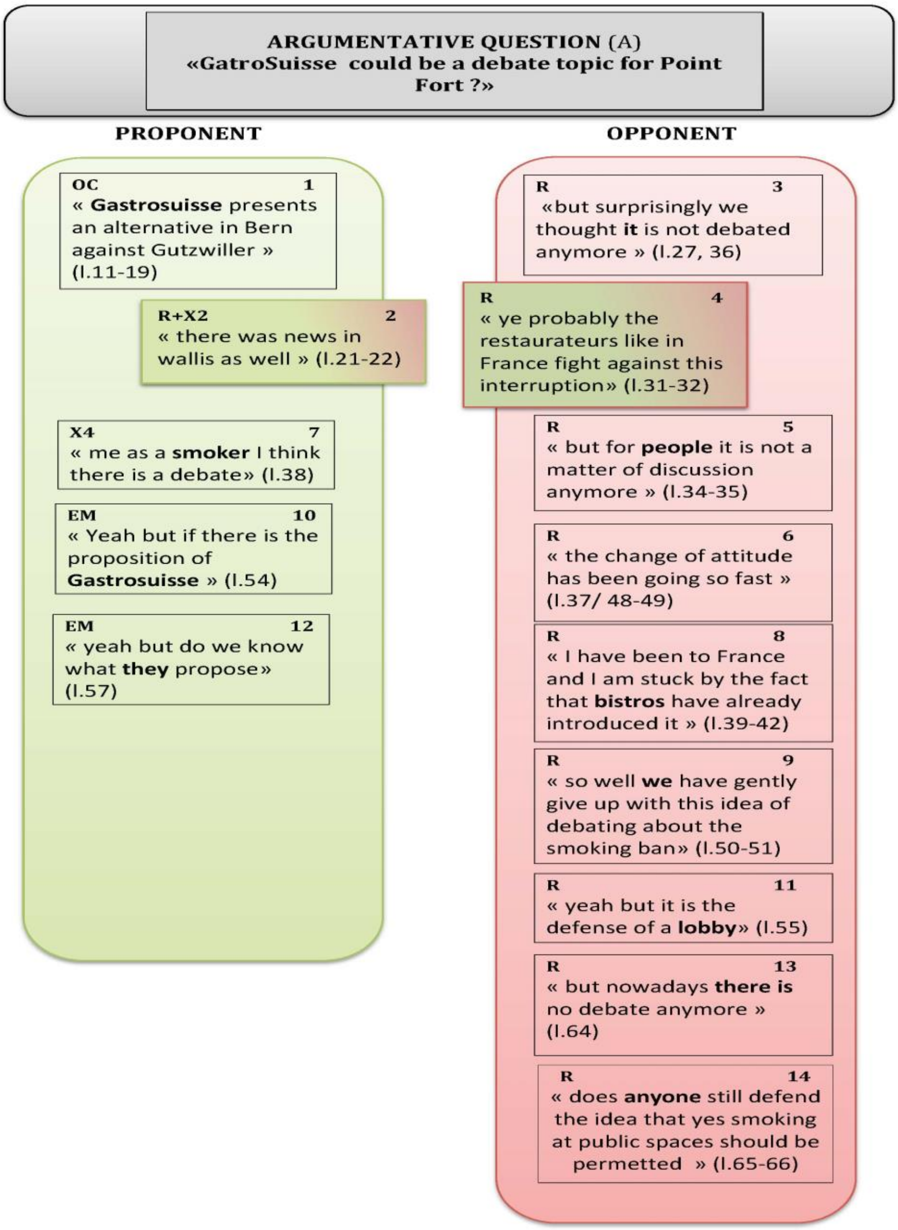


Figure 1: argumentation in interaction about QU (A) [11]

At the interactional (or sequential) level of argumentation, the issue under discussion gives raise to 15 arguments (slots 1-15) divided into OPP and PRO. One oberves that the editor-in-chief systematically rejects the PRO arguments endorsed by three different journalists. He makes twice an apparent concession (slots 2 & 4), but indeed it’s a means to impose a decisive counterargument: “ it’s not debated anymore you know” (slot 3) and “for people, it’s not a matter of discussion anymore” (slot 5). At the topical (or thematic) level of the content, we

[11] Participants’s acronym are on the top left. Numbers on the top right indicate the sequential emergence of arguments.

observe that the participants frame the issue (Entman 1993, Kuypers 2010, Reese, Gandy & Grant 2010) using semantic categories[12] opposed to each other to describe the actors taking part in what can be called the Gastrosuisse debate. This opposition is crucial. It is required by the framing of a legitimate topic for the specific news item genre under discussion (e.g. a public debate).

However, the argumentative question will soon shift toward a new question that leads to the emergence of a debate about the public debate. Debating about what a public debate is or should be turns the newsroom itself into a kind of a micro public space of negotiation where the positions represented in the potential public debate are embodied in the journalists. The Figure 2 shows this peculiar meta-argumentative moment :

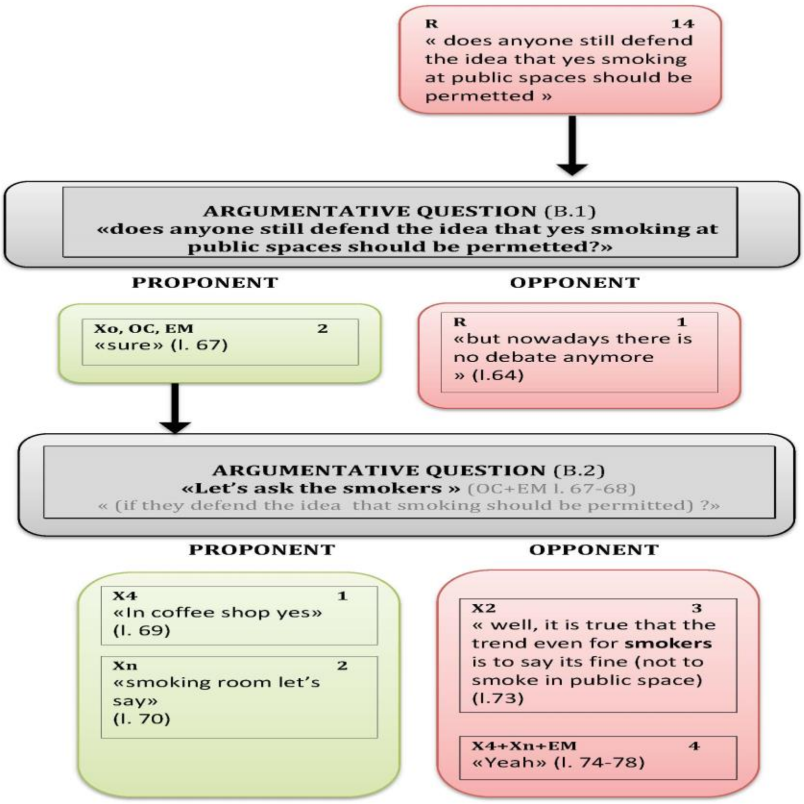


Figure 2: meta-argumentation about argumentation in interaction

[12] "Gutzwiller" versus "Gastrosuisse"; "restaurateurs" versus "people", "smokers" versus "non-smokers", "lobby" versus "we".

Interestingly, the editor-in-chief (R) imposes his opinion and at the same time opens the discussion. Indeed, his last argument (slot 14 in figure 1) acquires the status of a new issue to be debated (B1 in Figure 2). Three journalists: XO, OC and EM immediately challenge R, reword and reframe the issue as a complement argumentative question (B2). In the newsroom, a new positioning emerges apparently opposing journalists that are smokers (PRO) and journalists that rely on the point of view of smokers who are against B1. In other words, some journalists personally take position (they endorse an argument) and others represent the position of people out there in the public sphere (they take into consideration an argument). The step-by-step process of argumentation in interaction as shown in figures 1 & 2 is pictured at a macro level. But to consider the complexity of what is really going on in the newsroom, we have to complement the argumentative analysis and focus on the micro level of negotiation. This calls for a multimodal analysis including the para- and non verbal ressources exploited by the journalists to frame the topics.

4.2. Proposing a topic : micro and multimodal analysis

The final framing of the news-item is the result of a negotiation of the categories used to describe the issue at stake. Proposing a new topic is the first step of this process. Let's consider again excerpt 1 (extended):

Excerpt 1. (R: editor-in-chief / OC: economy-swiss desk / X: journalists[13])

```
0003 R   anyway we we have haven't settle the argument yet
0004     we haven't made a decision=
0005 X2  =what did you want to say mister Cajeux
0006 R   [(or alternatively)]
0007 OC  [yes so] I wanted to say that-that there is gastrosuisse
0008     that submits an an alternative to secondhand smoke
0009     today in bern (.)
0010     it could be a debate topic (.)
0011     there is the initiative of gutzwiller
0012     that plans to make into law
0013     the protection of workers=
0014 R   =yeah=
0015 OC  euh against secondhand smoke
0016     and then gastrosuisse fearing this initiative
0017     and fearing that the motion comes into force
0018     what would lead all the bistros eh being non-smoking area
0019     therefore presents an alternative in bern this morning
```

[13] Unidentified journalists are named with numbers (2-4) and letters (l-q). X2 is out of camera range, on the left corner.

```
0020     here there is (.) maybe a very simple debate=
0021 R   =there was news in wallis as well
0022     I thinks it is=
0023 X2  = yeah yeah the first day [of the smoking ban]
0024 HG  [xxx toward R]
0025 X2  at the --
0026 R   but surprisingly we thought actually
0027     it is not debated anymore (1.5) you know
```

About ten minutes after the beginning of the editorial conference (EC), a potential topic has been discussed, but the editor-in-chief (R) is not convinced (l. 3-4). An alternative is then proposed by OC. Interestingly, the space left open by R allows X2 to request OC's opinion (see the gaze: #1), but OC engages at first with R, who focuses his attention on him (#2 & 3)

#1

04 X2: what did you want to say mister Cajeux#

#2

07 OC: who presents an alternative to secondhand smoke

#3

09 OC: today in bern#

10 : it could be a debate topic

After a micro-pause, OC provides more details about the issue (l.11-19) and shifts recipiency, addressing X2 (#6) and then other journalists (#7):

#6

11 OC: there is the initiative of eh #Gutzwiller

#7

16 OC: and then gastrosuisse fearing this initiative

As a matter of fact, R enacts his institutional position in a way that allows the journalists to joint-construct interactional and discursive leadership. The EC becomes a locus where to « claim primary rights to manage to meaning of the emerging decision » (Clifton 2012:156). Indeed, one can hypothesize that X2's question (l.05) is interpreted by OC as an interactional strategy to open a new topical line that other journalists are invited to align and affiliate with. In using “very simple” to characterize the debate, OC opposes this new proposition to the one that was first discussed, but didn’t lead to “any decision” (l. 03-04). Even if OC modalizes his opinion (“maybe”), he puts an additional argument to highlight the suitability of the proposition in terms both of media utopias (the what?) and journalistic assemblages (the how?).

