White Rose Research Online

eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk
Universities of Leeds, Sheffield and York

Deposited via The University of Leeds.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/117304/

Monograph:
Neverla, I, Lohner, J and Banjac, S (2015) Review: Journalistic ethics and practices in conflict societies. Working Paper. MeCoDEM . ISSN 2057-4002 (Unpublished)

©2015 Irene Neverla, Judith Lohner, and Sandra Banjac. The Working Papers in the MeCoDEM series serve to disseminate the research results of work in progress prior to publication in order to encourage the exchange of ideas and academic debate. Inclusion of a paper in the MeCoDEM Working Papers series does not constitute publication and should not limit publication in any other venue. Copyright remains with the authors.

Reuse
Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown
If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS
University of Sheffield
UNIVERSITY of York

Media Conflict and DEMocratisation

Irene Neverla, Judith Lohner, and Sandra Banjac

Review:

Journalistic ethics and practices in conflict societies

June 2015

The Working Papers in the MeCoDEM series serve to disseminate the research results of work in progress prior to publication in order to encourage the exchange of ideas and academic debate. Inclusion of a paper in the MeCoDEM Working Papers series does not constitute publication and should not limit publication in any other venue. Copyright remains with the authors.

Media, Conflict and Democratisation (MeCoDEM)
ISSN 2057-4002
Review: Journalistic ethics and practices in conflict societies
Copyright for this issue: ©2015 Irene Neverla, Judith Lohner, and Sandra Banjac
WP Coordination: University of Hamburg / Irene Neverla
Editor: Katy Parry
Editorial assistance and English-language copy editing: Charlotte Elliott
University of Leeds, United Kingdom (2015)

All MeCoDEM Working Papers are available online and free of charge at www.mecodem.eu

For further information please contact Barbara Thomass, barbara.thomass@rub.de

This project has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme for research, technological development and demonstration under grant agreement no 613370. Project Term: 1.2.2014 – 31.1.2017.

Affiliation of the authors:

Irene Neverla
University of Hamburg
irene.neverla@uni-hamburg.de

Judith Lohner
University of Hamburg
judith.lohner@uni-hamburg.de

Sandra Banjac
University of Hamburg
sandra.banjac@uni-hamburg.de

Table of Contents

Executive Summary 1
1. Introduction 2
2. Conceptual terms and definitions 5
3. Overview: Current issues in relevant research fields 16
3.1. Comparative studies on journalism (cultures) in different countries 17
3.2. Empirical research on Journalism on/in “conflicts” 22
3.3. Journalism in democratisation processes and transitional countries 28
3.4. Studies on journalism in the four MeCoDEM countries 40
4. Discussion and Conclusions 56
5. Bibliography 60

Executive Summary

This paper provides a critical review of literature on journalism in conflict societies ('conflict journalism'), by investigating principal theories, concepts and arguments, as well as empirical research findings concerning journalism and its role in democratisation processes and conflicts. Against the background of MeCoDEM Work Package 4 ("Journalistic ethics and practices"), the paper focusses on journalistic actors and their journalistic work practices, role perceptions and ethical orientations. The following overall observations can be summarized from the literature review:

- Journalism can be defined as a social institution with the function to observe society and its various fields, selecting and providing topics for debate and decision-making by the wider public. Certain interrelated constituents inform journalistic performance and journalism culture: work practices, role perceptions, ethical orientations and structural conditions.

- Existing (comparative) research shows that journalistic practices, roles, ethical orientations and structural conditions are neither static nor globally uniform. Rather, the cultural, political and historical and economic contexts relevant to specific regions and countries have significant impact on journalists' ethical orientations, role perceptions and work practices. Therefore journalism should be understood as one component in relation to many other societal components, as a relevant institution with a particular identity, logic of practices and ethics, but still embedded, dependent and limited within the societal context.

- Despite the rich findings in the research field on journalism, there is a lack of conceptualization and empirical investigations concerning the specific role of journalism and journalistic actors in democratisation conflicts. So far there is no elaborated theory on journalism in the context of conflict societies and transitional democracies. Only few empirical studies have focused on journalistic ethics and practices in democratisation processes and transitional countries.

- Due to a Western bias in journalism studies some areas of the world and non-western democracies remain either ignored or occupy a marginal position in comparative studies, and normative assumptions rooted in Western traditions remain largely unquestioned. What is needed therefore is a "dialogic" or "global approach" to journalism studies that would develop non-Western-biased concepts of journalism that extend beyond Western-grown models, incorporating valuable ideas and norms from both Western and non-Western traditions.

1. Introduction

Journalism is an institutional actor in conflict and democratisation processes, simply by placing topics on the agenda and framing them in specific ways. Journalism does not make history, but it highlights what might become history. Just to draw on the most spectacular events covered in the 2014 and 2015: In the summer of 2014, pictures of protests on the Maidan square in Kiev and reports about fights between Russian, separatist and Ukrainian troops were covered in media all over the world; in December 2014 we saw pictures of Taliban attacks on schools in Pakistan with children as victims; on January 7th 2015 the Paris attacks drew the attention of the world, and we witnessed both the police and journalists chasing the perpetrators. Just two days later one of the biggest civil society demonstrations Paris and other European cities ever saw took place; and still the debate about the Mohammed cartoons in *Charlie Hebdo* and other newspapers and magazines continues, as an example of freedom of the press and of expression, its challenges and its limitations.

Journalists were highly involved in these conflicts, acting in various roles: Literally on the frontline of the conflicts, taking photos and making notes; interviewing politicians, military forces, members of civil society; working in the newsrooms of editorial offices; selecting news and pictures from news agencies, correspondents or else social media; writing news, opinion pieces, editorials and background features. Thus, journalism was not only sharing sober and rational information, but also anger and rage, trauma, grief and relief, with its public.

Whatever conflicts – violent or non-violent, on local or national levels – may come up, we must consider:

> though conflicts for the most part originate in the social world beyond the media, it is through the different media of journalism and the circulation of news that many of them become publicly known and, often pursued. It is here (…) that conflicts are variously defined, framed and visualized; elaborated, narrativized and evaluated; moralized, deliberated and contested; amplified and promoted or dampened and reconciled; conducted and symbolized; enacted and performed. In a word: mediatized (Cottle 2006: 185).

This working paper is a report on the state of research which aims to contribute to a better understanding of the role of "journalism in conflict societies and transitional democracies" (MeCoDEM Description of Work). Particularly, the *aim of this working paper* will be:

- to provide a critical review of literature on journalism in conflict societies ('conflict journalism'),
- to review principal theories, concepts and arguments
- as well as empirical research findings concerning journalism and its role in democratisation processes and conflicts,
- and, finally to examine whether existing research provides useful conceptual and theoretical tools for the empirical analysis within Work Package 4 (interviews with journalists in the four MeCoDEM countries Egypt, Kenya, Serbia and South Africa).

Given that journalism is a profession as well as a pillar in democratic public spheres, journalism studies has become a wide field of research with a broad range of theoretical concepts and empirical studies in many countries, including those from a comparative perspective. Against the background of MeCoDEM Work Package 4 our *focus* in this working paper will be on:

- journalistic actors and the production process, rather than journalistic media coverage, and,
- journalistic practices, ethics and role perceptions with regard to democratisation conflicts.

Our review will show that, in spite of the rich findings in the research field on journalism, there is a lack of conceptualization and empirical investigation concerning our specific research topic, i.e. the role of journalism and journalistic actors in democratisation conflicts (making it necessary to implement an inductive approach in MeCoDEM Work Package 4). In this working paper we will investigate existing research arguments and hypotheses and thus set a basis for empirical research in Work Package 4 and future conceptualization of 'conflict journalism', that is, journalism in democratisation conflicts, or more broadly, in conflict societies and transitional democracies.

However, journalism in some sense is always dealing with 'conflicts'. It draws the public's attention to the outstanding, out-of-the-ordinary event, while news on every-day, routine events would otherwise not attract attention of journalists and their audience. Unexpected and out of the ordinary to some extent means conflictual. But obviously there is a spectrum of conflicts ranging from more private conflicts to public ones, from non-violent to violent, from a limited field to the point where whole

societies and nations are involved, from transient conflicts to conflicts extremely substantial to democracy.

Our review includes a wide range of literature, however, we have a clear focus on journalism in relation to work practices, role perceptions and ethics, as well as on journalism in relation to conflicts. Likewise, our focus is on professional journalism irrespective of its technological base. Professional journalism mainly takes place within editorial houses or broadcasters, and may thus include blogs, tweets or any other social media tools and formats as part of the editorial work. Therefore our paper refers to online and social media as far as they are related to professional journalism.

Some (more) preliminary notes as guidelines into the further sections are required. First, this working paper is a report on the state of current research in journalism studies. It is a starting point for the MeCoDEM project, and does not mirror our further theoretical considerations nor our own empirical findings gained in MeCoDEM. The readers are requested to keep this in mind, throughout the multiplicity of concepts and detailed findings from journalism studies outlined in this paper.

Second, special concern has to be placed on the issue of normativity. While some scholars claim that to some extent normativity is inscribed in any empirical research on communications (Brosius 2003, Scheufele 2011); this applies especially to journalism, which can be considered a normative concept per se (Rothenberger and Auer 2013). It cannot come as a surprise that similar to normativity in journalism studies, we find normativity in the concepts of democracy or human rights – two concepts closely bound to journalism. To raise the idea of human rights, as a claim for each individual on Earth, is a normative concern. The same goes for democracy, a form of governance, which is based on respect for a broad range of beliefs and opinions and which provides procedures to deal with these varieties in the process of decision making and ruling. Within this context of the theory of democracy, journalism is considered a social institution which deals with the dissemination of knowledge and information to enable citizens to carry on in the complexity of daily life and participate in the process of political decisions. Hence, in our report on the state of research, normativity is an ongoing component which we try to continuously reflect on (but certainly cannot restate). Again, the reader is requested to keep this in mind.

This leads to the third remark. The perspective of journalism as an essential component of democracy, thus being normative, is only one theoretical option.

Another option is a functional-analytical perspective bound to historical analysis and empirical findings (both of course, not free from normative components). As a fact we learn two lessons from history: Journalism was and still is an essential component of the emergence of democracy, at least in Western societies. And even more essential – setting aside the narrative of democracy – journalism has been a vital component of any complex society, that is, societies with an extended division of labour, highly differentiated in social fields and systems, with an order of social relations that is based on the reflexivity of the individual (Giddens 1990). Whether, and in what way the normative and the functional-empirical perspectives and understanding of journalism differ in the context of non-Western societies and non-Western concepts of democracy, is a matter of on-going processes and future debates. In this working paper we strive to reflect this process. Readers are again asked to keep in mind that most of the theoretical concepts in journalism studies are related to Western democracies. They are hegemonic within the context of the global scholarly field of journalism studies. Considerations related to non-Western democracies are exciting, challenging and maybe trendsetting, but so far have tended to take place in the shadow of dominating Western concepts. A non-western biased concept of journalism is therefore a work in progress and hopefully MeCoDEM will contribute to the enrichment of the conceptual work through its ongoing theoretical considerations and empirical findings.

2. Conceptual terms and definitions

As a working definition, we consider **journalism** a *social institution* with the function to *observe society* and its various fields, selecting and providing topics for debate and decision-making by the wider public. From a political scientist's perspective, journalism can be conceptualized as part of the public sphere that operates as an "intermediary system between state and society" (Habermas 2006: 412). In fact, journalism not only relates to politics, but also to other social systems (following Luhmann's systems theory, cf. Luhmann 2000), such as economy, culture, science etc., selecting certain topics and translating them according to the journalistic 'code' or logic. This may lead to tensions not only because different codes or logics of the social systems are coming into play; but also because (following Bourdieu's structuration theory, Bourdieu and Johnson 1993) media are part of the power play in society, and contribute to the social capital of various actors from various fields.