Interestingly, these entangled constraints on news are diversely emerging in discourse. Big media utopias (BMU) are best manifested here by propositional semantic categories while small journalistic assemblages are marked in terms of pragmatic reference and illocutionary force. Thus, the anaphoric and/or deictic (“there is”, l. 7,11,20) referring objectively to attested facts in the public sphere combined with subjective markers referring to the stance of the current speaker (the adverb “very” and the evaluative adjective “simple”) calls for a micro linguistic emergence and embodiment of journalistic assemblage (SJA). In the same speech acts, categories like “to fear” (l. 16,17), “(to) debate” (l. 20,27), “motion” (l. 17), “initiative” (l. 11,16) etc. combined with metonymical contents (“Bern”, “Gutzwiller”) resort to media utopias. These linguistic items globally frame an opposition between pros and cons according to a controversial social issue. In spite of an apparently coherent combination of BMU and SJA, the journalist’s proposition is rejected by the editor-in-chief at the end of the macro argumentative move: “it’s not debated anymore you know” (l.27).

From the micro and multimodal analysis of the excerpt, it appears that leadership and emerging decisions are closely related. They are central in moments of argumentation in interaction and manifest then the blending of media utopias and journalistic assemblage as a crucial issue. In our excerpt X2’s and OC’s interventions lead to the opening of a proper debate in the newsroom engaging explicitly these aspects. Let’s develop this latter dimension of the craft principle of journalism.

4.3. Challenging the right to assess : a macro-micro analysis

The excerpt 2 below shows how the journalists discursively joint-construct their right to challenge the opposition of the editor-in-chief.

Excerpt 2. (R: editor-in-chief / OC: economy-swiss desk / HG: international desk / X: journalists)

```
0019 OC  Gastrosuisse) therefore presents an alternative (to
         Gutzwiller) in bern this morning
0020     here there is (.) maybe a very simple debate=
0021 R   =there was news in wallis as well
0022     I thinks it is (.)
0023 X2  yeah yeah the first day [of the smoking ban]
0024 HG  [xxx towards R]
0025 X2  at the --
0026 R   but surprisingly we thought actually
0027     it is not debated anymore (1.5) you know
0028 X1  mhm
0029 R   (1.0) I mean eh
0030 Xm  xxx
0031 R   yes probably that (1.0) like in france
0032     the the the restaurateurs fight against this interruption
0033     of the market later on
0034     but (1.0) for people it is not really a matter of discussion
         anymore
0035     the fact that we must smoke outside instead of inside
0036     (1.0) it seems there is no debate anymore
0037     the changing of attitudes has been going so fast
```

The opposition starts when R laps with OC's turn (l. 21). At first, the editor-in-chief extends the topic ("in wallis") and apparently aligns ("as well"), but then he turns toward the right side of the audience as if he wanted to yield the turn to X2 (see #8 and #9).

#8

20 OC: there is #(.) maybe a very simple debate

#9

20 OC: there is (.) maybe a very simple #debate=
21 R: =there was news in wallis as well

Indeed, X2 identifies himself as an adressee and completes R's turn (l.23). But then, the editor-in-chief shows that he has already evaluated the newsworthiness of the issue during the meeting that took place earlier ("we thought that”, l.26); and rejects the propositon (l.27). He also produces non verbal signals to supports his decision not to broadcast the items addressing alternatively X2 and OC[14] as shown in (#10) and (#11):

#10


27 R: it is not debated# anymore (1.5)

#11


27 R: (1.5) you know#

28 Xn: mhm

29 R: I mean

R could directly rely on his institutional position to impose his opinion. However, he provides further back up arguments (l. 31-37). He draws a parallel between the two news items under discussion: *first day of smoking ban in Wallis* and *Gastrosuisse initiative*. Indeed, R compares the french and the swiss context. He links the category of agents: “restaurateurs” (in France) with the that of an (their) activity: “fighting against the interruption of the market” (l. 32). In doing so, the editor-in-chief enacts a BMU (big media utopia) that is appropriate to the generic constraints of the news-item (a debate implies opponents and proponents arguing against each others). Interestingly, in terms of BMU, the editor-in-chief reframes the argumentative question. The “restaurateurs” (damaged by the new law) are a sub category not anymore relevant to frame the news-item. Indeed, a debate implies a more encompassing category : “people” that refers here to anyone who is somehow concerned by the new law.

The reframing of an appropriate condition of the news-item as a debate is not challenged by other journalists. But one observes that the assumption : “there is no debate anymore” (l.36) becomes a practical issue in the newsroom.

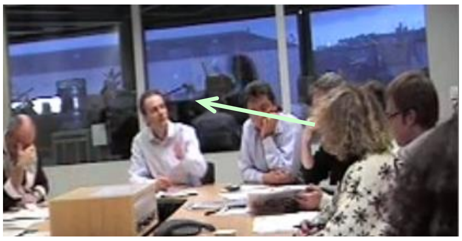
Excerpt 3: (R: editor-in-chief / X: journalist[15])

```
0036 R   (1.0) it seems there is no debate anymore
0037     the changing of attitudes has been going so fast
0038 X4  me as a [smoker I think there is a debate]
0039 R          [and I have been to france the other day and I]
```

[14] At the beginning of the argumentative move X2 requested OC opinion (l.05), knowing they were aligning.
[15] X4 is out of camera range, on the right side, behind OC.

```
0040    am struck by ((laugh))
0041    I am struck by the fact
0042    that many bistros have already introduce the non-smoking
```

An explicit counterargument is raised by a journalist (l.38): “me as a smoker I think there is a debate”. The category “smoker” refers to her own experience (or expertize) to support her standpoint as shown by the linguistic markers “me as”. One might note here that it is the first time that the category “smoker” is mobilized. It launches a slight shift toward an internal debate in the newsroom. However, X4’s turn is not ratified by R, who overlapps (l.39). A multimodal analysis shows how the framing of the debate is closely related to the right to assess.

#15 

#16 

37 R the changing of attitudes has been going so fast
38 X4 me as a [#15 smoker I think there is a debate]
39 R [#15 and I have been to france#16 the other day and I]

#17 

#18 

40 am stuck by #17((laugh))
41 I am #18 stuck by the fact that
42 many bistros have already introduce the non-smoking

R overlaps just one second after X4 initiated her turn (#15 and #16). X4’s intervention is noticed by some colleagues (HG and X6 on #16 and #17) who gaze at her and bodily orient toward her. However, as R keeps the floor, these colleagues quickly reoriente toward R (#18). Therefore X4’s right to assess is collaboratively denied. Such a non-ratification can be explained by the craft principle, and more precisely in terms of small journalistic assemblage (SJA). One can consider X4’ intervention as an irrelevant self-selection in the course of interaction at a moment when she is not a ratified addressee. This is a practical matter : it resorts to SJA and so do more generally the interactional skills of journalists during ECs.

Excerpt 4 below shows best the editor-in-chief's interactional skills. It illustrates how the blending of an institutional position (being the editor-in-chief vs a journalist) and the enactment of a right to asses operates (that is, how BMU and SJA combine themselves):

Excerpt 4: (R: editor-in-chief / OC: economy-swiss desk / EM anchorwoman)

0048 R *but but but it is true that I am surprised that (0.5)*
0049 *it goes really fast actually (1.0)*
0050 ***so we gently gave up this idea of debating***
0051 *about the pros and cons of smoking ban*
0052 *(1.5) at public spaces*
0053 (2.0)
0054 EM *yes but if there is this proposition of gastrosuisse in*
0055 R *yeah but it is the defenses of a lobby*
0056 *it is it is [it is-*
0057 EM *[yeah but do we know what they propose]*
0058 OC *not at all it must be kept secret*
0059 R *yeah*
0060 EM ah
0061 (2.0)
0062 X2 *and when [will it be discussed]*
0063 EM *[but the problem]*
OC *this morning=*
EM *=the problem is*
0064 R ***but nowadays there is no debate anymore***

In terms of the dynamics of the interaction, R repeats encompassing arguments "it goes really fast actually" (l.49) and "there is no debate anymore" (l.64). These support his stance: " we have gently give up with this idea of debating about the pros and cons of smoking ban in public space" (l.51) which works here as the final answer to OC's initial proposition. At the para and non-verbal level, one observes also very clearly that R's turn is indeed constructed as a conclusive turn.

#19 

49 R: it goes really fast actually
#(1.0)

#20 

50 R: so# we gently gave up this
idea

#21 

51 R: about the pros and cons of
smoking ban #

#22 

52 R: (1.5) in public spaces
53 #(2.0)

During the pause of 1.0 (#19), R looks straight in front of him without addressing potential opponents. Then he addresses explicitly OC (#20) and performs a conclusive marker ("so"). The falling intonation after "public" (l.52) also marks the end of the turn. Furthermore, R inclines his head on the side, joins his hands and looks at OC (#22), who doesn't reply. Therefore, R's intervention appears implicitly less as an argumentative move to be part of an ongoing discussion than the editor-in-chief's somehow last word that closes the debate : "Gastrosuisse could (not) be a potential topic for *Point Fort*".

The editor-in-chief has therefore not only the legitimacy to take the final decision. He also evaluates the suitability of the arguments advanced by the journalists. Indeed, he orients toward media utopias (BMU) as a criteria for evaluating and rejecting arguments. The framing of a news item, such as a public debate, is interactionnally negotiated in the decision making process. And this process itself, is subject to the constant monitoring of good and bad practices. This monitoring relies on the one hand on an ideology that might be invoked as a normativ motivation and an essential reason for adopting or opposing an idea, and on the other hand on journalistic assemblage (SJA), that are the constant effort of journalists to frame news in such a way as it is consistant with the constraints of being informative and being business oriented at the same time. In the GastroSuisse example, the ideal of what a public debate is about, or even, what the very notion of “public” is about, is constantly reframed in the course of the interaction. What seems to be at the heart of the argumentation is not much whether Gastrosuisse is a good debate to be broadcast or not, but rather to stablilize the definition of what is essentially-ideally a public debate. To this very ideological question, the institution answers with very practical reflections, that indeed show the tensions that characterize the newsroom (and the craft principle of news practices).

4.4. Debating about a public debate

The last argumentative move in the excerpt below is extremely complex and requires a close attention. Firstly, R shifts quickly from one argumentative position to another. He first agrees to re-enter into the debate (l. 64-65) while occupying the position of the opponent (slot 14 in Figure 1). Then, the editor-in-chief distances himself from the ongoing argumentative discussion (organized around “Gastrosuisse”) and aims to reoriente the discussion toward the issue he defends himself (“but for people it is not a matter of discussion anymore”).

Excerpt 5. (R: editor-in-chief / OC: economy-swiss desk / EM[16]: anchorwoman / X: journalists)

```
0064 R   but nowadays there is no debate anymore
0065     is there anyone who still defends the idea
0066     that yes smoking should be permetted at public spaces
0067 Xo  (0.5) of course
0068   Xp   (xxx)
0069 OC  (0.5) lets ask the smokers
0070 EM  yeah
0071 X4  in coffee shops yes=
0072 Xn  =smoking rooms let’s say=
0073 X2  =well it is true that the big trend
0074     even for smokers
0075     is to say that it is fine
0076 X4  yes
0077 X2  I pre[fer] you know
0078 Xn      [yeah]
0079 R   (0.5) yeah
0080 Xq   yeah
0081 X4  (0.5) yeah
0082 R   (0.5) no no we will try to go [into it]
   0083    X4                 [there are some bistros]
```

[16] The anchowoman is on the left corner, out of camera range

The shift towards a new argumentative question "does anybody still defend the idea that yes smoking at public spaces should be permitted" (l.65) is interesting. It puts R in the position of a third-party or animator and constructs a participative framework that is similar to the former debate in which he was an opponent. Thus, R doesn't take position anymore, but apparently opens the floor to the other participants. He ends his turn with a rising intonation, makes a short break and looks around him for potential answer (#23 and #24). Therefore the participative framework shifts to include all the journalists. Indeed, Xo, X1 and X6 gaze at other participants (#23 / #24), as the turn-taking system is now open for self-selection.

#23

65 R is there# anyone who still defends the idea

#24

66 R that yes smoking should be permitted at public spaces # (0.5)

The framing of the argumentative question is broad: "anyone" (l.65). At this point it is not clear whether R refers to the participants or to the people in general. In the first case, R's question would sound like an opinion poll where the journalists are invited to give their position about the issue. In the second case, the question would appeal to the journalist's "gut feeling" (Schultz 2007) and somehow expertize. Indeed, journalists are supposed to know whether a given topic is alike to be discussed in the public space or not. At least, they might pretend to have the ability to choose the right topic according to the media mandate and the audience's expectation. R's question therefore calls for two distinct types of answers.

Xo' "of course" (l.67) represents the first type of answer to R' question. It cannot be interpreted as a personal position (like "I still defend"), but only as an opinion about what is going on for the people (namely "yes, there are some who still defends this idea"). Manifestly, OC interprets Xo's turn in this way and suggests to "ask the smokers" in order to back-up Xo's position. EM joins OC's (l.68), and hence, OC and EM (l.70) occupy then somehow the position of the third party as they set up a proper debate sequence as shown in (#25 / #26).

#25

67 Xo (0.5) #of course

#26

69 OC let ask the smokers #
70 EM yeah

The way the category “smokers” (l. 69) is mobilized to define the debaters, excludes OC and EM (i.e. they cannot be smokers). In this very sense, they challenge twice R’s leadership : they occupy the third party position (in place of R) and restrict the framing of the question to a category (“smokers”) that R had excluded earlier (l.38-40). Therefore, OC and EM take the right to assess the relevance of the category for the debate. In doing so, they legitimate X4’s previous intervention “as a smoker” (l.38) and give her indirectly the floor a second time (as shown in l. 71). Then one observes that the journalists follow the OC-EM’s proposition and interprets the question of R as an opinion poll that addresses exlusively “the smokers in this room”. Therefore, they take position “as smokers” and express their personal opinion. The screenshots (#28-29) show how R displays his skepticism about the emerging debate: he waddles in a very explicit manner in order to display the irrelevance of giving a personal opinion.

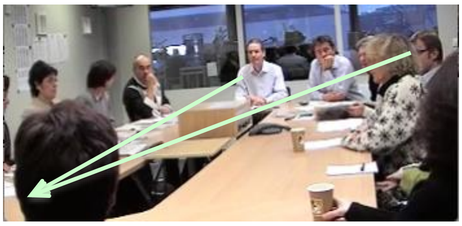
#28

71 X4 in the café#restaurant yes

#29

72 Xn smoking room# let’s say

The late intervention of X2 then shows that the initial question of R is re-interpreted as addressed to the journalists as experts of public affairs (and not them as smokers). Indeed, X2, constructs himself as a support of R’negative conclusion: “if even the smokers prefer the non-smoking law then nobody defends anymore the idea that yes smoking should be permitted”. In doing so, X2 disalign with X4 and Xn. He distances himself from a personal position to represent that of the “smokers” as a category (interestingly, X2 uses the direct reported speech to express the opinion of smokers, l.75 & 77). The fact that the journalist refers to “a trend” displays his expertize: he has knowledge about societal issues, and thus he reinforces his epistemic stance and therefore his right to assess. At this moment, R stops waddling (# 30): X2’s intervention is followed with strong markers of agreement “yeah” (l. 78-81) that support his position and R therefore witnesses the emergence of a proper debate in the newsroom (#31/#32).

#30

73 X2 well it is true that# the big

#31

74 X2 even for smokers
75 is to say its fine
76 X4 #yes ((R gazes at X4))

#32

77 I [pref]er and all #
78 Xn [yes]

#33

82 R no no # we will try to go into it

This moment of debate around the argumentative question “Is the Gastrosuisse initiative a potential topic for Point Fort?” functions indirectly as an argument in support of OC’s initial proposition for *Point Fort.* Indeed, the emerging debate demonstrate to R, in a very practical manner, that his position “there is no debate anymore” cannot work as a strong argument to oppose to OC’s proposition. R acknowegdes this argumentative move and concludes with “ no no we will try to go into it” (l. 82, #33).

5. Conclusion

In their effort to define what is at stake with the topic *GastroSuisse* as a possible news-item, the journalists and the editor-in-chief struggle over one main issue : is it a topic open to debate in the public space ? Is it a news-item that could engage citizens into a reflection about the pro and con of smoking ban? This matter resort to what we have termed the big media utopias (BMU). They reflect the prevalent vision of newsvalue of a given media (what is news ?), or say the semantic aspect of news (what news product is appropriate ?).

At the same time, the journalists and the editor-in-chief discuss pratical matters : how to achieve the topic so that it fullfils the generic requirements of the news-item ? More generally, they exhibit argumentative and negotiation skills in interactions where the news agenda and media utopias are brought into being. This matter resort to what we have termed the small journalistic assemblages (SJA). They reflect what is logistically at stake with newsmaking in a given newsroom (how do we do news ?), or say the pragmatic aspect of doing news.

Our hypothesis is that editorial conferences represent a relevant locus to observe how, why, by whom these aspects of the craft principle of news journalism are performed. During editorial conferences, the journalists and the editor(s)-in-chief discuss, argue and make daily decisions that manifest best the emergence and the implicit/explicit blending of media utopias and journalistic assemblages. Editorial conferences as a locus of investigation also call for the consideration of the crucial role of language and linguistic resources in decision-making processes that preceed the construction of news-items.

Thus, analysing what is going on in editorial conferences (and how it's going on) implies ethnographic considerations. The purpose is a greater understanding of a "community" and more precisely "the values, community routines, and community roles and relationships" (Cotter 2010: 20). We addressed this issue in focusing on the argumentation in interaction as a means to blend BMU & SJA. Only a linguistic ethnographic perspective enables fruitful findings. It favors a double and combined focus on the practice (the newsmaking by the journalists in the backstage) and the products (the news-items adressed on stage to an audience). The analysis leads to a better understanding of the news media practices for the researchers. But it can also lead to a better understanding of what is at stake in a newsroom for the practitioners themselves. What utopias and assemblages are best combined in what kind of new-items ? How are they emerging and discussed ? How are the journalistic skills enacted and « transferred » from experienced practitioners to interns and novices ? How is leadership constructed and embodied in institutional as well as in emergent interactional positions.

Adressing such issues by the means of linguistic ethnographic considerations of newsmaking (processes) and news (products) can be termed an « implied » perspective. Then, the research directly impacts the practice and the other way round : Researchers and practitioners become partners in the field of investigation. This is what our broader research project aimed at (e.g. Perrin et al. 2009; Perrin 2013 ; Burger & Perrin 2014 ; Burger & Delaloye 2016). And also what this paper claims : we focused on how and why journalists debate about a public debate. Eventually, in discussing the newsworthiness of the topic, the journalists perform the craft principle of the news practice in this particular newsroom. They produce and negotiate quite antagonistic framings of the news-item, and therefore they participate in the framing of the public debate itself. Thus, the journalists are not only reporting about a social controversy, but they are also directly shaping the controversy.

A multimodal analyis of the argumentation in interaction during the morning editorial conference has shown how the right to define, to challenge and to negotiate the issue at stake is interactionnally achieved and how the news-item is reframed in the course of the interaction. Then, the role identity of the editor-in-chief appeared to be peculiar. He relies on his institutional position to impose his opinions and make decisions. But at the same time, he constantly leaves space to open the discussion even if he still remains the master of ceremony who decides when and how to conclude a moment of argumentation. A close look at the dynamics of interaction during editorial conferences has shown a rather positive picture in terms of relationships and decision-making : personal initiative is not denied; interactional negotiation and agumentation skills are improved; space is left for discussion but the framing is quite obvious and unchallenged, though. In one word, the news department under investigation seems to favor a win-win option preserving as well as renewing institutional authority of the members of the community.

References

BELL, Allan (1991), *The Language of News Media*, Oxford, Blackwell.

BOURDIEU, Pierre (1998), *On Television*, New York, New Press.

BURGER, Marcel & Laura DELALOYE (2016), «The framing of argumentation in the making of an editorial: from normative expectations to stylistic credo of the journalists», *Journal of Argumentation in Context 5(1),* 29-47.

BURGER, Marcel & Laura DELALOYE (forthcoming), «I wanted *to pose a topic for discussion*: negotiating journalistic practices through interaction». *Cahiers de l’Institut de linguistique et des sciences du langage* n°47.

BURGER, Marcel & Daniel PERRIN (2014), «Ce que le quotidien des journalistes nous apprend sur les tensions des discours médiatiques». In Anne-Claude BERTHOUD & Marcel BURGER (eds), *Repenser le rôle des pratiques langagières dans la constitution des espaces sociaux contemporains*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 165-194.

BURGER, Marcel (2013), «Pratiques langagières des débats et constitution des espaces publics», *Bulletin Vals-Asla* 98, 1-12.