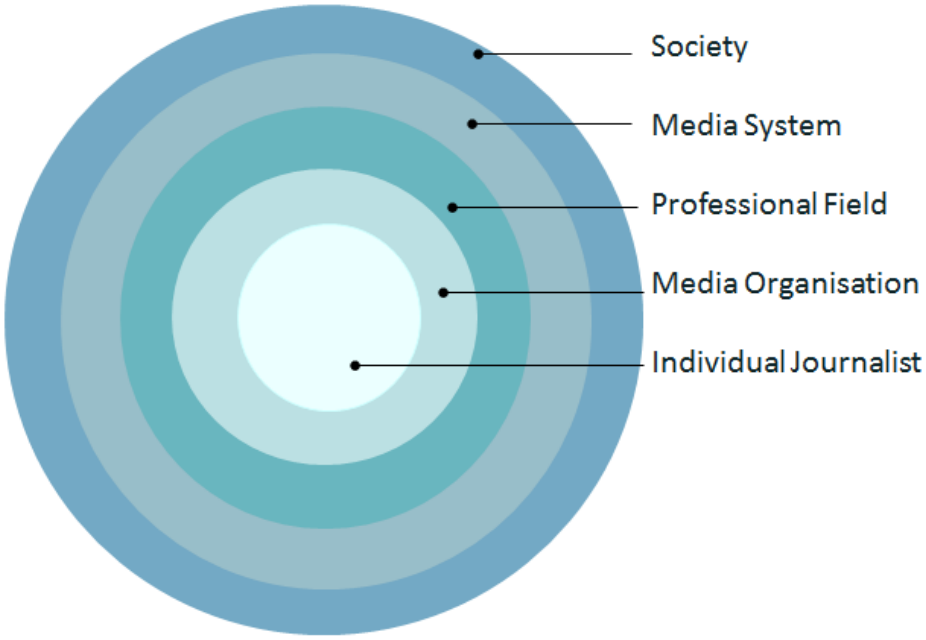
Whatever theory we may refer to in conceptualising journalism, it has become an undisputable fact, based on the constructivist approach, that journalism does not "mirror" reality, but clearly constructs reality. Journalism follows distinct logics applying certain selection criteria (through agenda setting, based on news values) and ways of providing and processing information (by mechanisms of framing and priming) (Weaver 2007). Journalists are therefore not only observers of society (and societal processes of democratisation and democratisation conflicts) but as communicators and *actors* in their own right (Shoemaker and Reese 1996: 36).

Not only how journalistic selection and processing of information takes place but also the way journalism is organised has a certain impact on the construction of reality as well as on the role journalism plays in depicting democratisation conflicts. Components of this organisational process are technology, the media system and the media organisation, thematic organisation (beats) and last but not least *professional role models, work practices and ethical orientations of the journalistic actors* (Deuze 2005, Zelizer 2004, Ward 2009, McNair 1998, Shoemaker and Reese 1996, Shoemaker and Reese 2013).

Moreover, journalism is always bound to a certain societal context and thus a matter of some constraints (Harcup 2009). Hence, journalism and the role journalism plays within democratisation processes and conflicts in specific countries, is also dependent on the given *structures* in the political, economic and media systems as well as on journalism's relationship with (and degree of autonomy from) other social actors and stakeholders – state power and politics, economics, powerful cultural institutions like religion, civil society and interest groups (Voltmer 2013, Voltmer 2006).

To put it in other words: Journalism is embedded in multiple layers of societal context. There are several multilayer models of journalism developed by scholars in various countries (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, Blöbaum 1994, Donsbach 2010, Scholl and Weischenberg 1998, Weischenberg 1998). They share the idea that the core journalistic practices are more or less under the influence of normative values as well as objective structures and constraints. These models may vary in terms of which factors may be assigned to which layers, but in general the dimension or constituents would follow the model given in figure (1).

Figure (1): Societal context of Journalism – multiple layer model



In summary, journalism can be approached and analysed with regard to its societal function, as a profession and a specific communicative practice, a "mode of communication" (McNair 2005, Tumber and Prentoulis 2005). Based on this definition of journalism one can distinguish certain structural elements as **interrelated constituents** that inform journalistic performance and journalism culture – in general, as well as in specific situations such as democratisation conflicts, and in certain countries.[1]

Against the conceptual background of a multiple layer model we are now going to define and critically evaluate existing literature on the following constituents:

- work practices
- role perceptions
- ethical orientations
- structural conditions

In order to structure the different journalistic **work practices**, Blöbaum's approach of "journalistic programs" seems to be quite helpful: By programs he

[1] Another approach would be to combine and bunch constituents to models of "journalism culture", as Hanitzsch (2007) does, but this model of journalism culture refers to 'subjective' constituents like institutional roles of journalism in society, epistemologies and ethical ideologies, while 'objective' structures such as conditions and constraints on journalism are not included.

describes certain work techniques and routines, through which journalists investigate, select, process and present information (Blöbaum 1994, Blöbaum 2004, see also Shoemaker and Reese 1996): (1) Programs of coordination include mechanisms and practices by which news is allocated to certain beats of the media outlet (and therefore specific journalists assigned to work on the story). (2) Journalists apply certain programs when *selecting* (conflicts and other) topics and events relevant for media reporting. Here, techniques and mechanisms through which the characteristics of certain topics or events are assessed and their 'newsworthiness' is identified (Harcup 2009, Shoemaker and Reese 1996). With regard to this, theories such as 'news values' and 'agenda setting' have been worked out and discussed by journalism scholars (Galtung and Ruge 1965, McCombs and Shaw 1972). (3) Programs of *information gathering or investigation* consist of techniques of gathering and generating relevant information by finding and contacting relevant sources (contact persons such as politicians, activists, PR officials, material provided by news agencies, archives, documents etc.). Among others, awareness and relevance of social media and ICT as sources of information seem to be relevant to explore (TNS Qual+ 2012). Related to this, journalists apply (4) *programs of (fact) checking*, through which the truthfulness of a story and the reliability of sources are tested. (5) Journalists make use of certain techniques and routines when *(re-)presenting certain topics* (such as conflicts) in journalistic content. Relevant programs include both the formal presentation of the story (producing either news reports, features, editorials etc.), and the content-related 'framing' and 'priming' of the topic (through emphasizing certain features of a story and promoting particular problem definitions, moral evaluations, recommendations; see Entman 1993, Weaver 2007, Vladisavljevic 2015 for an elaborated description of the framing concept). Related to this, choices of quotes (which voices are considered relevant to be heard in the story), attributes and evaluation of conflicting parties, procedures of labelling 'the other', causal interpretations and given treatment options for specific conflicts, and the evocation of the past also belong to the programs of processing and presenting a (conflict) story.

As to **role perceptions***,* one needs to clarify first that varying terminologies exist for describing this constituent of journalism. Besides 'role perceptions', literature mentions 'media roles', 'role models', and 'role conceptions' (see Hanitzsch 2007). In general, by role perceptions we understand what the journalists *consider to be their professional tasks while executing their job*. Following Shoemaker and Reese (1996),

these individual conceptions of the roles of journalists tend to be informed by a process of socialization within the respective newsroom or media organization that has developed organisational standards and goals (organisational level). Organisational standards and goals again are shaped by pressures from and role perceptions of other societal actors, such as politics, advertisers, audiences, sources, and the economy (extra-media level, see also structural conditions), as well as ideological and cultural imperatives about the (normative) roles and functions of media in (a democratic or democratising) society (which Shoemaker/Reese refer to as the 'ideological level', but could otherwise more neutrally be referred to as the societal level, see Figure 1).

Also, the journalists' conception of and attitude *towards the audience* have been considered to be a relevant factor of influence on professional role perceptions (van Dalen et al. 2012, Weaver 2005): i.e. who journalists feel accountable to, and who they consider to be their target groups, their level of education, interest and involvement, both with regard to daily reporting as well as coverage of specific conflicts.

As Shoemaker and Reese (1996: 101) point out, professional role perceptions do inform journalistic practices and have direct influence on news content, since these determine what the communicator thinks is worth transmitting to his or her audience and how the story should be developed.

As we are going to elaborate further in Section 3, empirical research, mainly conducted on journalism in Anglo-Saxon and Western European countries, has identified different journalistic role perceptions. These have been categorized into different types of role perceptions: For example, journalists have been defined as agenda-setters and opinion leaders, as gatekeepers and advocates, as interpreters, disseminators and adversaries, as missionaries and entertainers (see Voltmer 2013: 200–201, Hanitzsch 2011).

Christians et al. (2009) present *four general (ideal) types of roles* which have been used in the codebook of MeCoDEM Work Package 3 ("Media representations of conflict"), on content analysis and tend to summarize at least most of the journalistic roles which have been detected in empirical studies on (Western) journalists. However, these roles are not mutually exclusive: Since roles are applied depending on particular instances, at particular times and in different contexts, most news media and journalists play more than one role: (1) The monitorial role which is

said to be “at the heart of journalistic activity” (Christians et al. 2009: 157) describes the journalist as a detached observer, having the main (and only) task of providing information of public interest. (2) The facilitative role of journalism is both rooted in and promotes deliberative democracy and civic republicanism: When performing a facilitative role, the journalist’s main tasks consists of providing citizens with the information they need to make political decisions, as well as enabling and supporting public interest (in terms of democracy/democratisation, the functioning of the civil society, cohesion, tolerance etc.). (3) The radical role sees the journalist as a ‘watchdog’, speaking on behalf of citizens, while challenging political authority and holding the powerful accountable: “The role of journalists is to challenge the injustices perpetrated by hegemonic alliances and to propose instead a new order and support movements opposing these injustices” (Christians et al. 2009: 179). Hence, in line with concepts such as advocate journalism (Harcup 2013), journalists can also appear as an agent for social change. (4) The collaborative role implies cooperation with the state or other centres of power, e.g. in order to assist the state in building and sustaining a national agenda for progress and prosperity, as it is claimed by the concept of “development journalism” (we will return to this concept in Section 3.2). Although collaboration is part of journalistic practice throughout the world (e.g. for matters of public safety etc.), this role is rejected by media professionals in many parts of the world, especially Western countries, as its very idea seems to clash with the libertarian model of a free and autonomous press which keeps power in check and is not a conduit of it (Christians et al. 2009: 196).

Seib (2002: xi) describes journalism as a “moral enterprise”, thus emphasizing the centrality of norms and ethics for the definition of the profession and its role in modern society. As to **ethical orientations or journalistic ethics** one can refer to a wide range of literature (see, for example Ward 2009, Ward and Wasserman 2010, Ward 2010, Ward 2013, Meyers 2010, Black and Roberts 2011, Brown and Black 2011, Couldry et al. 2013, Smith 2008, Boeyink and Borden 2010, Harcup 2007, Iggers 1999, Seib 1994, Thomaß 2008, Thomaß 1998, Rothenberger and Auer 2013).

Ward (2009: 296) defines journalism ethics as a:

> … species of applied media ethics that investigates the ‘micro’ problems of how individual journalists should behave in particular situations, and the ‘macro’ problems of what news media should do, given their role in society. Journalists as members of news organizations have rights, duties and norms

> because as human beings, they fall under general ethical principles such as to tell the truth and minimize harm, and because as professionals they have social power to frame the political agenda and influence public opinion

Hence, questions of journalism ethics can be approached on *different, however interdependent levels*: journalism ethics on a macro level are very much dependent on the normative functions and roles ascribed to journalism in a specific society and the principles that promote those aims (Ward 2009: 296, Hanitzsch 2007; see also section above on role perceptions). At a meso level, one may investigate values and norms promoted by the specific news organisations and professional associations, whether or not they are written down in specific ethical codes and which procedures exist in order to secure those principles. At a micro level, journalism ethics refers to the journalist's individual ethical orientations as a media professional. Through socialisation processes, these ethical orientations are informed by the two other levels as well as the journalist's personal attitudes, values and beliefs as a human being (e.g. general personal values and beliefs, personal political attitudes, personal religious orientations) (Shoemaker and Reese 1996: 82–87).