BURGER, Marcel (2009), «When Media Information becomes a Business». In Fernando RAMALLO, Anxo LORENZO, Xoan RODRIGUEZ-YANEZ & Piotr CAP (eds), *New Approaches to Discourse and Business Communication*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 116-133.

CHARAUDEAU, Patrick (2015), «Du débat public». In CHARAUDEAU Patrick (ed) *La laïcité dans l’arène médiatique. Cartographie d’une controverse sociale*, Paris, INA éditions, 15-52.

CHARAUDEAU, Patrick (2005), *Les médias et l’information. L’impossible transparence du discours*, Bruxelles, DeBoeck.

CLAYMAN, Steven & Anne Reisner (1998), «Gatekeeping in action: editorial conference and assessment of newsworthiness», *American Sociological Review* 63 (2), 178-199.

COTTER, Colleen (2010), *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

CROTEAU, David & William HOYNES (2001), *The Business of Media. Corporate Media and the Public Interest*, London, Pine Forge Press.

EKSTRÖM Mats (2007), «Conversation analysis in journalism studies», *Journalism Studies* 8(6), 964-973.

ENTMAN, M. Robert (1993), «Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm», *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

FITZGERALD, Richard, Adam JAWORSKI & Wiliam HOUSLEY (2008), «Generating News, agenda setting in Radio broadcast news». In BURGER Marcel (ed), *L'analyse linguistique des discours médiatiques*, Québec, Nota Bene, 133-154.

GONZALEZ, Philippe & Krzysztof SKUZA (2014), « Apparition impossible; Emmanuelle Béart et l'affaire des sans-papiers. Une sociologie énonciative de l'espace public», *Cahiers de l'Institut de linguistique et des sciences du langage* 34, 79-100.

GRAVENGAARD, Gitte & Lena RIMESTAD (2016), «Is this a good news story? Developing professional practice in the newsroom». In HOVDEN Fredrik & Gunnar NYGREN (eds.): *Making journalists through journalism education: Nordic perspectives. Nordicom Review*.

HERITAGE, John (2012), «Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge», *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45, 1–29.

HERITAGE, John & Goeffrey RAYMOND (2005), «The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction», *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68, 15-38.

HOUSLEY, William & Richard FITZGERALD (2015), «Introduction to Membership Categorization Analysis», In FITZGERALD Richard & William HOUSLEY (eds.), *Advances in Membership Categorisation Analysis*, London, Sage, 1-22.

HUTCHBY, Ian (1996), *Confrontation talk: Arguments, Asymmetries, and Power on Talk Radio*, Mahwah, N.J., L. Erlbaum Associates.

JACQUIN, Jérôme (2014), *Débattre: l'argumentation et l'identité au cœur d'une pratique verbale*, Bruxelles, De Boeck.

KOLLER, Veronika & Ruth WODAK (2010), «Introduction: Shifting boundaries and emergent public spheres». In WODAK Ruth & Veronika KOLLER (eds), *Handbook of Communication in the Public Sphere*, Berlin/New York, Mouton, DeGruyter, 1-20.

KOVACH, Bill & Tom ROSENSTIEL (2001), *The Elements of Journalism: What Newspeople should know and the Public should expect*, New York, Crown Publishers.

KUYPERS, Jim A. (2010), “Framing Analysis as a Rhetorical Process". In D’ANGELO Paul & Jim KUYPERS, (eds), *Doing News Framing Analysis*, New York, Routeledge.

LIVINGSTONE, Sonia & Peter LUNT (1994), *Talk on Television. Audience Participation and Public Debates*, London, Routledge.

LUCIANI, Margherita, Andrea ROCCI & Marta ZAMPA (2015), «Capturing editorial gatekeeping through the analysis of argumentation in editorial conference discussions», Bulletin Vals-Asla T2, 215-236

LUGINBÜHL, Martin (2007), «Conversational Violence in Political TV Debates: Forms and Functions», *Journal of Pragmatics* 39, 1371-1387.

MACÉ, Eric (2005) «Mouvements et contre-mouvements culturels dans la sphère publique et les médiacultures». In MAIGRET Eric & MACÉ Eric (eds), *Penser les média cultures. Nouvelles pratiques et nouvelles approches de la représentation du monde*, Paris, Colin, 41-66.

MCMANUS, John H. (1994), *Market-driven journalism. Let the Citizen beware?* London, Sage.

MONTGOMERY, Martin (2007), *The Discourse of Broadcast News. A linguistic Approach*, New-York, Routledge.

NEWS TALK & TEXT RESEARCH GROUP (2011), «Towards a Linguistics of News Production», *Journal of Pragmatics* 47, 1843-1852.

NORRIS, Sigrid (2011), *Identity in (inter)action. Introducing multimodal (inter)action analysis*, Götingen, Mouton De Gruyter.

PERRIN, Daniel (2013), *The linguistics of Newswriting*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

PERRIN, Daniel *et al.* (2009), «Talk and action: Practicing internal multilingualism in the newsroom», *Zitimata Epikinonias (Communication Issues)* 3(9), 24-39.

PLANTIN, Christian (1996), «Le trilogue argumentatif», *Langue Française* 112, 9-30.

RAMPTON, Ben, Janet MAYBIN & Celia ROBERTS (2015), «Theory and method in linguistic ethnography». In SNELL, Julia, Sara SHAW & Fiona COPLAND (eds), *Linguistic Ethnography. Interdisciplinary Explorations*, New York, Palgrave McMillan, 14-50.

REESE, Stephen D., Oscar H. GANDY & August E.GRANT (2008), *Framing Public Life*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, London.

SACKS, Harvey (1979), «Hotrodder: A Revolutionary Category». In PSATHAS Georges (ed) *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, Irvington Press, New York, NY, 7–14.

SCHULTZ, Ida (2007), «The journalistic gutfeeling», *Journalism practices* 1(2), 190-207.

STOKOE, Elizabeth & Frederick T. ATTENBOROUGH (2015), «Prospective and retrospective categorization: Category proffers and inferences in domestic, institutional and news media interaction». In Richard FITZGERALD & William HOUSLEY (Eds.), *Advances in membership categorization analysis*, London, Sage, 51-70.

THORNBORROW, Joanna (2015), *The discourse of public participation Media. From Talk show to twitter*, London, Routledge.

TOLSON, Andrew (2006), *Media Talk. Spoken Discourse on TV and Radio,* Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

THOMPSON, John B. (1995), *The Media and Modernity. A social Theory of the Media*, Cambridge, Polity Press.

VAN DE MIEROOP, Doreen (2008), «Co-constructing identities in speeches: how the construction of an "other" identity defining for the "self" identity and vice-versa», *Pragmatics* 18:3, 491-509.

VAN HOUT, Tom & Ellen VAN PRAET (2011), «Competence on Display: crafting stories during newsroom editorial conferences ». In PELSMEAKERS Katja *et al*. (eds), *Displaying competence in organization discourse perspectives*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 111-131.

Cahiers de l'ILSL, n° 54, 2018, pp. 205-230

SOCIALIZING MECHANISMS IN THE ROUTINIZED PRACTICE IN THE NEWSROOM

Gitte GRAVENGAARD
University of Copenhagen
Gravengaard@hum.ku.dk

Abstract

Based on ethnographic observations in newsrooms and interviews conducted with 12 Danish journalist trainees, this paper will analyze and categorize *socializing mechanisms* in the newsroom – that is social actions performed by the experienced journalists and the editors – the *socialising agents* – in order to encourage the interns to act, think and feel in ways desirable for the organisation. In these socialising processes we see both the *very visible and explicit* ways of socializing clearly demonstrating that an intern has displayed culturally desirable or undesirable behaviour. And we see the *more invisible and implicit* ways of socializing consisting of everyday actions in the routinised practice aimed at making interns behave in a certain way. The study presented is part of a recent linguistic turn within newsroom studies where the detailed analyses of the micro-level of discourse and interaction is combined with the analyses of social structure, institutional roles, identities, and cultural practice.

Keywords : Socialization, newsroom studies, socializing mechanisms, tacit expert knowledge, interns

1. Introduction

Socialisation processes have been described as very important both when it comes to how newcomers become a part of a particular organisation, develop knowledge, skills and role clarity and when it comes to job satisfaction, productivity and commitment to their job and to the organisation (Kammeyer-Mueller & Wanberg 2003; Bauer *et al.* 2007; Saks & Ashforth 1997; Ashforth *et al.* 2007). Therefore, effective and efficient socialisation processes and onboarding processes are important for all types of organisations (Derven 2008; Wanberg 2012). Consequently, knowledge about how socialisation processes take place in the routinized practice in an organisation becomes very valuable as a point of departure for creating and optimize these processes.

This article focuses on socialisation practices in the newsroom. The analyses demonstrate how journalist interns entering this professional community of practice (Wenger 1998) via legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) and socialisation processes learn both professional norms and craft skills and thereby become culturally competent members of this professional culture. The ambition is to analyze and categorize socialising mechanisms in the newsroom – that is social actions performed by the socialising agents (Feldman 1994) in order to encourage the interns to act, think and feel in ways desirable for the organisation (Goodwin 1994; Carr 2010).

This research project is part of the recent *linguistic turn* within newsroom ethnography, where researchers perform micro-level analyses of discourses and interactions in the routinized practice in the newsroom in order to understand how the social structure, the professional culture and the professional expert knowledge is constructed and reconstructed in this practice (see for instance Perrin 2013; Cotter 2010; Gravengaard & Rimestad 2011; 2014). Thereby this paper will also serve as a description of the added value originating from combining the ethnographic and the linguistic perspective when studying the development of professional practice and professional expertise.

So far, much research on socialisation within the profession of journalism has focused on the products of socialisation (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2014), that is on the interns. Using surveys, researchers have studied how attitudes, values and norms change during the period of internship (Bjørnsen et al. 2007; Hanna & Sanders 2012; Elmelund-Præstekær *et al.* 2008, 2009; Hovden *et al.* 2009). However, these results do not reveal how and why we see these changes and they can not explain what actually happens in the socialisation processes in the media organisations. Therefore, socialisation processes have often been termed a black box.