From a historical perspective focussing on Western countries, Ward (2009) distinguishes five phases of ***theoretical approaches to journalism ethics*** on the macro level: (1) the invention of ethical discourse for journalism during the 17th century, (2) public ethics of the enlightenment public sphere, (3) liberal theory of the press in the 19th century, (4) development and criticism of this liberal doctrine across the 20th century resulting in a "professional ethics of objective journalism", bolstered by social responsibility theory; and an "alternative ethics for interpretative and activist journalism", (5) today's current "mixed media ethics" which lacks consensus on what principles apply across different types of media and in different cultural contexts.

Given this paradigm of *mixed media ethics*, today, according to Ward (2009: 298–301), journalism ethics is informed both by normative ideas of liberal theory, objectivity and social responsibility theory, interpretive theory, and ethics of community and care – at least in Western countries: From the liberal theory perspective, journalists should constitute an independent press that informs citizens and acts as watchdog of government and abuses of power. A theory of social responsibility stresses not only the right but also the duty of journalists to publish the most accurate and comprehensive truth on matters of public interest, and to report independently without fear or favour. Additionally, it is argued that journalism should

also provide a representative picture of the constituent groups in society and assist in the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of society. By contrast, interpretative and activist perspectives on journalism ethics reject 'neutrality': Here, journalists are forced to take a stance and be partisans that seek to reform society by challenging the status quo. Beyond that, communitarian media ethicists think that the main function of journalism is the provision of a rich, interpretative dialogue with and among citizens that aims for "civic transformation" (Ward 2009: 300, Christians and Couldry 2010).

Apart from theoretical approaches, journalism ethics on the macro level as well as on the individual level of ethical orientations are informed by general ***"ethical ideologies"***, i.e. approaches to respond to ethical problems (Hanitzsch 2007: 378–379, Ward 2009, Wassermann 2013, Black/Roberts 2011): Deontological approaches believe in and make use of moral absolutes, claim the adherence to codes of professional ethics regardless of situation and context, assuming that desirable outcomes should always be obtained with the right action (means oriented). By contrast, teleological, consequentialist or utilitarian approaches are rather outcome-oriented, for they admit that harm will sometimes be necessary to produce good. Relativist (and subjectivist) perspectives reject the possibility of relying on universal moral rules, postulating that ethical behaviour depends on the situation and therefore also on personal moral philosophies and judgment.

As to the distinctive content of ethics, certain ***values and principles*** have been claimed relevant for ethical journalism and referred to both by general theoretical approaches and perspectives (on the macro level) as well as in the actual ethical codes of conduct of media organisations and professional associations (meso level). Given the explanations above, it goes without saying that these ethical values are both defined and evaluated differently in the different approaches as well as in different contexts (Ward 2009). It is therefore crucial to conduct empirical studies that analyse how these values are actually interpreted in specific cultural contexts, different societies, and ethical codes of conduct as well as by individual journalists.

Here, 'truthfulness' and 'objectivity' are probably the most central as well as the most contested values, both in literature as well as in the actual ethical codes. Very much informed by liberal theory and the Western, Anglo-Saxon tradition of journalism, the professional ideal of seeking the truth objectively has been questioned by post-modern theories. In this context, Hanitzsch (2007: 376–377)

distinguishes two poles related to the question of how truth can be attained: the correspondence pole, informed by an absolute sense of objectivity assumes that there is a correspondence between “what is said” and “what exists”. By contrast, the subjectivism pole, informed by a constructivist approach, assumes that there is no absolute truth and that all news is selective. Since human beings perceive reality based on judgments, journalists inescapably create their own realities. “Here, neutral means balanced and disinterested, unbiased, without an axe to grind” (Christians et al. 2009: 147). Values linked to those of truthfulness and objectivity are principles of ‘factual accuracy’ and ‘fairness’ as well as ‘impartiality’/neutrality and ‘diversity’ - potentially being achieved by the fair presentation of different sides of a story and its context, diverse societal positions and religious/ethnic views etc., avoiding stereotypes with regard to described people, different religious and ethnic groups, etc.

In summary, the term ‘objectivity’ is certainly outdated if it is used in an unreflected way and to claim that journalism (or any other observation in society) can be neutral in the sense of fully excluding any subjectivity or partisanship. Epistemology and social constructivism tell us that there is no such thing as truth or ultimate knowledge. Moreover, the general desirability of ‘objectivity’ (understood as neutrality) as an absolute journalistic norm has been questioned in alternative concepts of journalism, claiming that journalists should take up an active stance on certain societal issues and in specific circumstances (we will return to these concepts in Section 3). However, it does make sense to use the term of objectivity as a guideline of keeping professional distance to stakeholders in the process of journalistic practices. In this sense, objectivity is a short term to sketch the function of journalism as a mediator of public communication, claiming that journalism should try to be fair and act transparently through practices such as selecting topics, investigating and checking information, presenting news by including preferably all groups and stakeholders in society, and also considering issues of power and powerlessness and empowerment, justice and injustice, and changes in society. Objectivity is a signifier that indicates in a short form what this profession in the context of the social institution strives to achieve. Similarly, it is the profession of judges in court to dispense ‘justice’, even though under certain conditions and in some cases this is disputable; likewise, scientists strive for ‘truth’ by applying certain theoretical tools and empirical methods. However, we know that scientific knowledge

can only be the best possible knowledge for the time being, and that even forming research questions and applying methods have underlying historical and subjective conditions. In all these professions, routines and practices are tools of best practice to reach professional goals in specialized social institutions, while both goals and tools have to continuously be questioned and, if necessary, be revised.

Beyond the contestable norm of objectivity, literature refers to values such as 'public accountability' (What do journalists understand to be accountability in a certain context? Who do journalists feel accountable to and how do they promote accountability?), 'limitation of harm" as well as protection of 'human dignity' and 'privacy'. In this context, central problem areas and ethical dilemmas that are discussed refer to questions of corruption/bribery (accepting money from sources of power and authority, paying people/sources for confidential information), blackmail (exerting pressure on unwilling informants to get a story) and deception (undercover journalism, claiming to be somebody else, getting employed in a firm or organisation to gain inside information, using confidential documents without authorization, using hidden microphones or cameras) (Brown and Black 2011, Boeyink and Borden 2010).

The **structural conditions** of journalism are established on three levels: (1) the respective society in general, (2) the media system, (3) the professional field of journalism and (4) the particular media organisation.[2]

Structural conditions at the societal level are shaped by three interdependent systems: the political system, the economic system and the ***media system*** (Hallin and Mancini 2004, Hallin and Mancini 2012, Blum 2014, Shoemaker and Reese 1996, Siebert et al. 1963, Thomass and Kleinsteuber 2011, Thomaß 2013, Bennett 2013). These structural conditions are formed (first and foremost) within the boundaries of the nation-state but are, in times of globalisation, also shaped by international role models, as well as transnational authorities and organisations.

As to the *political system*, whether a given society constitutes a democracy or not, is of course of crucial importance, as this informs media freedom and "power distance" (Hanitzsch 2007: 373–374), i.e. journalism's autonomy and independence from (political) sources of power. In this regard, the level of media freedom and

[2] We will elaborate on theoretical conceptualizations of the structural conditions of journalism more in detail in Neverla et al. 2015.

independence of journalism within the society, is on the one hand, informed by the regulatory conditions such as the constitutional framework with regard to media and journalism, media laws and regulation on information access and control, as well as possibilities of censorship.

Beyond formal media regulations and laws, the actual policies, actions, overt and subtle pressures of government officials, parliament, political parties and other political actors do constitute the level of political independence of journalism within a given society and its ability to either serve as a potential fourth estate or rather play a concordant and propagandist role in favour of the political status quo. Other institutions exercising state power (police, military) and legal authorities (courts/judiciary) are also influential here.

Furthermore, *economic structures and conditions* (both in society in general and with regards to media) shape structural conditions of journalism on the societal level as they decide on the "market orientation" (Hanitzsch 2007: 374–375) of journalism and the primary social focus that guides news production. Here, a market-oriented journalism that subordinates goals to the logic of the market can be opposed to a journalism culture that produces the news primarily in the public interest and addresses the audience in its role as citizenry.

In addition, structural conditions of journalism at the societal level are also informed by journalism's relationship with and independence from various *cultural institutions* and societal actors such as religious leaders, local authorities, NGOs etc.

Structural conditions of journalism are shaped by professional (ethical) institutions at the level of the ***professional field*** such as press councils and other self-regulation bodies, journalism unions and media assistance organisations. Also, professional education and socialisation, i.e. how professional training of journalists is organized, how competitive the profession is etc., do inform the structural conditions of journalism with regard to the professional field.

The ***structural conditions of journalism at the level of the media organization*** are shaped, on the one hand, by ownership structures. Here, daily journalistic work might be influenced by the owners' and managers' profit expectations, as profit-making pressures dictate time limits and availability of resources to cover stories. The separation between ownership and editorial decision-making is essential for the autonomy of journalism: Hence, the owners' and

managers' formal and effective level of influence on the daily work and processes of news-making in the newsroom is relevant here.

Also, organisation of roles and hierarchy within the newsroom's staff, the differentiation of journalistic activities and the subsequent division of labour between different roles, and the established mechanisms of control constitute the structural conditions of journalism at the level of the media organization: How processes of news making and editing (editorial policy) are organized and exercised within one media organisation do influence the journalist's (perceived) freedom in his or her daily work practices, i.e. in selecting news stories, sources and deciding from which angle the story should be told. As Voltmer (2013: 200) points out, a high degree of specialization (around different genres or topic-related specialisms) usually "strengthens the autonomy of individual journalists within an organisation, because it endows them with exclusive knowledge and skills that cannot be easily overridden by non-professional considerations of news decisions". However, divisions of labour also create hierarchies and unequal allocation of professional prestige, where lower-status groups tend to be more vulnerable to interference and the pressures from above than elite journalists. Besides, structural conditions at the level of the media organisation are also shaped by ethical institutions and procedures such as ombudsmen and editorial guidelines or codes of ethics come into play (Shoemaker and Reese 1996, Blöbaum 1994, Blöbaum 2004, Weischenberg 1998).

3. Overview: Current issues in relevant research fields

Below, we will review and critically discuss empirical studies which touch the different constituents of journalism (cultures) that have been defined above: journalistic work practices, role perceptions, ethical orientations and structural conditions. Against the focus of MeCoDEM Work Package 4 (journalism in conflict societies and transitional democracies), and the structures of journalism studies, the following research fields have been identified as being relevant and will therefore be included in this review:

- Comparative journalism studies in different countries with a focus on political journalists
- Empirical research on journalism on "conflict"/in "conflicts"
- Journalism in democratisation processes and transitional countries
- Studies on journalism in the four MeCODEM countries and broader regions in general

While the focus will be on original empirical studies, in order to draw a comprehensive picture of the state of research, we will also refer to literature reviews and publications mentioning empirical facts in an illustrative way as well as to some publications drawing conceptual conclusions from empirical findings of other studies.

3.1. Comparative studies on journalism (cultures) in different countries

As van Dalen et al. (2012: 905) state, a growing body of literature is concerned with the question of how journalistic cultures differ across countries and thus comparing journalism and its work practices, role perceptions, ethical orientations and structural conditions in different countries and world regions. The reason for comparative journalism research seems quite obvious: Only by comparing journalistic cultures in different countries can we see what makes each of these cultures unique on the one hand and similar on the other (van Dalen et al. 2012: 905). Since the MeCoDEM project and Work Package 4 also pursues a comparative approach, comparative studies on journalism (especially political journalism) and its methods and main research findings need to be summarized and critically discussed below.

As to the ***geographical focus of comparative studies*** on journalism, one can state that it has expanded its scope over the last 50 years. In this sense, Hanitzsch (2009: 415) distinguishes between different historical paradigms of research: (1) US-centrism and the juxtaposition of the 'modern' West and the 'traditional' East as a paradigm which dominated in the 50s and 60s, (2) research marked by larger comparative studies including not only the global North but also countries from the South in the 70s and early 80s, (3) a dominance of European scholarship comparing Western countries due to their similarities and comparability between the mid-80s and late 90s and (4) 'the West and the Global' as the most recent paradigm, within which researchers are interested in the universal and the specific in journalistic cultures around the world, though most studies still rely on Western-grown concepts. Nonetheless, still today, due to funding and access constraints, most studies have to limit themselves to comparing two or three, rarely more, countries (Hanitzsch 2009: 416, see also overview edited by Esser and Pfetsch 2004).

In terms of ***methods***, studies generally take two approaches. On the one hand, research addresses the journalistic roles, work practices and ethical

orientations through quantitative surveys and qualitative expert interviews with the actual journalists and media practitioners (we will elaborate on some of these studies further below). On the other hand, we can distinguish a line of research which looks at the actual news content that is produced and draws conclusions on the underlying structures, processes and motivations of journalistic production from this. Studies linking both methods are very rare, as van Dalen et al. (2012: 905) states: "Studies of journalistic cultures generally study *either* role conceptions *or* news content" (italics original). Another potentially fruitful, however rather rarely employed, method to investigate journalistic roles, ethics and especially the observable work practices is (participative) newsroom observations (Esser 1998).

The most comprehensive study in the field, at least in terms of geographical scope, that has been conducted so far is the 'World of Journalism Study' (WJS) which is still running and is coordinated by Thomas Hanitzsch (for publications of this study see among others Hanitzsch et al. 2011, Hanitzsch 2011, Plaisance et al. 2012, Hanitzsch et al. 2012, Hanitzsch et al. 2013, Reich and Hanitzsch 2013). In the first round of the study (running from 2007-2011), a multinational consortium of researchers conducted interviews with 2100 journalists from more than 400 news organizations in 21 countries (here, Egypt was the only MeCoDEM country included). The second round of study (started in 2012 and running until 2015) is based on a quantitative questionnaire survey with journalists from over 80 countries (the network includes all four MeCoDEM countries). Weaver's publications on 'The Global Journalist' (Weaver 1998b) and 'The Global Journalist in the 21st century' (Weaver and Willnat 2012b) are another major reference for comparative journalism research: The book from 1998 incorporates 25 surveys of some 21,000 journalists from 21 countries. The follow-up compiled studies of more than 29,000 journalists from 31 countries, 17 of which are the same as those in the earlier volume. Including countries in Asia, Australia/New Zealand, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East and North America, neither any country of the African continent nor one of the four MeCoDEM countries are represented. Although these studies vary remarkably in terms of methods, and Weavers collection has been criticized as being a "second-hand comparison" (Hanitzsch 2009: 420), it still is a comprehensive portrait of the "news people" around the world and how their media systems and professional values compare. Amongst other important, large-scale, comprehensive studies in the field is, for example, the 'News Around the World' project by Shoemaker and Cohen

(2006), which is based on quantitative analysis and focus groups with journalists and involves ten countries from all continents (Australia, Chile, China, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Russia, South Africa and the US). Among the studies comparing several Western countries one should mention van Dalen et al. (2012, see also Mellado and van Dalen 2013): The study compares role conceptions and their impact on reporting style of political journalists in Denmark, Germany, United Kingdom and Spain. Methodologically, a survey with journalists and a content analysis of the actual news content are combined. Another comprehensive study on Western countries is the 'Media and Democracy Project' conducted by Patterson/Donsbach (Patterson and Donsbach 1996, Donsbach and Patterson 2004, see also Donsbach 2010): This study is based on a mail survey with over 1300 journalists in Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Sweden and the US.

What can be summarized as the ***overall findings of comparative journalism studies***? On the one hand, research suggests some major *similarities* in journalistic orientations, professional routines and practices, editorial procedures, and socialization processes in different countries around the world (Hanitzsch 2007: 367). In this context, WJS finds that ideals of objectivity, accuracy, impartiality, fairness and truth to be at the core of a shared normative understanding of professional ethics among journalists from around the world. Hanitzsch et al. (2013: 44) conclude: "Even though these norms may often be difficult to achieve in practice, they are important elements of a global imaginary of good journalism." These norms are thriving in journalistic textbooks, they are taught at journalism schools, and constitute key elements in professional codes of conduct.[3] These norms are therefore credited to belong to the 'occupational ideology' (Deuze 2005) of journalism, and as "professional narratives about the past they populate the collectively shared memory of journalists" (Hanitzsch et al. 2013: 44). As to *professional roles and work practices*, Weaver (Weaver 1998a, Weaver and Willnat 2012a) detects a remarkable consensus among journalists regarding the importance of reporting the news quickly, reporting objectively and accurately, and providing analysis of events and issues. As to *news decisions and selection criteria*, Shoemaker and Cohen (2006: 86–90), based on their focus groups, find notable agreement among journalists on what kinds of events, ideas and people should constitute news. They conclude that "ideas about

[3] See also Himelboim and Limor's as well as Hafez' analyses of codes of ethics around the world which found broad intercultural consensus regarding the importance of truth, objectivity and neutrality in the texts, Himelboim and Limor 2010, Hafez 2002.

newsworthiness may be pervasive throughout humankind" (Shoemaker and Cohen 2006: 90), hinting at a certain "globalisation" of certain journalistic core values.

At the same time, research has also shown substantial (cross-national) *differences* of professional views and practices of journalists (Hanitzsch 2009: 413). Based on their study findings, van Dalen et al. (2012) state that *role conceptions* vary more across countries than within countries. In their country sample, it is the Spanish political journalists who see their role as more sacerdotal and partisan than their colleagues in northern Europe, while British journalists are most entertainment-oriented. These differences in role conceptions are reflected in the reporting style of political news. In line with this, Patterson and Donsbach qualify German journalists to be most partisan in their sample, whereas British and American journalists seem to be the least partisan (Patterson and Donsbach 1996, Donsbach and Patterson 2004). In this context, different perceptions of the objectivity norm can be observed, with the US and GB preferring a more retained notion of objectivity. Thus, Patterson and Donsbach detect partially different professional cultures of Anglo-Saxon journalists on the one side, and the continental European journalists on the other.

Weaver (1998, 2012) finds considerable national differences in the *journalists´ ethics* of reporting: Journalists sharply disagree on whether some ethically questionable reporting practices might be justified in the case of an important story. In this sense, they differ in the extent to which they would pay for information, pretend to be someone else, badger or harass news sources, use documents without permission, as well as get employed to gain inside information. The only practice that seems almost universally agreed upon is not revealing news sources who have been promised confidentiality (Weaver and Willnat 2012a: 545). In the light of these findings, Weaver and Willnat state that strong national differences "override any universal professional norms or values of journalism around the world" (Weaver and Willnat 2012a: 540). Comparing results from the two compilations, Weaver is unable to conclude whether journalists around the world are becoming more similar or different in their views about professional roles and ethics over time. "What seems certain, though, is that a culture of global journalism has not yet emerged" (Weaver and Willnat 2012a: 545).

In line with this, the WJS study also detects substantial cross-national differences with regards to professional ethics. Referring to Forsyth's taxonomy (Forsyth 1980), Hanitzsch et al. (2013: 38-45) map four general types of ethical

ideologies characterized by high and low degrees of expressed idealism and relativism: The 'absolutist' type of journalist is characterized by a high degree of idealism and a low score of relativism, assuming that the best possible outcome can always be achieved by following universal moral rules, and dominates in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, US and Brazil. 'Situationists' who reject moral rules and advocate individualistic analysis of each act in each situation (thus showing a high degree of both relativism and idealism) can be found among journalists mainly in Bulgaria, China, Mexico, Russia and Spain. 'Subjectivists' who take the absence of external moral standards as reason for their conviction that what is right can only be determined by one's own personal perspective prevail among journalists in Indonesia and (which is especially important for MeCoDEM) Egypt. The 'Exceptionist' type, dominant in Turkey, follows a pragmatic approach, believing that universal moral rules are important, yet applying such rules by taking into account mitigating contexts and circumstances and thus being open to exceptions to these standards (low level of both relativism and idealism). In conclusion, the WJS study states that, while most journalists in the surveyed countries tend to obey universal principles regardless of situation and context, journalists in Western contexts exhibit a stronger tendency to disapprove contextual and situational ethics.

Hanitzsch et al. (2013) track these differences back to the fact that, while journalists in most Western countries operate in politically and legally stable contexts, these contexts tend to not exist in developing and transitional countries. Hence, journalists here are forced to invest more deliberation when facing ethical dilemmas and therefore are more likely to opt for either a situational or a subjective approach. Thus, "while 'ethical knowledge' might not necessarily be local, significant national and cultural factors enforce important distinctions that in turn govern how journalists respond to ethical issues" (Hanitzsch et al. 2013: 44). Berkowitz et al. (2004) explored how the social dimensions of a reporter's world shape ethical decisions through parallel surveys of daily newspaper reporters in Israel and the US. Through regression analysis, they found that the social context element (country of practice) was relevant for two of three ethical situations whereas personal factors (gender, years of education) and professional factors (professional experience, professional membership) were not particularly important for ethical decisions. They conclude that "the social or national context of news-making may be most important in shaping journalistic decisions" (Berkowitz et al. 2004:176).

Accordingly, van Dalen et al. (2012) link the distinct role of conceptions of Spanish and British journalists to the characteristics of the media systems they work in. To this end, the sacerdotal journalistic culture in Spain goes back to the democratic transition period where journalists felt it was their task to support the new democratic regime and to teach the population fundamental democratic norms. The partisan role conceptions are explained by the partisan cleavage in Spanish society, which is reflected in the need for journalists to compete over partisan audiences. In addition, pressure from owners who want to use the media to have an impact on the political process does also apply. Meanwhile, the commercial and competitive nature of the liberal media system is reflected in the entertainment orientation of British journalists.

To sum up, existing comparative journalism research suggests that "news production is contingent on the cultural, political and historical contexts that shape the journalist's work" and that "professional views and practices of journalists are deeply colored by national media systems" (Hanitzsch 2009: 413): The national political and economic systems, country-based ideological factors such as degree of media freedom, democratic institutionalization and private ownership as well as the historical development of professional cultures appear to have significant impact on journalist's ethical ideologies, role perceptions and work practices (Hanitzsch et al. 2013, Plaisance et al. 2012, see also Wasserman and de Beer 2009: 432). These findings also correspond to comparative, structural analyses on the constituents of media systems as they have been provided first and foremost by Hallin/Manchini (Hallin and Mancini 2004, Hallin and Mancini 2012), but also by other scholars (Blum 2014, Thomaß 2013, Thomass and Kleinsteuber 2011, Dobek-Ostrowska 2010).[4]

3.2. Empirical research on Journalism on/in "conflicts"

In general, since dissent on certain issues and between different actors is inherent to every society and journalism observes society (see Section 2), one can say that journalism is always about conflict. However, this also depends on what is exactly defined as being a conflict.

Given the focus of research in Work Package 4, certain conflict types and the role journalism and journalists play within them seem to be of relevance here: First

[4] Since the structural conditions of journalism will be the focus of Neverla et al. 2015, with Hallin/Manchini and other publications focusing on systemic factors of journalism and media being a major reference here, we do not elaborate further on this at this point.

and foremost, these would of course be studies on journalism and its role in democratisation conflicts. However, because this perspective still needs to be developed, research on the role of media and journalism in the *following conflict types* seem to be most closely related and therefore relevant to MeCoDEM research (see Vladisavljevic 2015: 5-6, Cottle 2006): journalism in times of war/war journalism, role of journalism with regards to (transnational) terrorism, during conflict resolution and peace-building, role of media and journalism in non-violent conflicts such as popular protest, demonstrations and social movements (see Cottle 2006, Seib 2005).

As to all these research fields, studies on media content and its perception, particularly in relation to political action seem to prevail against studies on journalistic production (see Vladisavljevic 2015 for an overview on studies focusing on the content).[5]

Among the relevant conflict types research literature focused on **media and journalism in times of war** (be it international conflicts, inter-state-wars or civil wars) tends to be the most voluminous (Cottle 2006: 98). There are various studies and conceptual reflections on media coverage on war (see, for example, contributions in edited books by Seethaler 2013, Allan and Zelizer 2004, and Seib 2005, Carruthers 2011, detailed research overview in MeCoDEM deliverable 3.2).