Previous research focusing on the process of socialisation (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2014) has, on the other hand, discussed how a newcomer becomes a professional in diffuse, tacit and extremely informal ways (Preston 2009; Harrison 2006; Donsbach 2004; Breed 1955; Furhoff 1986). However, not much research has focused on micro-level analyses of actions, interactions, conversations and discourses in the actual day-to-day practice in the newsroom even though this has been described as one of the only ways in which it is possible to gain a more detailed knowledge about the professional socialisation that takes place in the newsroom (see for instance Jablin 2001; Slaughter & Zikar 2006; Ashforth *et al.* 2007, Griffin *et al.* 2000; Rimestad & Gravengaard 2011)

In this paper, I initially define and discuss the concepts of socialisation and socialising agents and describe how tacit expert knowledge is often passed on to newcomers in tacit ways. Hereafter, I present the research design and lay out an analysis of socialising mechanisms in the newsroom, describing both the explicit and visible and the more invisible and implicit socialising mechanisms aiming at demonstrating whether an intern has demonstrated culturally desirable behaviour or not. Finally, I discuss how an explication of tacit professional knowledge is an important part of creating effective and efficient socialisation processes, and I describe how researchers and professional practitioners can engage in knowledge creating relations facilitating these processes.

2. Socialisation processes

Cotter (2010) describes, how interns must learn both practice-related skills and the complex set of values underlying these skills, as the goal seen from the organisations' perspective is to make newcomers think and behave in ways that are considered appropriate and valuable by the organisation. This happens through socialisation processes in the newsroom.

Via their legitimate peripheral participation in this particular community of practice (Wenger, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991), interns are gradually introduced to the tasks and challenges relevant for the organisation and are involved in solving these. Often this happens in collaboration with the professional veterans, that is the experienced journalists. By talking and collaborating with the experienced journalists and editors and by observing and imitating these experienced professionals' way of thinking and behaving, the interns gradually become more culturally competent (Briggs 1986; Goodwin 1994, 1996; Carr 2010) moving from legitimate peripheral participation towards full participation in the professional community of practice.

Members of an organisation create and recreate the culture and values of an organisation on a daily basis via the routinized everyday practice, and it is in this practice, that socialisation processes take place. The newcomer participates in the routinized everyday professional practice in the newsroom and it is by focusing on this practice and on interactions involving the newcomer that we can gain more knowledge on the actual socialisation processes as all interactions may be sites for socialisation processes to take place (Goodwin 1994; Kulick & Schieffelin 2005; Markauskaite & Goodyear 2014).

The newcomer meets a range of more experienced journalist, editors, editor-in-chiefs, secretaries, lay out persons and others in the media organisation and these people all affect the intern via their interaction with him or her. At the same time the intern is not just a cultural robot (Eide 2010) who automatically internalises the values and norms of others. The intern is also capable of making his or her own choices and is thereby an active participant in the creation and recreation of the organisation (Field & Coetzer 2008). In this way, the professional identity of the intern is negotiated in a dialectical interplay between personal and organisational ambitions, values, norms and goals (Dahlgren *et al.* 2014; Eteläpelto *et al.* 2014; Akkerman & Meijer 2011).

In our research project on interns, we often experienced how the interns in the beginning of their internship period made an effort to ’fit in’ and do what was expected from them. However, we also saw a development where many of the interns eventually engaged in more discussions challenging what “is usually done” in the newsroom and causing changes in the organisation (see also Bell & Staw 1989; Ashford & Taylor 1990). Furthermore, Fenwick & Somerville (2006) and Wells (2007) point out that organisational norms and values can be acquired, ignored or rejected by newcomers. With the words of Foucault (2002): In socialisation processes, we see both “power” (structure, the experienced journalists, culture and routines in the organisation) and “counter-power” (newcomers who challenge these things), and structure and actors mutually affect each other in the everyday practice.

Even though socialisations processes are dialectical and co-produced, the focus in this paper is on the organisation and on the members of the organisation; on what they actually do in the routinized practice. Not because this is the only important element in the processes, but because it is one of the most important elements and because these processes are so complex, that a narrow focus is needed in order to provide thick descriptions of these practices.

3. Socialising agents with tacit expert knowledge

The experienced members of the media organisation are important for the interns' socialisation processes and Feldman (1994) terms these: "*socialising agents"*. Socialising agents can be all members of the organisation interacting with the intern, but the most important socialising agents are the experienced journalists and editors interacting intensively with the intern on a daily basis. Socialising agents affect attitudes and behaviours when they support, help or coach the interns (Beery 2000). Reichers (1987) point to the newcomers' collaboration and interaction with the socialising agents during the first months as the most important arena for socialisation processes. Also, often newcomers point to this interaction and this period as the most valuable (Cooper-Thomas & Anderson 2006).

Socialisation processes are very often informal learning processes (Scollon & Scollon 2001) situated in the routinized practice and aimed at solving organisational problems and achieving organisational objectives, for instance finishing up a news story or getting hold of a particular source for an interview. Therefore, the socialisation process is seldom planned in detail and rarely has explicit learning goals. Hence, socialisation often takes place in tacit ways (Markauskaite & Goodyear 2014; Gherardi & Perrotta 2014; Gravengaard & Rimestad 2014, 2015) via the interns' participation in the professional practice where the primary goal often is not one of learning but one of delivering a media product of a certain quality before a given deadline.

Add to this, that experienced professionals are what Dreyfus & Dreyfus (1986) call *"*intuitive experts*"* because of their vast amount of tacit expert knowledge (Polanyi 1958, 1983). Professional practitioners often find it very difficult to put large parts of their professional knowledge into words, because much of this knowledge is constructed via and closely attached to their professional practice. Therefore, much professional knowledge is not voiced but *done* in practice. Schön (1983) describes how the professional practitioners' actions can demonstrate a knowledge beyond what the practitioner is able to tell others, when he introduces the concept of "knowledge-in-action". Consequently, much tacit professional knowledge is passed on to newcomers in tacit ways (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2011, 2014) also contributing to creating blurred and intangible socialisation processes.

The ambition to study socialisations processes in the everyday practice in the newsroom focusing on the socialising agents and both the visible and explicit socialising mechanisms as well as the more implicit and hence invisible socialising mechanisms, demands a research project designed to capture both the tangible and the intangible parts of these processes.

4. Data and methods

This article is based on an ethnographic research project where we[1] followed 12 Danish journalist interns before, during and after their internship period. These interns worked for two national Tv stations, two national daily newspapers and two national tabloid newspapers. The internship period lasts one year in Denmark and before this, the students have attended the university or journalism school for 1½ - 2 years. After the internship period, the students return to the educational system. The interns' salary during the internship period is 2700$ a month.

The research design consisted of:

- Participant observations made during a year following all 12 interns three full working days each. We made audio recording of meetings, interviews and other professional interactions.
- Semi-structured interviews with the trainees before, during and after their trainee period.
- Semi-structured interviews with the person responsible for the interns in each of the media organisations involved in the study.
- E-mail inquiries to the trainees three times during the internship period.

Combining ethnographic studies of the routinized practice and analyses of reflection-in-action (Schön 1983) in the newsroom with reflections-on-action (ibid.) and contextual data, this research design allows us to base our analysis of both the visible and more invisible socialising mechanisms on something very tangible, that is on the actual interactions and conversations in the newsroom and on how the involved parties describe this practice and their own role in it. This

[1] This research project is conducted in close collaboration with Lene Rimestad, Journalist, PhD, Centre for Journalism, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark.

makes it possible to describe a range of important socialising mechanisms found in the newsroom.

5. Socializing mechanisms in the newsroom

In the rest of this paper, I will analyse and categorize socialising mechanisms in the newsroom. Socialising mechanism are defined as social actions performed by the socialising agents (Feldman 1994) in order to encourage the interns to act, think and feel in ways desirable for the organisation (Goodwin 1994; Carr 2010).

Socialising mechanisms are social actions found in both the formal and the informal interactions in the newsroom and they are more or less explicit. As shown in Figure 1. below, the socialising mechanisms can either function as “rewarding” actions and demonstrate that the intern has demonstrated a particularly suitable behaviour, or they can function in a “sanctioning” manner demonstrating that the intern has shown an inappropriate behaviour not approved by the organisation.

Furthermore, we see both the very visible and explicit ways of socialising clearly demonstrating that an intern has displayed culturally desirable or undesirable behaviour. And we see the more invisible and implicit ways of socialising consisting of everyday actions in the routinized practice aimed at making interns behave in a certain way.

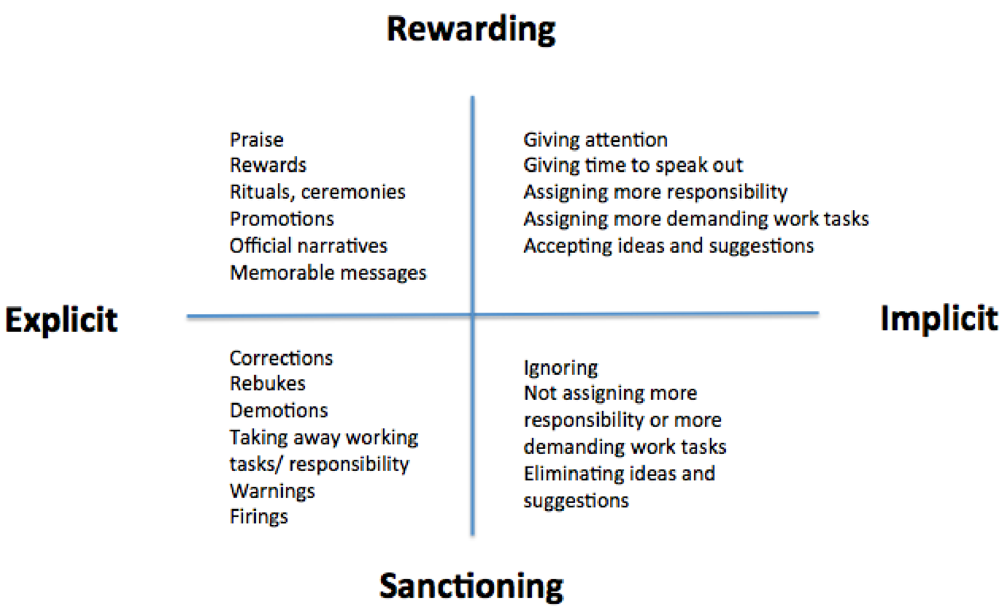


Figure 1. Socialising mechanisms in the newsroom (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2015).

Via these types of socialising mechanisms, the organisational culture and its basic underlying assumptions (Schein 2004) along with the professional expert knowledge is created and recreated in the routinized professional practice in the newsroom as it becomes visible to the intern what is and what is not cultural desirable ways of behaving and thinking in this particular community of practice. In the following section, I will describe both the explicit and the implicit socialising mechanisms, how they are used and with what effect.