Moreover, research focusses on media effects with regards to violent conflict and war (Robinson 2002, Gilboa 2005). And there are also different studies focusing on historically changing relations between state, military and journalism in times of war and the journalistic actors covering war stories. However, these studies focus mainly on war correspondents, i.e. journalists mainly from Western countries covering war and conflict in foreign (mainly non-Western) countries (Bennett et al. 2007, Tumber 2013, Tumber and Webster 2006, Morrison and Tumber 1988, Murphy and Kennard 2005, Knightley 2004). In this context, some studies have also been published on '*embedded journalism*' as a new form of journalism invented in the post 9/11-wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Fahmy and Johnson 2005, Tumber and Palmer 2004, Dietrich 2007, see also Oberg 2005, Aday et al. 2005).

What can be summarized as being the *most relevant findings*? In general, studies suggest that journalism in times of war seems to be "probably the most

[5] Literature on crises journalism tends to be a research field which is somehow linked to 'conflict journalism'. However, these studies focus more on natural disasters and environmental catastrophes in a global context (e.g. Cottle 2009). Therefore, we do not include this research in the paper.

pressurized and fraught journalistic arena of all" (Cottle 2006: 10). Mediatized war seems to be a "battlefield in its own right, and one where journalists are expected by governments, military and publics to persue [sic!] conflicting goals and demonstrate contradictory allegiances" (Cottle 2006: 99). In this regard, research describes war correspondents as a specific cultural milieu or "professional sub-culture" (Cottle 2006: 190), which is informed by specific professional practices and identities. Journalistic production seems to be confronted with crude censorship, manipulation of messages and propaganda imposed by state governments and the military, structural determinations of the marketplace and commercial imperatives of mainstream media (Cottle 2006: 189, Knightley 2004): In a situation where journalists' lives depend on the military and there is an existential need to work together, professionalism risks being "swamped by the very real, human need to belong, to be safe" (Morrison and Tumber 1988: 99). Due to this setting of high dependence on official sources and protection, research findings provide considerable empirical support for the 'manufacturing consent paradigm'. Here, media rarely contribute to an arena of democratic engagement and public deliberation but to a distorted realm of communication in which propaganda and dominant views and values are disseminated largely unopposed. Thus, an uncritical, openly patriotic coverage of these conflicts is provided (Bennett et al. 2007, Knightley 2004, Cottle 2006).

This critique has especially been raised in response to embedded journalism, which describes the practice of placing journalists within and under the control of military during an armed conflict (Löffelholz 2014): On the one hand, some scholars argued that reporters directly involved in military action and simultaneously protected by military troops would have the chance to provide a more insightful account of events. Others, though, viewed embedding more negatively, raising concerns in particular about bias in reporting, censorship and self-censorship resulting from the proximity of journalists and soldiers, and military propaganda by absorbing reporters into the culture of the military (Löffelholz 2014). In this regard, Oberg (2005: 185) points to the paradox arising from the fact that democracies fight wars to promote democracy but end up undermining democracy and the very idea of independent media (both at home and in the country of war).

Fahmy and Johnson (2005) conducted a survey with 159 embedded journalists (embeds) of Iraq War, asking the participants about their *perceptions of their performance during the war.* In summary, the survey suggests an overall

positive perception of embedded reporting by the journalists. Only a limited number of respondents viewed embedded reporting as biased and sensational. The majority claimed their reporting was accurate, trustworthy, and fair, and did not jeopardize the safety of the troops. While most embeds agreed their reports provided a narrow perspective of the conflict, they still had a positive view of their work. Further, embeds' attitudes towards the war, age, professional experience, and online reporting were correlated with perceived performance: Respondents who reported that their attitudes toward the war had little influence on their coverage were more likely to have positive perceptions of embedded reporting than those who reported their attitudes were influential. Older and more experienced respondents are more likely to have positive perceptions of embedded reporting than younger respondents with fewer years of professional experience. Embeds who reported the war online were more likely to have positive perceptions of embedded reporting than respondents who reported through a different medium. One explanation could be that online reporters had more access to sources of information and thus were able to report events in context, leading to an overall positive perception (Fahmy and Johnson 2005). In summary, results suggest that reporters believe individual level factors such as individual attitudes and professional values or norms had a more important impact on embedded reports than extra-media factors, such as military terminology and media boot camps organized by the Pentagon before the journalists' stay in Iraq (Fahmy and Johnson 2005: 312). With regard to these findings, one of course has to keep in mind that the study analyses the journalists' perception of their work, not their actual performance.

A research field closely linked to that of war journalism, are studies on the role of journalism and media with regards to (transnational) **terrorism** as a new form of asymmetric conflict and warfare (Cottle 2006: 165). Literature here points to the complex and ambivalent connection between terror and media. On the one hand, media are a powerful and perhaps indispensable conduit for communicating terror in the modern era. Media professionals (also working for mainstream Western media) therefore face the risk of being instrumentalised by terrorists (Nossek et al. 2007). On the other hand, research emphasizes that within the global war on terror since 9/11 media functioned as "mouthpieces or screens for propaganda war" and a vehicle of the state's public diplomacy, and that journalism post 9/11 "clearly reproduced agendas and representations that support (Western) state interests and policies"

(Cottle 2006: 191). Against this background, Cottle (2006) stresses the media's potentially constructive role in the democratisation of violence and fight against the restriction of civil rights and a culture of fear: "Here the communicative forms of the media can play an important part in the public elaboration of the contexts, causes and consequences of acts of terror (…) as well as the actions and reactions that may follow" (Cottle 2006: 165).

It is also in the light of the ambivalent role of journalism in times of war and terrorism, that some **alternative concepts of journalism** have been developed, all of which position themselves in opposition to established, mainstream forms and practices of journalism (Harcup 2013). All these 'corrective' concepts share the concern to move beyond traditional, Western news values, routinized journalistic practices and event orientation towards the violent, disruptive and negative, privileged elite access, source dependencies and institutionalized ideas of professionalism (Cottle 2006: 117). They therefore seek to augment the views and voices, perspectives and problems, discourses and debates that are represented in the news. The concept of *peace journalism* was worked out within the emergent disciplines of Conflict Analysis and Peace Studies, which was pioneered by Johan Galtung and investigates the communicative possibilities for enhancing understanding and facilitating reconciliation between former opponents and enemies (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005, Lynch and Galtung 2010, see also Cottle 2006). 'Peace journalism' is defined as being peace/conflict-oriented (making conflicts transparent, giving voice to all parties, humanization of all sides, proactive), truth-oriented (expose untruths on all sides), people-oriented, and solution-oriented. By contrast, 'war journalism' is being characterized as war/violence-oriented (focusing on conflict arena and two conflicting parties, bipolar framing, 'us-them-journalism', dehumanization of 'them', reactive), propaganda-oriented (expose 'their' untruths and help 'our' cover-ups/lies trough self-censorship), elite- and victory-oriented (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005: 271, Lynch and Galtung 2010). Beyond the academic concept, in various countries and at the international level, advocacy groups and networks have arisen, linking activists, educators and trainers, and reform-minded media professionals. Drawing on the insights of the academic concept, this reform movement promotes the ideas of peace journalism and an "ethic of responsibility to take into account the foreseeable consequences of one's behaviour, and adjust it accordingly" (Hackett 2007: 49).

The concept of *development journalism* is one of the most influential and also most controversial global South alternative models of journalism. It states that journalism should play a constructive role in facilitating societal development and stresses possibilities of grassroots community involvement in media (Xiaoge 2009, Cottle 2006: 118, Voltmer 2013: 202). Literature on the concept of *public journalism* demands to reconceptualise journalism not as the expert transmitter of information but as an advocate for public conversation and societal deliberation, working towards engaging citizens and creating public debate (Rosen 2001, Harcup 2013, Cottle 2006: 118). All these concepts contribute to deepening the understanding of the nature of contemporary journalism as well as some of its shortcomings and therefore help to "both understand and deepen knowledge on the contribution of media and journalism to democratization processes within and across civil societies" (Cottle 2006: 118). Nevertheless, since all of them tend to be informed, at least implicitly, by normative ideas, values and ideals, they need critical scrutiny and empirical testing.

However, as Hackett (2007) states, only a few scholars have started to counteract the bias in the literature towards media and war by empirically exploring the substantive roles of news media in **ongoing peace-building processes** (Wolfsfeld 2004, Price et al. 2010, Schoemaker and Stremlau 2014, see also Gilboa 2009a, Gilboa 2009b). Building on a case study on the Oslo peace process between Israel and Palestine, the peace process between Israel and Jordan, and the peace process surrounding the Good Friday agreement in Northern Ireland, Wolfsfeld (2004) argues that there is a fundamental contradiction between news values and the nature of a peace process. This would often lead the media to play a destructive role in peace-building processes. However, the political and media environment significantly affect how the media behave, facilitate and enhance, or sensationalize and undermine peace negotiations at different stages.

The role of media and journalism in **non-violent conflicts** (e.g. institutional conflicts, demonstrations, popular protest and social movements) has been researched mainly with regard to Western democracies. As Cottle (2006) summarizes, early studies here documented how the media's definitions of the situations served hegemonic interests in line with the manufacturing consent paradigm and its general expectation that views and voices of the establishment define and frame such events in the media. Mainstream news media reported protests and demonstrations through a "law and (dis)order frame" (Cottle 2008: 855)

and were supportive of the existing political order while the claims and aims of demonstrators and protestors were often denigrated or delegitimized (Halloran et al. 1970, Gitlin 1980/2003). Explanations of the mechanisms at work for this ideological reproduction of consensus were found to be grounded in the market imperatives of news organizations, professional journalist practices and dependency on powerful sources, the operation of news values and the event orientation of news. Although these mechanisms in parts also seem to apply today, recent studies observe more "discursive contest" (Cottle 2006: 52) and sympathetic media portrayal of protests and demonstrations. This shift is explained by a changing culture and "repertoires of protest" (Cottle 2006: 188) and "historically changing fields of mediatized contention" (Cottle 2006: 52) which are also traced back to a complex media ecology and network of communication flows in the internet age, reaching "from the local to the global" (Cottle 2008: 862).

In summary, the state of research on media and journalism in conflicts, be it with regards to war, terrorism, peace-building processes and non-violent conflicts such as popular protest, manifests the need for more specific case studies focusing on journalistic actors. These would specify journalistic practices and ethics in conflict situations and the conditions under which news media could play a constructive role in societal conflict communication, conflict resolution, peace building and democratisation.

3.3. Journalism in democratisation processes and transitional countries

Another relevant field of research for MeCoDEM Work Package 4 obviously includes studies on the role of journalism in democratisation processes. Unlike earlier instances of democratisation, the current global wave of democratisation takes place in a media-saturated environment, and therefore literature has begun to recognize media as a potentially influential actor in democratisation processes (Jebril et al. 2013). However, as Jebril et al. (2013) point out:

> A state of the discipline for the study of mass media and democratisation is difficult to construct. It presupposes that there is a corpus of interrelated works, despite the existence of various theoretical and analytical approaches. We have discovered that there is little of this coherence (Jebril et al. 2013: 33).

Indeed, despite some indicative and comprehensive publications in the last years (Voltmer 2006a, Voltmer 2006b, Voltmer 2006c, Voltmer and Schmitt-Beck 2006, Voltmer 2013, Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009, Jebril et al. 2013) notably empirical research in the field seems to be still *at the beginning.*

Overall, studies which have addressed the relationship between the media and politics in democratisation contexts usually have ***two major concerns***: (1) democratisation through the media and (2) democratisation of the media itself (Jebril et al. 2013). Against this background, although limited in scope and empirical scrutiny, research tends to focus more on democratising structural conditions and media systems (e.g. Price et al. 2002, see also Thomass and Kleinsteuber 2011) and influence of media coverage on democratic orientations of citizens (see, for example Schmitt-Beck and Voltmer 2006). In contrast, there are hardly any studies focusing and providing empirical data on how journalism as a social field adapts to the new environment and how journalistic actors and their roles, practices and ethical orientations change during democratisation processes. This applies both to comprehensive studies with a broad comparative focus and studies focusing on specific world regions and transition countries: In this context Jebril et al. (2013: 8) observes a "scarcity of empirical research on the relationship between media and democratisation in (…) transition countries in general (…) – with only a little change over the years" (Jebril et al. 2013: 8).

So, what can be summarized from the ***state of research*** on the role of media and journalism in democratisation processes? Which findings (although not focusing directly on journalistic practices and ethics) are important for the MeCoDEM Work Package 4 and its empirical analyses?

First of all, it is important to keep in mind, that the role of media in democratisation can be best approached along the *stages of political transformation* (Jebril et al. 2013: 7, see also Hafez 2005). This applies particularly to studies analysing journalistic practices and ethics in countries facing different phases of democratisation. In the pre-transition period, media may play a witnessing role, as well as a legitimizing role for the changes taking place before the regime loses its hold on power. While in some cases they can also function as a trigger for democratisation, the actual "capacity of domestic media to contribute to either institutional or additional change is constrained by the fact that they are predominantly or completely controlled by the state and used as an instrument for

government propaganda" (Jebril et al. 2013: 30), legitimizing the ruling powers. During the transition period, media (i.e. journalistic actors and media professionals) may set the agenda for political debate, offer alternative interpretations, create support for emerging political parties and hence, play a very influential role. In the consolidation phase, media are expected to "sustain democratic discourse and guard against backsliding, whether institutional decay or individual corruption" (Jebril et al. 2013: 30). Based on her global exploration of the interplay of political and media transitions in different pathways of democratisation that have taken place in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Africa and Asia, Voltmer (Voltmer 2013, Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009) states that media have been both a beneficial and an obstructive force in transitions from authoritarian to democratic rule. Since *structural conditions* have been defined as major constituent of journalism in Section 2, it is not surprising that research names the organizational structures of the media system as well as historical roots of the political and media system and the wider cultural traditions of a given country, as important factors of influence here.

Hence, in legislative terms, the guarantee of communication freedoms has been implemented constitutionally in virtually all transition countries, and the ascribed media tasks reflect the accountability role strongly rooted in the liberal Anglo-American tradition of journalism (Jebril et al. 2013: 7). However, as a challenge to this legislative democratisation, in reality, emerging democracies are thought to develop unique types of media systems that differ significantly from those in established democracies.

In fact, as Voltmer and Rawnsley (2009: 236, see also Voltmer 2013, Voltmer 2012) stress, media organisations are not created from scratch after the breakdown of the old regime. Instead, existing ones are transformed and reshaped, but still carry elements of the logic and constraints of their predecessors. Likewise, professional journalism does not start with democratic regime change. Rather, journalists in emerging democracies build on their experience, the professional identities, values and standards they have developed under the old regime (Voltmer 2013: 201). Thus, these "legacies of the past" (Voltmer 2013: 115) or "forces of inertia merge with new values and practices adopted in the course of transition often leading to hybrid forms of journalism and political communication" (Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009: 236, Voltmer 2012). Hence, transforming the media into fully democratic institutions is a challenging task mainly because (1) the relationship between government and the

media stays highly ambivalent, (2) reformed media institutions will still retain elements of the logic and constraints of their predecessors, and (3) journalists in the newly transformed media organisations will still hold on to professional values internalized under the old regime (Jebril et al. 2013: 6). While "the process of liberalisation of media from state and party control has been seen as the basic precondition for the media to become a proper forum for pluralistic public debate and to facilitate greater transparency and accountability in governance through quality news reporting" (Jebril et al. 2013: 14), in reality, media outlets are often owned by political figures in transition countries. This political ownership tends to result in a fusion of economic and political power structures, where organizational structures and professional journalistic practices stay contested and political interference on media and journalism takes place also in market conditions (Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009, Voltmer 2013).

In addition, the privatisation of media markets along with the poor general economic situation in many emerging democracies, may also lead to low salaries, freelance work and insufficient professional training in the journalistic field. These precarious work conditions bear the risk of impeding on the work ethics of journalists and the quality of the information they provide – all the more so because they enhance corruption and "paid journalism", a phenomenon which is said to be particularly endemic in the developing and democratising world (yet largely overlooked in empirical journalism research to date, see Voltmer 2013: 207–216). Additionally, "the processes of commercialisation and tabloidisation of content which quickly follow the growth of media markets in the newly democratising countries have been viewed as obscuring and – at least partly – inhibiting the democratic roles the free media were entrusted by normative media theory" (Jebril et al. 2013: 14).

As a consequence of these market conditions and political interference on journalistic performance, political reporting throughout the recently democratised countries is described by research as being *highly opinionated and politicized*– neutral or balanced news coverage seems to be an exception (Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009: 244). Many observers regard journalism in new democracies as deficient because their normative expectations for the democratic performance of the media, largely derived from the characteristics of Western liberal democracies, have often not been fulfilled in transition countries (Jebril et al. 2013: 14). Voltmer and Rawnsley (2009) point out that this negative evaluation of opinionated and politicized

reporting might be problematic because of its normative, Western bias: It presumes a "universality of journalistic standards which is neither supported by historical development nor by normative media theories" (Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009: 244). Indeed, while they have different implications for political life depending on political and cultural context, both internal and external diversity of media is considered a legitimate way of representing relevant viewpoints in the public sphere. As Voltmer and Rawnsley state, external diversity might be of beneficial influence in transitional contexts of high electoral volatility and weak party alignment, but it might be dangerous where no mechanisms have been found to moderate conflicts between antagonistic groups (often the case where ethnic or religious differences are salient markers for the definition of group membership and political interests). This might be risky especially in highly commercialised market conditions, where media partisanship often results in a journalistic culture of scandal, and the hunt for sensational headlines tends to becomes more important than the scrupulous investigation of facts (Voltmer and Rawnsley 2009: 244).

What one may conclude based on these observations is that "the demise of the old regime and, with it, old models of journalism does not necessarily bring about a higher degree of professionalism" (Voltmer 2013: 201). While, on the one hand, journalists in emerging democracies receive the opportunity to reinvent themselves as a profession independent from the prescriptions of political authorities, the uncertainties and ambiguities of transition and radical market reforms may on the other hand enhance the decay of journalistic standards and a loss of professional identity.

Another relevant field of findings for MeCoDEM Work Package 4 are those dealing with the role of *social media in democratisation processes*: In this regard, Jebril et al. (2013: 31) summarizes that scholars tend to adopt a dichotomous perspective here; either emphasizing the 'revolutionary' role of social media in empowering people living in non-democratic societies or minimizing its role. A third approach, moving beyond the enthusiastic and sceptical outlooks regarding the role of social media, is referred to as contextualism: This approach tends to use comparative research to emphasize the impact that political, social, and economic variations have on the role of the social media in collective action (Wolfsfeld et al. 2013). Here, social media are not likely to be interpreted as the 'main cause' of such

complex processes, nor can they be seen as completely uninfluential (Comunello and Anzera 2012: 453, see also Voltmer 2013).

The following section explores **media and democracy scholarship in three regions of the world**, where **MeCoDEM's countries of research are located**; The Arab world (with emphasis on Egypt), sub-Saharan Africa (with emphasis on Kenya and South Africa) and (South-)Eastern Europe (with emphasis on Serbia). Thus, we try to draw an overall picture of the regional and societal context of the four MeCoDEM-countries under investigation. After this regional-focused report, in the following section we will elaborate further on journalism in the four countries. Once again, we would like to stress that this is a literature review on the state of research, and not a report on the findings of MeCoDEM's own empirical studies.

Research into media and democratisation processes and conflicts in the ***Arab world*** has focused primarily on the role of social media. This is not surprising, considering that the advent of the Arab Spring was largely coordinated and broadcast to the world through social media channels such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook, earning these mass protests the label of "Twitter Revolutions" or "Facebook Revolutions" (Cottle 2011). Beyond this, social media has also woven an important relationship with mainstream Arab media and has influenced their coverage of the uprising (Jebril 2013). Robertson's (2013) empirical research into interconnectivity between 'new' and 'old' media found that despite the momentous role which social media played in communicating the Arab Spring, international broadcasters, or 'old' media, do not utilize new media as much as it is often perceived, and this varies from channel to channel (Robertson 2013). He stresses that social media promotes a particular type of conversation, but this exchanging of views and opinions cannot form the only part of the democratisation process, and understanding "media connectivity" among the various actors is necessary (Robertson 2013: 339-340).

What is interesting to observe also, is the rise in entertainment media in the Arab world and what it offers for understanding democratic development. Transnational reality television – where participants from different countries in the region compete and are voted for by the public – has mimicked democracy, otherwise non-existent in the political domain. A TV show which displays ethnic and political tensions among the diverse contestants, but allows a democratic interaction and performance, is seen as "a harbinger of 'modern' political values and behaviors such as voting and public debate" (Kraidy 1996). Kraidy (1996) explains:

> The implications of transnational Arab reality television for political participation and democratization rest to a large extent in the way that reality television and the controversies surrounding it draw out into the public sphere competing arguments about politics, economics, culture, religion and the myriad interconnections among the four. In that respect, reality television activates processes of public contention at the regional, pan-Arab level that nonetheless take distinct shapes in the various national spheres in which they unfold (Kraidy 1996: 191).

Transnational media has likewise claimed a stake in the region, dominated by the likes of well-known media outlet, Al-Jazeera, whose programming format resembles that of the West but focuses on regional content (Kraidy 1996: 183). Its mandate was to "shake up the media landscape" by featuring diverse voices and exercising journalism concerned with bringing about "political and social change" (Pintak 2010: 330). Al-Jazeera's popularity has attracted and dominated research, particularly concerning the link between pan-regional television and "the shifting of public attitudes towards the democracy agenda in the region" (Jebril 2013: 27), while at the same time, forcing national media outlets to "diversify their programming" due to increased market competition (Jebril 2013: 26). Transnational media have been considered to contribute to media's ability to serve democracy by reaching a diverse audience and giving them a platform to communicate to the broader public and decision-makers. However, an increase in the quantity of information was still confronted with ongoing limitations on journalists to engage in accurate and objective reporting (Jebril 2013: 27). Likewise, a criticism of pan-Arab media is their overemphasis on regional issues, neglecting local issues (Pintak 2010). In terms of structural conditions of journalism, the challenge of political ownership has been mentioned, as for example, Al Jazeera is owned by the government of Qatar (Kirkpatrick 2015).

The introduction of Al-Jazeera exposed local journalists to a "new way of practicing their profession" and was especially evident among independent, local newspapers (Pintak 2010: 330). That said, in their coverage of various conflicts, pan-Arabic media were able to broadcast images of violence, while local media continue to be restricted by government warnings to tone down their portrayal of violence protests (Pintak 2010). Local media have limited gatekeeping powers to act as agenda-setters and watchdogs, and journalists who expose corruption are often punished under criminal libel laws and sent to jail (Pintak 2010). A 2008 study by

Pintak and Ginges, involving surveys of 601 Arab journalists across 14 countries in the region, found that 75 percent of journalists felt their primary role was to "encourage political reform", followed by "educate the public, use news for the social good, serve as a voice for the poor, encourage civil engagement, drive regional and national development and analyse issues" (Pintak 2010: 343). Ninety-six percent expressed that "Arab society must be reformed" but that the change would be slow and gradual (Pintak 2010: 343). The media will continue to play an important role in the democratisation of various countries throughout the Arab region, and Pintak (2010) suggests this process will be strengthened through the development of alternative and online media, continued and sustained journalism training (and not only by Western-based institutions and journalists but also those from Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America and Africa), media education and development of practical journalism courses which increase exposure of journalism students to newsroom experiences, and lastly, teaching the public media literacy skills, that is, how to read the media critically (Pintak 2010).