6. The explicit and visible socializing mechanisms

The explicit and hence very visible socialising mechanisms demonstrate very clearly when an intern has demonstrated a culturally desirable or undesirable behaviour seen from the organisation's perspective. Both the rewarding and the sanctioning mechanisms clearly show the intern and the rest of the organisation what is the desired mind set and way to behave in this organisation, and very often these professional and organisational norms and values are also explicitly voiced by for instance the editor. The explicit socialising mechanism functioning in a rewarding way can be:

Praise

In these incidents, the intern is praised for having done a good job, for instance for creating 'a good news story' or finding an important source. This explicit praise can be set forward by the editor or colleagues and we find it both in formal story-meetings and written feedback and in more informal conversations. As an example, in our data, we have a conversation between an intern and an editor, where the interns is praised for his coverage of a fatal drowning accident where young school children lost their lives.

Example 1: Well done!

The intern describes how he got an interview with an important person and what he will write about the accident. *(Not shown here because it takes several minutes, and thereby pages)*

Editor: "Arh, it is really brilliant. Now look, your story will be on the first pages in the newspaper. We will give your story about the accident 4-5 pages tomorrow, right? Your story will be the first story in the newspaper. It is the best story, we have!"

(Editor, 02.04.2011)

Rewards

Rewards are given to demonstrate that the intern has demonstrated a particularly valuable performance much appreciated by the organisation. One of the most important and common rewards is the intern having his or her news story on the front page or as top story in the news bulletin. This most distinguished place in the media product is given to the intern when his or her story is assessed to be the best story of the day. Other rewards can be: allowing the intern to participate in excursions for the press; allowing him or her to try new and longer formats, for instance features; asking the intern to do interesting tasks, for instance to interview the national football team.

Rituals and ceremonies

Rituals and ceremonies mark special occasions where the intern has made an exceptional effort or is expected to do so in the near future (Harrison & Beyer 1984). To journalist interns the introduction days in the media organisation are such rituals, functioning as run-up to their internship period. Also winning the Kravling prize (*Kravlingprisen*) given to the best intern of the year in Denmark – and being nominated for this prize in the first place – is a ceremony and a ritual emphasizing the exceptionally skilled intern and honouring him or her.

In a tabloid newspaper in our data it is a ritual that the editor-in-chief asks journalists who have written a particularly good news story affecting and perhaps changing something in society, to write a brief to the top-management describing how he or she created the idea, how the working process has been and what effects the story has had outside the newsroom. On the day when the intern we followed was asked to deliver this kind of brief to the editor-in-chief and thereby participate in this ritual, this was a very visible sign that the interns' story and work effort is especially valuable to the organisation and therefore much appreciated.

Promotions

When promoting journalists, the top management selects members of the organisation who has displayed a behaviour and mind set most appreciated by the organisation and awards them a higher status in the organisational hierarchy. Perhaps the intern is allowed to work at his or her favourite news desk for a longer period because he or she has performed well, or the intern can be given the possibility to work with the high-prestige news desk, for instance at the Danish parliament. Perhaps the intern is given the opportunity to assume a position as middle manager or perhaps he or she is offered editing work tasks in the newsroom. Also, the intern can be asked to prolong the internship period in the media organisation or can be offered a temporary job or perhaps even be offered a permanent appointment in the media organisation after the internship period is over and the intern has finished his or her education.

Official narratives and memorable messages

Both official narratives (Cooperman & Meidlinger 2000) and memorable messages (Stohl 1986) point out the norms, values and hence the desired behaviour in an organisation. Official and planned narratives illustrate and animate the values of the organisation, and they are created by the organisation.

For instance this can be a narrative from our data, where an editor tells all the new interns about:

Example 2: Four frontpage stories

"the time when an intern had four out of seven frontpage stories within her first week as an intern"

(Editor A, 09.02.2010)

accentuating a particular way in which to be a good intern.

The memorable messages (Stohl 1986) are messages given from the experienced journalists or editors to the interns, and these messages are remembered and thought upon by the newcomers for a long time. It can be the editor who tells all interns on their first day at work:

Example 3: What we look for

"that only one of you will be hired by this newspaper after the internship period. And what we look for in an intern is somebody who works hard, find the good stories and is full of initiative"

(Editor B, 09.02.2010)

Or it can be the last sentence said at every morning meeting:

"Now, go look for that tiny thing that really makes a difference"

In both cases the memorable message explicitly and unmistakably points out what is the culturally desirable behaviour.

However, we also see many explicit and visible socialising mechanisms functioning in a sanctioning way, demonstrating that the intern has displayed ways of behaving and thinking not approved by the organisation (I will describe these mechanisms in section §7).

Corrections of actions and/or values

When actions or utterances are corrected, it becomes visible that the intern is doing something wrong, or that the intern does not display the ’right’ values seen from the organisation’s perspective. Corrections can deal with relatively trivial matters, for instance that the intern use a particular word in a wrong manner (“balance of payments” or ”marginal tax”) or the intern express him- or herself in an unclear manner and the editor says: ”You need to be much more to the point”. The corrections can also concern more fundamental phenomena as for instance the values or the knowledge, the intern demonstrates to possess or not possess (Nielsen 2010).

In our data, an example of this is taken from a Tv-station where an intern suggest finding a new case for a news story only a few hours before deadline on a weekly program.

Example 4: A new case

Intern:	But do you have a case? Because I might know somebody who would fit right in
Editor 1:	They have a case
Intern:	Okay
Editor 1:	I say ”no” to you in a strict manner because we need to wrap it up now
Intern:	Okay
Editor 1:	We do not need any more new cases, because now we have … It has to be enough now
Editor 2:	Now you need to deliver

(Newsroom, 02.28.2011 min: 11:50)

The intern does not demonstrate the ‘right’ behaviour and the ‘right’ way of thinking and this is explicitly corrected by the two editors. He should spend his time finishing up the news story not looking for a new person to interview.

Rebukes or demotions

In some cases, the editors or experienced journalists rebukes the intern very explicitly because he or she has demonstrated culturally undesirable behaviour. An example from our data is described by this intern at a newspaper who has e-mailed an idea for a new news story to her editor:

Example 5: An old story

I had seen a good news story that I thought had only been printed in the local media. He [the editor] came to me afterwards and said: "Thank you for the idea. However, if you had read your newspaper, you would know that this story was printed on page 4-5 yesterday" And then he left. I had not seen this because in was in the paper from Saturday and I had not read this paper. You know, I was not at work on Saturday.

(Intern, 08.02.2011 min 5:26)

It is fine that the intern suggests a new idea, but the idea does not demonstrate that the intern knows the demands made on 'a good news story' (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2016). Also it becomes evident that the intern does not know which news stories have been printed in the newspaper. The intern is rebuked for not having the necessary professional knowledge and for not demonstrating the required behaviour.

Degradation or taking away working tasks/responsibility

Taking away working tasks from the intern and degrade him or her are even more clear signs, that the intern has displayed a behaviour and/or mind set not appreciated by the organisation. An intern can be removed from a particular story or from a news desk because he or she has not met the demands put forward. And in less serious cases, the editor can "keep an extra eye on the intern" because he or she "messed up" and the editor "wants to make sure that it does not happen again".

Warnings or firings

An intern can also be given warnings for serious transgressings of acceptable behaviour or for violation of his or her contract. In some cases, this unacceptable behaviour can lead to the intern being fired.

However, we also find a range of more implicit socialising mechanisms accomplishing the same as the explicit socialising mechanisms, only in a more invisible and subtle manner.

7. The invisible and implicit socializing mechanisms

As established earlier in this paper, both the basic underlying assumptions (Schein 2004) in the professional culture in the media organisation as well as large parts of the professional expert knowledge in the newsroom are tacit knowledge. This knowledge is demonstrated *in* the routinized everyday practice but is very seldom explicitly voiced. Therefore, much of the knowledge that the intern needs to learn is not put into words and is therefore learnt in tacit ways. Consequently, we find more invisible and implicit socialising mechanisms in the routinized practice. These are everyday actions aimed at demonstrating whether the intern demonstrates culturally desirable ways of behaving and thinking or not. However, this happens in a much more unnoticed way than for instance a promotion or praise. In our data, we have observed the following mechanisms:

> Paying attention to what the intern says or giving the intern the chance of speaking out – or the opposite: ignoring the intern or not giving him or her the opportunity to be heard.

Being given attention as well as time to speak – both in face-to-face conversations and during editorial meetings – often signals that editor and colleagues are interested in giving the intern the possibility to speak out, because they are interested in hearing what he or she has to say. During our stay in newsrooms, we often experienced interns being given much attention and much time to talk right after having handled a given work task particularly well. In these cases, the interns were allowed to talk for several minutes about their accomplishments without being interrupted by the editor or other colleagues: The intern was awarded the scene at the editorial meeting or in the newsroom and was given the opportunity to explain how he or she managed to create a particularly good story or get at interview with a very important person. The amount of space, time and attention given to the intern is implicitly signalling that the intern is worth paying attention to – and thereby a token of desired behaviour.

However, we also saw the opposite pattern – that is, how editors very quickly can interrupt an intern, sometimes in the middle of a sentence, if the editor finds what the intern is saying is irrelevant. Often the purpose of this interruption is that the editor can have a chance to describe his or her own wishes and demands concerning a particular news story and asking the intern to meet these demands, or that the editor wants to change the topic of the conversation into something that he or she finds more relevant. Interrupting or perhaps speaking at the same time or in overlap with the intern signal that the intern does not adequately meet the expectations and demands existing in the media organisation.

The following example is from an editorial meeting at a Tv-station. Here the intern is given the possibility to speak by one editor (Editor 1), who shows interest in the interns' idea about how to cover the story about a Danish film ("In a better world") winning an Oscar and lets him describe the idea. Editor 2, however, does not like the intern's idea, interrupts him and suggest a new and better way to frame the coverage of the Oscars.

Example 6: Covering the Oscars

Intern:	In relation to the question of what this means for Danish film in general: I perhaps have an idea. I was thinking: Two Danish films have previously won an Oscar in this category: "Babette's Feast" and "Pelle the Conqueror", right?
Editor 1:	Yes
Intern:	Then we could talk to (*inaudible*) and Ghita Nørby who have been involved in these films – and then we could talk to a film expert who could put it into perspective and compare with today And then we could use clips from the two films – and then move forward to Bier's film today I mean "In a better world" And then we could make it like this. I think we could make it like this
Editor 1:	Yes
Intern:	Then perhaps we can also use the pictures from today
Editor 1:	Yes… Yes, because … (…)
Intern:	Ghita Nørby, she is a well-known Danish actress that everybody knows
Editor 1:	Yes … The question is however, if this is actually more important to the directors than to the actors I know too little about that
Journalist 1:	Well, Sofie Gråbøl said in a radio interview that se hoped that this would mean that they would notice her Or something like that, right?
Intern:	Also one of the others said that, ehhhh William

He also participated in "In a better world"
He hoped that this would be a stepping stone for him,
so that Hollywood would notice him
I mean, they are also over there
They are also over there, the actors

Editor 2: (*in overlap*) Well, what is important today is that this is a glory day
I mean, we had an Oscar
Before we start describing all the perspectives, right?
I mean, this is huge, right?
And we need to stay there
It would be nice with a portrait of her, right?
Because she is the main character

(Newsroom, 08.28.2011 min: 23:08)

Assigning more demanding work tasks to the intern – or the opposite: not giving the intern the responsibility suited for his or her abilities and qualifications

Even though it is not explicitly stated, giving more responsibility to the intern demonstrates that the organisation is satisfied with the intern and his or her performance and wants to give the intern new challenges and new possibilities. If the intern has handled a demanding work task and is given the same kind of work task a few weeks later, this often signals that the editor was satisfied with the way the intern solved this task the first time. This is not necessarily stated by the editor, rather it is the action: giving a similar task to the intern, that signals this. The recognition is implied in the action to assign this task to the intern – or perhaps assign him or her with an even more difficult task.

Many interns in our study underline the importance of demonstrating knowledge, commitment and skills in relation to the editors. One intern puts it this way:

Example 7: Trust

"In the beginning they [the editors] need to know that they can trust you before you get permission to do certain things. You need to show that this is what you want and that you are able to do it"

(intern, 02.28.2011)

Being given more demanding work tasks is taken as a sign that the intern has succeeded in doing this.

Simultaneously, not providing new challenges or more demanding work tasks can signal that the editor does not feel that the intern is yet ready to deal with these new challenges. He or she is “not yet skilled enough” but has to learn more before being appointed a certain work task. When for instance the Tv stations in our data insist that the interns team up with an experienced reporter or the newspaper organisations insist that the interns have to begin their internship period writing for the web in order to build up experience, these are both signs that the interns do not yet possess the necessary knowledge and skills demanded to work alone.

Letting the intern develop and work with his or her own ideas for news stories – or the opposite: Eliminating the ideas presented by the intern.

Interns are only allowed to work on their own ideas for news stories if the editor finds that these are good ideas. Thus being allowed to work on his or her own idea demonstrates that the intern has produced an idea meeting the demands to ‘a good news story’ put forward by the editor and the organisation. This is an implicit recognition of the interns’ knowledge and expertise. Also, not being allowed to develop ideas themselves or having ideas eliminated display that the interns are not able to meet these expectations (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2011). For the intern experiencing many eliminations of his or her ideas, these eliminations implicitly demonstrate that the intern has not yet learned to develop an idea, that will be conceptualized by the editor as ‘a good idea’ (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2016) – that is, the intern has not demonstrated the requested mind set and knowledge.

Asking the intern for advice – or the opposite: never ask the intern about something he or she might know.

Asking an intern about something that for instance the editor does not know or asking for the intern’s opinion on a given matter demonstrate that the person asking expects the intern to either have this knowledge or have a valuable opinion on the matter, whereas never asking the intern shows that the editor does not expect that the intern can formulate something important. Thus, asking the intern for advice is an implicit recognition of the intern’s expertise.

This list shows how the more invisible socialising mechanisms – without doing it explicitly and directly – can demonstrate that the organisation appreciates and values the intern’s skills, performance and work effort, and how the opposite actions can signal that the intern does not display culturally desirable behaviour. Also the editors and the experienced journalists can demonstrate a lot about appreciation – or the opposite – by using body language, tone of voice, gaze, gesture and mimicry (Stivers & Sidnell 2005; Due 2012; Kjær 2014; Goodwin 2000; Nielsen 2010). These actions also function as both rewarding and sanctioning socialising mechanisms at an implicit and more invisible level.

8. Tacit knowledge passed on in tacit ways

In order to have effective socialisation processes, the newcomers need to know how their behaviour and way of thinking is evaluated by the organisations and the professional veterans, but they also need to know why these things are evaluated in a certain way. Otherwise they need to guess and this prolongs the learning process as well as creates insecurity and perhaps frustrations. As an example, the intern needs to consciously translate the implicit socialising mechanisms into praise and a sign that he or she has demonstrated culturally desirable behaviour. However, the tacit way in which this recognition takes place means that the intern also has to figure out for him or herself just what it was, that he or she did well. That is not always easy for the newcomer and can cause confusion and insecurity.

For instance, when it comes to learning one of the most important professional concepts – to create ‘a good news story’ – much of this happens in tacit ways. As an intern in our data puts it: “Sometimes I have wondered why an idea was eliminated (…) In these cases you can just feel that this is not a story we are going to write”. The tacit professional expert knowledge is not put into words.

Furthermore, praise framed as summative feedback (Shute 2008) – for instance: “Fantastic news story” – is not as detailed and informative as the formative feedback (ibid.) where the professional veteran explicitly points out *what* exactly was good in a particular news story. Hence the formative feedback entails that the newcomer has a steeper learning curve as he or she is given the possibility to learn the expert knowledge more quickly than if this knowledge remained tacit. If cultural undesirable behaviour is never accompanied by guidance on how to act and think in different ways that the ones displayed (and sanctioned) the newcomer finds it very difficult to get a hold of these norms, values and ways of ‘doing the rope’ – and this can obstruct learning.

Very often is is very difficult for the experienced professional practitioners to explicate their tacit professional knowledge. This example is taken from a meeting, where an experienced journalist tries to teach three interns what a good headline is:

Example 8: A good headline

All four meeting participants read a headline of an internet news story written by one of the interns participating in the meeting. And the experienced journalist starts evaluating the headline.

Experienced journalist: I do not think that it is good. Ehhh….
I don't really know
It is a little hard to point out why exactly
I don't know if I would click on it
I think the text below it is good
(…)
Ehhh, it is a little difficult to put my finger on it….

(Journalist, 09.23.2010 min: 7:34)

Eventhough the experienced journalist clearly feels that the headline is not as good as it could be, it is very difficult for him to explicitly explain why this is the case. Consequently, it becomes difficult for the interns to learn what they can do better as they have to guess what is wrong with the headline.

As an example of how difficult it can be to explicate the tacit professional knowledge for the experienced practitioners, I here quote a reaction to the above description of socialising mechanisms, delivered by an experienced editor in an article about this research project (Sayers 2015):

Example 9: Putting our profession into words

"We are so good with words, but incredibly bad at putting our own profession into words. We talk about gut-feeling and a 'nose for news'. We instinctively sense what a good news story is - or a good headline - but we can not explain what makes them so good (…) Many of us who have been editors for a long time have experienced a craftman training, not an academic education, and we seldom reflect upon our profession in an academic manner. We have never learned how".

Therefore, it becomes essential for media organisations – as well as all other organisations – to reflect upon what learning opportunities they as organisations offer in the everyday routinized practice and optimize this in order to maximize the learning potential for the newcomer (Fuller & Unwin 2003; Filliettaz 2014).

They need to put an effort into explicating as much as possible of their professional expert knowledge, and reflect upon and discuss which socialising mechanisms are most suited to facilitate the best learning and socialisation processes.

Also, as pointed out elsewhere (Gravengaard & Rimestad 2016), the educational system and the media organisations are very different learning environments making different demands on the journalism students and rewarding different values and behaviours. This “double professional socialisation” (ibid.) is also an important challenge when aiming at creating effective socialisation and onboarding processes.

9. Conclusion

Effective and efficient socialisation processes can reduce the newcomers’ uncertainty in the first months in the news organisation as well as enhance the interns’ level of role clarity, sense of belonging to a group, job-satisfaction and self-efficacy (Bauer *et al* 2007; Sacks *et al.* 2007; Wanberg 2012) and thereby facilitate further growth, additional learning and higher confidence (Ashforth *et al.* 2007).

Using a theoretical framework allowing an ethnographic, linguistically sensitive approach to the routinized everyday practice and the socialisation processes, gives us the possibility to describe just how the tacit knowledge about the craft, the profession, the organisation, and the culture is passed on – often in tacit ways – to newcomers; in this case to interns in the newsroom. Therefore, we can now articulate a more nuanced insight into important parts of the intangible socialising processes in the newsroom. This example of the new linguistic turn within news ethnography advances media production research as well as organisational socialisation research in general.

The socialising mechanism are important parts of the routinized everyday socialisation processes in the newsroom, and because of this, they are often strongly attached to a practical and tacit knowledge seldom put in to words and therefore seldom discussed by the practitioners. This research project facilitates the explication of important parts of the professional practitioners’ tacit expert knowledge about how socialising processes take place in the newsroom and how they as socialising agents are important actors in this process. Putting this practical and tacit knowledge into words gives the practitioners an opportunity to gain a more nuanced insight into their own professional practice and this new explicit knowledge can become an important point of departure for further discussions and reflections concerning the optimal socialisation practices in the newsroom. For instance: Is what the organisation and the professional veterans do the best way to create effective socialisation processes? Which socialising mechanisms are productive and counter-productive to the organisation's goals and to the interns' goals?

Hitherto many researchers have described how the relation between journalism and media scholars and the professional practitioners – journalists and editors – have been lacking both mutual interest, respect and understanding (see for instance Zelizer 2004, 2013; Josephi 2009). This research project – along with others – has an explicit ambition to integrate these parties in a more close cooperation. In order to present the added value of this research project and facilitate knowledge transformation between researchers and practitioners, we have done the following in order to create dialogue and collaboration with the professional practitioners in the field of journalism:

- Written a book aimed at journalist students before, during and after their internship period. ('Journalists in internships' ('Journalist i praktik')).
- Created a webpage aimed at practitioners who work with interns every day and at educators working with students who have internship as a part of their education (www.praktikantvejleder.dk (www.being a mentor for an intern.dk)).
- Undertaken a range of workshops with experienced journalists and editors in several media organisations.
- Published articles in magazines and on webpages read by students and experienced journalists and editors

Hence this research project is also an example of the new development and the "new research value chain" (Gravengaard 2016) within the recent linguistic turn in news ethnography where scholars engage with practitioners in a "knowledge-creating relation"; collaborating, engaging in ongoing dialogue and reflection, discussing conclusions and findings, and developing tools for improving practice and reflections on practice. All of this is done with the ambition to bridge the gap between practitioners and researchers and practical and academic knowledge (Perrin 2013; Berthoud & Burger 2014; Burger 2015).

References

ASHFORTH, B.E., D.M. SLUSS & S.H. HARRISON (2007), « Socialization in organizational contexts », *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology* 22, 1–70.

AKKERMAN, S.F. & P.C. MEIJER (2011), « A dialogical approach to conceptualizing teacher identity », *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27 (2): 308–319.