Similar processes may be of relevance to many of ***sub-Saharan Africa's*** media landscapes and societies on their way to establishing themselves as democratic societies. There have been two particular points in sub-Saharan Africa's history where opportunities were presented for media to make inroads on the democratisation front: post-colonial independence, and the post-cold war democracy movement (Ogundimu 2002). During these different periods, the media had varied functions and roles. The authoritarian rule of the colonial era saw the media used to spread colonial ideology. During the post-independence period, in the midst of political instability, the media in many countries was propagandist and took to fulfilling the role of social and national development according to government goals, while suffering under oppressive laws (Blankson 1996, Hayden and Leslie 2002). Most recently, since the 1990s, the process of democratisation and opening of free markets led to the liberalization and pluralization of media which in many countries resulted in a multiplication of print and broadcast media, especially radio stations which to this day serve a very special democratic role of reaching diverse and often geographically and linguistically isolated populations (Blankson 1996).

Three media transformation models have featured in (sub-Saharan) Africa's democratic transition: Firstly, a Western-inspired "free-market model", secondly a "public service, civil society-oriented model" supported by non-governmental

organizations based in Africa, and lastly, a model which combines both the private and public approaches – privatisation and corporatisation of media, with a continued commitment to public interest and presence of a national public broadcaster – a model that is "neither state- nor market-heavy" and prevails in South Africa (Aginam 2005: 131). Since the 1990s, African media and journalists have continued to redefine themselves so as to better contribute to the building of democracy and strengthening of civil society: "The media in various African countries have demonstrated that they are willing to defy the wrath of their governments to bring information to the public that will enable them to assess their political leaders accurately and to hold them accountable" (Tettey 2010: 279). By adopting a professional "watchdog" role journalists have claimed to disrupt the "culture of silence" created by previous political systems – by ensuring governments remain committed to the democratic process, holding politicians accountable, fighting for equality across society, ensuring fair elections, and educating the public about their rights (Blankson 1996: 20).

At the same time, the media's ability to partake in the development of democratic governance is contingent on the willingness of states to abide by democratic principles and allow the media to engage with them (Tettey 2010). In some cases, this relationship remains guarded or outright absent, creating an environment in which the media struggles to develop and uphold a strong sense of professionalism, therefore using the press to hate-monger, carry out personal vendettas and achieve financial gain, which inevitably undermines public trust in the media as promoters of democracy (Blankson 1996). Ogundimu (2002) stresses that, in developed democracies, media is perceived to play "adversarial, watchdog and agenda setting roles", however conditions in sub-Saharan Africa may not allow for media to act out these roles without putting themselves at risk of harassment, confronting secrecy or being perceived as arrogant (Ogundimu 2002). A major challenge continuing to plague media are criminal libel and sedition laws which some governments rely on to keep control over media – although, many countries are in fact repealing such laws, and setting up independent media regulatory bodies (such as is the case in South Africa), in an effort to allow media to become productive actors in the democratisation process (Blankson 1996). Despite the aforementioned risks, African journalists have likewise begun to recognize the need to devote more coverage to human rights issues and often taboo topics which affect people

(homosexuality, gender-based violence, HIV/Aids) and going beyond simply reporting the facts, but rather contextualizing and investigating the implications of those facts, and in that way bringing them into public and state focus where they could lead to institutional reform (Tettey 2010).

Frequent outbreaks of violence and conflict also make parts of Africa physically and psychologically dangerous for journalists in which to work. Sub-Saharan Africa's political, ethnic and religious diversity, against the background of colonial history, creates an increased risk of tension and potential for violence, which the media should inform the public about, but also play a role in curbing by including diverse voices and practicing "responsible journalism" (as was performed by some media during the post-election conflicts in Kenya in 2007/08) (Tettey 2010: 283). Aside from the threat of physical violence, African journalists who report on conflict often struggle to remain 'objective', which is challenged by their "emotional proximity" to the issues fuelling the violence, as well as the interference of their personal beliefs (Tettey 2010: 295). What sets Kenya apart and makes it interesting to study are indeed these election clashes and the way in which Kenyan journalists engaged with its coverage. Here, Nymanjoh (2005) emphasises the need for research to consider the impact of ethnic belonging and partisan press of democratisation processes in sub-Saharan Africa.

Much of research into media and democratisation in Africa has been rooted in political economy and democratisation theory, while the contribution of journalism and popular culture to democracy building has been largely neglected (Wasserman 2011, Hydén 2002). Wasserman (2011) stresses it is important to "conceptualize definitions of democracy within the African context" and understand how the media relate specifically to these particular discourses (Wasserman 2011: 4). As an example Wasserman explains that, while tabloid journalism has generally been perceived as sensationalist and divorcing citizens of political engagement, in Africa tabloid newspapers have in fact served the poor and marginalized by giving them a voice, and in that sense, could also be understood as being "part of a political discourse in African countries where access to the mainstream media or participation in political debate remains the preserve of the elite" (Wasserman 2011: 2-3). Tettey (2010) echoes this view in saying that "much of the mediated public sphere in Africa is captured by elite discourses, raising concerns about whose interests are served by the spaces opened up by processes of democratization" (Tettey 2010: 281).

According to Hydén (2002) the growth of private media has contributed to democratisation in two ways; firstly by holding governments accountable and secondly by facilitating a discursive public sphere. In contrast to such idealised role perceptions, one critique has been that the privatization of media in Africa was used as an entry point for the economy and the public to become part of the globalized market and as a consequence "the press in Africa has often served international commerce better than it has served national development" (Heath 1997: 30). This has particularly been the case in Kenya (which will be elaborated on in the next section of the paper), where commercial imperatives tend to drive editorial decisions (Eribo 1997). As a country of research in the MeCoDEM project, investigating this further in the contexts of journalistic cultures becomes relevant and crucial.

Aside from Egypt, Kenya and South Africa, the project's final country of study is Serbia, which although rooted in (recent) socialist history followed by post-independence nationalism, could be at least broadly located within a discussion on ***Eastern European*** media systems. With the fall of the iron curtain in 1989, countries belonging to the Eastern European region began to undergo a number of political and economic changes, as they left behind Communist rule and introduced a democratic system – a process which varied from country to country across the region (Marin 1996, Splichal 1994, Dragomir 2010). The media was one of the primary systems of society which the post-communist public felt needed to be changed, from a system which had up until then served the role of political party mouthpieces, into "organs of free information and democratic debate" (Sparks 2005: 38). However, more than two decades later, Dragomir (2010) argues that although media have moved away from state manipulation, public television broadcasters in the region continue to be politicized, while commercial broadcasters, although having come closer to the public, continue to promote the interests of private media outlet owners, who are often closely linked to political elites (Dragomir 2010). In general, television broadcasters have not lived up to the perceived role of acting as watchdogs. Throughout the 90s journalists who were trying to set up an independent media were met with opposition from political elites, while non-existent or unregulated broadcasting policies enabled the emergence of illegal broadcasters (Dragomir 2010).

While in some countries public service broadcasters have managed to distance themselves from state influence, their coverage of the state remains biased,

while similar allegiance on the part of private television is afforded to business and media owners (Dragomir 2010). Driven by audience ratings and commercial gains, journalists working for private broadcast media "face direct or indirect pressures" which prevent them from producing autonomous journalism. Also, a lack of transparency around media ownership imposes further limits on journalistic performance and programming decision (Dragomir 2010: 255). The sudden commercialization of media in Eastern Europe has been blamed for the region's "flawed democratic performance" (Jebril et al. 2013: 10).

In a region with so much ethnic diversity and a history of suppression, the media and especially information and communication technologies (ICTs), were recognized as needing to play the role of easing cultural tensions, and promoting intercultural understanding, dialogue, and sensitivity, in a bid to motivate democratic civic participation. Although this was the goal, it has fallen short of its ideal: "Television, which has remained the most influential medium and source of information for decades, has failed to play a major role in building a balanced public forum in Central and Eastern Europe" (Dragomir 2010: 271). One of the reasons cited for this failure was an attempt to implement a Western media model in a system which lacked necessary conditions for this transition to succeed, such as, for example, a strong advertising market and a civil society with adequate social power (Sparks 2005). While transnational media with their online presence offer an abundance of information and choice for its audiences, its programming is said not to be diverse enough to engage a population made up of a variety of national, cultural and language groups, slowing down the establishment of a public sphere empowered enough to engage in democratic processes (Dragomir 2010). To better understand the connection between journalists, their audiences and democratisation processes, Jebril et al. (2013) stress the need for more empirical research.

As becomes evident from the above review of region-focussed research on journalism in democratisation processes, journalism is always embedded in a societal context – which is not only the region but also more specifically, the respective country and its history. The following section will therefore provide an overview of some of the existing literature on the state of media and journalism in the specific countries of research within the MeCoDEM project. These country cases will show that, indeed, there is a shortage of research that adequately situates journalism and its actors within democratisation processes.

3.4. Studies on journalism in the four MeCoDEM countries

The following section, as the whole working paper, is a report on given research. So far, the capacity of the MeCoDEM project to report on journalism in the four countries very much depends on the capacity of scholarly work and state of research in these countries. To some extent the following literature reviews on the country reports are comparable, but our goal was not to follow a fully standardized scheme, but rather to depict specific situations according to the particularities of the four countries. The overall goal is to consider these reviews as background for further empirical investigations (interviews with journalists) to be conducted within MeCoDEM Work Package 4. Evidently, the nature of these country reports will be less analytical and more descriptive, as the issues are not systematically developed from a scholarly point of view but derive from the given state of research in the countries which varies in availability, width and depth.

Egypt[6]

During the last four years, Egypt has undergone fundamental political and societal changes, marked by the revolution and resignation of Hosni Mubarak in January 2011, the presidency of Mohamed Morsi, mounting tension between islamists and secularists, military intervention to overthrow president Morsi in 2013, and the election of former defence minister Abdul Fattah Al Sisi to the office of the president in 2014.

Given these significant changes in a short period of time, it is not surprising that academic research was not able to cover evolutions of media and journalism in the different phases of post Mubarak Egypt in detail. This research gap especially applies to structures and editorial policies within privately owned media institutions in Egypt since most research on private media focuses on content and coverage of specific events (El Masry 2012). Also, due to a lack of systematic empirical studies, knowledge on structural conditions on journalism, as well as journalistic practices, role perceptions and ethical orientations is very limited. Given this, we will summarize the main findings below.

[6] We thank our colleagues Gamal Soltan and Yosra El Gendi for their valuable contribution to the Egyptian report. Moreover, we thank Shorouk El Hariry for co-authoring the Egyptian report.

As to the *general setting*, there were high hopes for media reform in Egypt following the outbreak of the revolution (Abdullah 2014). Indeed, there were several staff changeovers and a remarkable increase in freedom of expression partially due to the growth of the impact of social media, during the rule of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF) and presidency of Mohamed Morsi. However, most major news organizations in Egypt continued to perform within their established and traditional working mechanisms (Powers 2012). State-owned media still maintain close ties with the government, private media are owned by government-sanctioned businesspeople, and social media function as a platform for bloggers and activists who are seeking a space for freedom of expression (Hamdy 2012).

As to the *regulatory framework*, although the Supreme Council of Armed Forces' Constitutional Declaration guaranteed media freedom and banned administrative censorship (Articles 12 and 13), it limited it by adding "in accordance with the law" (El Issawi 2014). According to Freedom House's 2014 report, the government's reliance on the State of Emergency law and other penal codes, including "insulting the president" or "insulting religions", resulted in the intimidation of journalists, bloggers and broadcasters (Freedom House 2014a), limited their freedoms, and paved the way for their self-censorship. While formal and strict censorship is not imposed on journalists, it was self-adopted and enforced in their productions, acknowledging that there were red lines that marked issues too sensitive to tackle (El Issawi 2014, Abdullah 2014).