ASHFORD, S. J., & TAYLOR, M. S. (1990), « Adaptation to work transitions: An integrative approach », *Research in personnel and human resources management* 8, 1–39.

BAUER, T.N., BODNER, T., ERDOGAN, B., TRUXILLO, D. M. & TUCKER, J. S. (2007), « Newcomer adjustment during organizational socialization: A meta-analytic review of antecedents, outcomes, and methods », *Journal of Applied Psychology* 92, 707–721.

BAARY, S.A. (2000), *Approaches to socializing newcomers and new employee commitment*, Unpublished Master Thesis, Michigan State University.

BELL, N., & STAW, B. (1989), « People as sculptors versus sculpture: The roles of personality and personal control in Organizations », In ARTHUR, M.B. *et al.* (eds), *Handbook of Career Theory*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

BJØRNSEN, G. *et al.* (2007), « Journalists in the making », *Journalism Practice* 1:3, 383-403.

BREED, Warren (1955), « Social control in the newsroom », *Social Forces* 33, 326-355.

BRIGGS, C.L. (1986), *Learning how to ask: A sociolinguistic appraisal of the role of the interview in social science research* » New York, Cambridge University Press.

BURGER (2015), « Vers une linguistique impliquée ». In GRADOUX, Jacquin & MERMINOD, *Agir dans la diversité des langues*, Bruxelles, DeBoeck, 73-86.

BERTHOUD, A.-Cl.& M. BURGER (2014), « Pratiques langagières et espaces sociaux en tension: vers une linguistique impliquée ». In Anne-Claude

BERTHOUD & Marcel BURGER, *Repenser le rôle des pratiques langagières dans la constitution des espaces sociaux contemporains*, Bruxelles, De Boeck, 7-16.

CARR, E.S. (2010), « Enactments of expertise », *Annual review of anthropology* 39, 17-32.

COOPERMAN, S.J. & K.B. MEIDLINGER (2000), « Power, hierarchy and change: The stories of a catholic parish staff », *Management Communiction Quarterly* 13, 567-625.

COOPER-THOMA, H.D. & N. ANDERSON (2006), « Newcomer adjustment: The relationship between organizational socialization tactics, information acquisition and attitudes », *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 75, 423-437.

COTTER, C. (2010), *News Talk. Investigating the Language of Journalism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

DAHLGREN M.A., T.D. SOLBREKKE, B. KARSETH & S. NYSTRöM (2014), « From University to Professional Practice: Students as Journeymen Between Cultures of Education and Work ». In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS & H. GRUBER (eds), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

DERVEN, M. (2008), « Management Onboarding: Obtain early allegiance to gain a strategic advantage in the war for talent », *American Society for Training & Development*, 48–52.

DONSBACH, W. (2004), « Psychology of news decisions. Factors behind journalists' professional behaviour », *Journalism* 5(2), 131-157.

DRYFUS, H. & S. DREYFUS (1986), *Mind over machine. The power of human intuition and expertise in the era of the Computer*, Glasgow, Basil Blackwell.

DUE, B.L. (2012), *Den sociale konstruktion af idéer : en multimodal interaktionsanalytisk undersøgelse af hvordan idéer skabes socialt via deltageres disaffilierende eller affilierende responsformater*. Ph.D thesis, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen.

EIDE, M (2010), « Dialogical ambiguities: Journalism, professionalism and flattery », *Northern Lights* 8, 9–23.

ELMELUND-PRÆSTEKÆR, C. *et al.* (2008), *Den danske journalistundersøgelse. Holdninger til politik og samfund*, Politologiske Skrifter 20, University of Southern Denmark.

ELMELUND-PRÆSTEKÆR, C. *et al.* (2009), « Danske journaliststuderende: Ret repræsentative reportere », *Journalistica* 1.

ETELÄPELTO, A., K. VÄHÄSANTANEN, P. HÖKKÄ & S. PALOMIEMI (2014), « Identity and Agency in Professional Learning ». In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS and H. GRUBER (eds), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

FELDMAN, D.C. (1994), « Who's socializing whom? The impact of socializing newcomers on insiders, work groups, and Organizations », *Human Resource Management Revie*, 4 (3), 213-233.

FENWICK, T. & M. SOMMERVILLE (2006), « Work, subjectivity and learning: Prospects and issues » In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS & H. GRUBER (eds), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

FIELD, R. & A. COETZER (2008), « The effects of organisational socialisation on individual and organisational outcomes: A review of the literature and directions for future research », *Labour, Employment and Work in New Zealand*.

FILLIETTAZ, L. (2014), « Understanding Learning for Work: Contributions from Discourse and Interaction Analysis ». In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS & H. GRUBER (eds), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

FOUCAULT, M. (2002), *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*, London, Routledge.

FULLER, A. & UNWIN, L. (2003), « Learning as apprentices in the contemporary UK workplace: creating and managing expansive and restrictive participation » *Journal of Education and work* 16 (4), 407-426.

FURHOFF, L. (1986), *Makten over journalistiken*, Stockholm, Natur och Kultur.

GOODWIN, C. (1994), « Professional vision », *American Anthropologist* 93 (3), 606-633.

GOODWIN, C. (1996), « Transparent Vision ». In E. OCHS, E.A. SCHEGLOFF & S. THOMPSON (eds), *Interaction and Grammar*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

GOODWIN, C. (2000), « Action and embodiment within situated human interaction », *Journal of Pragmatics* 32 (10), 1489-1522.

GHERARDI, S. & M. PERROTTA (2014), « Becoming a practitioner: Professional learning as a social Practice » In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS og H. GRUBER (red), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

GRAVENGAARD, G. (2016), « Knowledge transformation » In COTTER C. & PERRIN, D. (Eds) *Handbook of Language and Media*, London, Routledge.

GRAVENGAARD, G. & RIMESTAD, L. (2011), « Elimination of ideas and professional socialization », *Journalism Practice*, 6(4).

GRAVENGAARD, G. & L. RIMESTAD (2014), « Socialising journalist trainees in the newsroom - on how to capture the intangible parts of the socialisation process ». In H. HORNMOEN & K.S. ORGERETt (eds), *Nordicom Review, special issue*, Göteborg.

GRAVENGAARD, G. & L. RIMESTAD (2015): *Journalist i praktik*, Frederiksberg, Samfundslitteratur.

GRAVANGAARD G. & RIMESTAD L. (2016), « “Is this a good news story?” Developing professional competence in the newsroom », In J.F. HOVDEN, G. NYGREN & H, ZILLIACUS-TIKKANEN (eds) *Making journalists through journalism education,* Nordicom Review.

GRIFFIN, A.E.C., COLELLA, A. & GOPARAJU, S. (2000), « Newcomer and organizational socialization tactics: An nteractionist perspective », *Human Resource Management Review* 10, 453–474.

HANNA, M. & SANDERS, K. (2012), « Perceptions of the news media’s societal roles », *Journalism and Mass Communication Educator* 67(2), 145-163.

HARRISON, M. & J.M. BEYER (1984), « Stydying organisational cultures through rites and ceremonials », *Academy of management Review* 9, 653-670.

HOVDEN, J.F. *et al.* (2009), « The Nordic journalists of tomorrow: An exploration of first year journalism students in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden », *Nordicom Review* 30(1), 137-153.

JABLIN, F.M. (2001), « Organizational entry, assimilation, and disengagement/exit », In F.M. JABLIN & L.L. PUTNAM (eds), *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and method,* 732–818, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

JOSEPHI B. (1999), « From journalism school to newsroom: What rite of passage? » *Asia Pacific Media Educator* 1 (5).

KAMMEYER-MUELLER, J.D., & WANBERG, C.R. (2003), « Unwrapping the organizational entry process: Disentangling multiple antecedents and their pathways to adjustment », *Journal of Applied Psychology* 88(5), 779–794.

KJÆR, M. (2014), *Læring i praksis: Praksis i læring,* Aalborg, University of Aalborg.

KULICK, D. & SCHIEFFELIN, B. (2005), « Language and socialization », in DURANTI A. (ed.), *A companion to linguisticanthropology*, Malden, MA, Blackwell.

LAVE, J. & E. WENGER (1991) *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

MARKAUSKAITE, L. & P. GOODYEAR (2014), « Professional work and knowledge », In S. BILLET, C. HARTEIS & H. GRUBER (eds), *International Handbook of Research in Professional and Practice-based Learning*, Dordrecht, Springer.

NIELSEN, M.F. (2010), *Fortolkningsledelse: Mellemlederes kommunikative arbejde med værdier og kulturskabelse*, Frederiksberg, Samfundslitteratur.

PERRIN, D. (2013), *The linguistics of newswriting*, Amsterdam/New York, John Benjamins Publishing.

POLANYI, M. (1958), *Personal knowledge*, London, Routledge.

POLANYI, M. (1983), *The tacit dimension*, Gloucester, Peter Smith.

PRESTON, P. (2009), *Making the News: Journalism and news culture in Europe*, London, Routledge.

REICHERS, A.E. (1987), « An interactionist perspective on newcomer socialization rates », *The Academy of management Review* 12, 278-287.

SAKS, A. M. & ASHFORTH, B. E. (1997), « Organizational socialization: Making sense of the past and present as a prologue for the future », *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 51, 234–279.

SCHEIN, E.H. (2004), *Organizational culture and leadership*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass.

SCHÖN, D.A. (1983), *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*, New York, Basic Books.

SCOLLON, R. & S.W. SCOLLON (2001), *Intercultural communication*, London, Oxford University Press.

SHUTE, V. J. (2008), « Focus on formative feedback », *Review of educational research 78* (1), 153-189.

SLAUGHTER, J. E. & ZICKAR, M. J. (2006), « Anew look at the role of insiders in the newcomer socialization process », *Group & Organization Management* 31, 264–290.

STIVERS, T. & J. SIDNELL (2005), « Introduction: multimodal interaction », *Semiotica* 156, 1-20.

STOHL, C. (1986), « The role of memorable messages in the process of organizational socialization », *Communication Quarterly* 34 (3), 231-249.

WANBERG, C.R (2012), « Facilitating organizational socialisation: An introduction ». In F.M. JABLIN & L.L. PURNAM (eds), *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and method*, 732–818, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage.

WENGER, E. (1998), *Communities of practice. Learning, meaning, and identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

WELLS, G. (2007), « Who we become depends on the company we keep and on what we do and say Together », *International Journal of Educational Research* 46 (1-2), 100-103.

ZELIZER, B. (2004), *Taking Journalism Seriously: Journalism and the academy*, London, Sage.

ZELIZER B. (2013), « Tools for the future of journalism », *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 34, 142-152.