Against this background, journalists' abilities to cover political developments seem to be shaped by a climate of fear and repression (Abdullah 2014). The Committee of Protection of Journalists (CPJ) documented over a hundred cases of abuse against journalists and bloggers under the SCAF's rule. In addition, working conditions are shaped by the fact that membership in the state controlled Egyptian Journalism Syndicate (EJS), is the only official source for professional accreditation (Mendel 2011, Berger 2014). Another source of perceived influence that the research refers to is financial, as the EJS traditionally provides stipends and monthly allowances for its members. While this practice has been part of the system of entitlements prevalent in Egypt since the 1960s it has also been identified as an indirect way for the government to buy off journalists and keep them in check (Berger 2014: 243). As Beeman (2011) writes in 'Connected in Cairo', additional concerns

include people entering journalism based on friendships and connections rather than qualifications (see also Power 2012).

These structural conditions, marked by a restrictive regulatory framework, a climate of fear and prosecution, a weak consensus on journalistic standards and limited professional self-regulation reflect that journalism in Egypt is highly politicized and "ruled by the government" (Powers 2012: 76). In a 2013 report issued by the Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression, it was stated that the government continued to interfere not only in the state-owned ERTU's (Egyptian Radio and TV Union) financial and managerial issues, (including specific hiring orders and providing a list of individuals banned from appearing on state TV), but also in the content of scripts aired in Maspero, the ERTU´s headquarters building (with the personnel receiving direct programming instructions from the state and military authorities). This regime of interference has had direct impact on journalistic programs of *selecting sources and presenting a story*: Abdullah (2014) reports that it became the norm not to air or publish news from sources that were not in total concurrence with pro-regime propaganda, especially since the election of Abdul Fattah Al Sisi. As Mackell writes in The Guardian a few months after the revolution, reporters were given explicit commands to wait for an official statement before running a story (Mackell 2011). It was however not investigated whether journalists abided by these commands at that time. On the other hand, privately-owned media professionals were continuously stifled by the decline of conventional sources. Since membership in the EJS is the only official source for professional accreditation, thousands of print, broadcast, online and part-time journalists are left without access to professional sources (Berger 2014). Furthermore, with the expanding role of social media, it became common for journalists to feed their stories from Facebook or Twitter. Since content verification is difficult here, investigation practices bear the risk of creating storytelling models based on rumours and vague sourcing (El Issawi 2014).

With regards to *representation of recent societal conflicts*, Hamdy (2012) reports that media made remarkably different news choices in terms of framing. According to Chammah (2014), state-owned media refused to run pieces that carried criticism towards the ruling government, and showed bias on several occasions, especially regarding violence against Copts. During Morsi's reign, the polarization between pro-Islamist (mostly state-run) and anti-Islamist media outlets (privately

owned ones) became more severe, making the pursuit for critical voices in established media outlets very difficult. Very few professionals in state-media institutions tried to fight back, yet were penalized by the regime (Abdullah 2014). In between, citizen journalists and bloggers stepped forward to counter the biased and violence-inciting reporting and the difficulties professional journalists faced in accessing information, occasionally bringing to light a less polarized perspective.

Since 2011, journalists, editors, bloggers and citizen journalists have in part sought to find new definitions and new professional roles and relationships (Peterson 2014). On the one hand, research suggests that, given the strong political influence, the role perceptions of state media journalists are still shaped by the idea of supporting the current power structure and rallying readers to the cause of nationalism by defending the leadership's policies (El Issawi 2014, Chammah 2014). On the other hand, independent and private newspaper journalists assumed the activist role (Powers 2012), utilizing journalism to mobilize readers to support causes and participate in political discourse. Talk show moderators became the arbiters of political opinion, and understood neutrality as an act of treason, believing that their role was not just to deliver the news, but to frame it (El Issawi 2014). Furthermore, bloggers and citizen journalists adopted the advocate role, by rallying support for narratives that challenged the official, mainstream one (Khamis 2014). They also became agenda-setters, and provided a voice for the voiceless (Chammah 2014, Faris 2013).

As to *ethical orientations* in journalism it is worthwhile noting that according to the Press Law, the Egyptian Journalism Syndicate is responsible for developing a professional code of ethics. However, with the syndicate perceived as being a virtually futile, bankrupt and politically compromised body, and the last Press Code of Ethics having been issued in 1988, the document is merely considered a formality (Berger 2014). It is not clear how it was developed, and what kind of input journalists had in it. In practice, it is rarely applied or considered for professional guidance (Mendel 2011). While there is a widespread understanding among prominent media figures that the ideals of Western impartiality are incompatible with the nature of Egyptian audiences, the debate on professional ethical standards became a secondary issue for journalists and their editors (El Issawi 2014). Given the lack of consensus on ethical standards amongst journalists and a shortage of accountability systems (Powers 2012), existing literature highlights several cases of ethical

misconduct. Some journalists were accused of fabricating episodes to further sensationalize their coverage (Abdullah 2014). There is also a common accusation that talk show hosts gain a percentage of advertising revenue broadcasted on their shows, and that journalists receive bonuses for the advertisements they might bring to the media outlet (and might sometimes be encouraged to do so). Such practices could be explained by the journalists' poor salaries, and a lack of media institutions' transparency in disclosing their structures and budgets – claims of corruption and bribery which go largely unchecked, as the ethical violations and corruption files in the press are never discussed in the EJS (Berger 2014).

To sum up, existing research suggests that although there have been changes for journalism in Egypt in the aftermath of the 2011 revolution, it remains characterized by an oppressive regulatory framework, a climate of fear and actual prosecution, limited professional self-regulation, as well as weak consensus on professional roles and ethical standards amongst journalists. Given these conditions, journalists face the challenge of how to adapt to continually changing circumstances. Against this background, some seem to concentrate on loyalty to one regime over the other, rather than loyalty to journalistic standards, integrity, or the people's right to know (Abdullah 2014). In this sense, research suggests that Egyptian media, facing the meandering processes of transition, today still fall short of playing an "informative" role in a democratic system (Rayman 2014).

Kenya[7]

Since its first multiparty democratic elections in 1992, Kenyan journalists have experienced a rise in professional freedom while simultaneously facing challenges and limitations brought about by effects of political economy (Helander 2010). In his overview, Ogola (2011) observes that between the 1960s and now, Kenya's news media system has developed and progressively redefined itself against *complex political and economic structures* characterising the country's four distinct political phases (Ogola 2011).[8] Throughout its history, Kenyan media have been built on a "triple heritage" of models or ideas which – "conflicting yet interwoven" – form the media's historical development since independence (Heath 1997: 30). These are the

[7] We thank our colleagues Nicole Stremlau, Nic Cheeseman and Toussaint Nothias for their valuable contribution to the Kenyan report.

[8] Ogola's insightful overview and historical contextualization of Kenya's news media development will be elaborated on in the next working paper of MeCoDEM Work Package 4 which deals with the structural conditions of journalism.

authoritarian/development model (paternalistic media where certain members of society are primary decision makers within the ruling elite), the advocacy/protest tradition (a media which challenges and criticizes political and economic institutions) and the liberal/commercial (privately owned media and journalists who take on a watchdog role) (Heath 1997). Wasserman and Maweu (2014) observe that Kenya's "economic liberalization" has also led to a "corporatization" of media, which is driven "by capitalist imperatives of maximizing profits for investors, stockholders and advertisers" – a system which conflicts with journalistic norms of impartiality and reporting for public interest (Wasserman and Maweu 2014: 1). The relationship between media (ownership and directorship) and corporations (business and advertisers) has become difficult to separate (Wasserman and Maweu 2014) and increasingly the media are being used as "instruments of power struggles" between competing sources of power (Helander 2010: 522). This kind of influence forces journalists to self-censor and editors to downplay stories which expose controversial issues, for fear of repercussion (Ogonga Ongong'a 2008). Consequently, public trust in media is low, and many turn to social media and citizen journalism as a source of information (Simiyu 2014).

Journalists reveal that working in a media environment where the protection of corporate interests overrides journalistic and ethical ideals, alters journalistic decisions (Wasserman and Maweu 2014). Although corporate interests generate a lot of pressure for journalists, *political interference* poses as much of a threat to professional journalism. Media houses are at risk of government-enforced raids, while journalists face harassment, security threats and restrictions under criminal libel laws (Tettey 2010, Media Council of Kenya 2013a). A national baseline survey of 282 journalists showed that 91 percent face threats in the course of their work, and the largest portion of these (41 percent) come from politicians, most frequently enacted through threatening phone calls (64 percent). Only 23 percent reported having never been threatened, with the rest receiving threats at least once and 19 percent more than five times (Media Council of Kenya 2013b).

Despite the perception that *corruption* is an accepted part of everyday life, journalists in Kenya understand that it jeopardizes their ability to remain independent, reliable and trustworthy, but feel powerless to challenge it because of the larger system of interaction between media and sources of power (Helander 2010). Journalists are suspicious of institutions such as the trade union or the Media

Council, and perceive them to be closely linked to government bodies. The media's complex relationship with political and business elites makes it challenging for media laws to be enforced and although most journalists are aware of textbook ethical guidelines, in reality *ethics* are debated and decided on in consultation with editors (Ogong Ongong'a 2008). Market competition encourages sensationalist reporting, at the cost of in-depth journalism which focuses on issues affecting everyday Kenyans (Helander 2010).

As to *selection processes/work practices*, a study by Bunce (2010) in which journalists working for an international media outlet (Reuters) were interviewed, observed differences in news values between how local and non-local journalists working for international media reported on the Kenyan election violence in 2007-08. While international journalists were perceived to be in pursuit of sensationalist depictions of the violence (Bunce 2010) some local journalists insisted on a more nuanced portrayal, which avoided referring to specific tribes involved in the conflict with the aim of "calming tempers and promoting reconciliation among the various factions" (Tettey 2010: 283). Bunce (2010) suggests that underpinning this divergence in views of how the media should have reported on the conflict is "a fundamental disagreement on what the role of the news media should be during a crisis" (Bunce 2010: 19). What is also particularly interesting to note is *the role and impact that identity politics have had on professional values* of local Kenyan journalists. Bunce's study (2010) highlights that ethnic and political alignments were evident among local journalists too, making it more challenging for them to keep professional distance from the conflict they were covering (see also Wachanga 2011). In order to avoid a repeat of the 2007/08 election violence, during the 2013 elections the media adopted a different approach to its coverage by promoting peace – achieved by downplaying differences between political candidates and ethnic groups (Moss and O'Hare 2013, Onyebadi and Oyedeji 2011).

For many, covering the post-election conflicts in 2007 and 2008 was "personally difficult" and caused divisions along ethnic and political lines, making it challenging for some to "remain impartial" (Bunce 2010: 522-523). Exacerbating this problem is the organizational structure of international media outlets, where although journalists are locals, editorial management is made up of foreign journalists expected to frame stories for "Western" audiences who are used to a particular depiction of Africa (Bunce 2010). During the elections, print and broadcast failed to

provide equal coverage to all political leaders and candidates (Somerville 2011). Although mainstream media was found not to directly incite violence, they nevertheless "failed to prevent the dissemination of party propaganda and the violent rhetoric of many political leaders" which some journalists claimed was bought by political factions (Somerville 2011: 90). This resulted in public distrust and suspicion towards mainstream media and a spike in trust towards vernacular media, which "often had their own political axes to grind" and were found to incite fear and violence through negative and inflammatory coverage (Somerville 2011, BBC World Service Trust 2008, Abdi Ismail and Deane 2008).[9] An example of this is Joseph Sang who was a talk show host for Kass FM (a Kalenjin language radio station) during the post-election violence and is being prosecuted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for his alleged role in promoting hate speech and violence. It is also worth acknowledging here the role that social media played during the post-election conflict period in Kenya and its implications on the country's democratisation process. During this period of violence, Kenyan security minister banned live broadcasting for five days. In order to circumvent this "news blackout" many Kenyans began to rely on a variety of social media tools and platforms (such as Ushahidi, YouTube, Facebook, Flickr, Twitter) to exchange opinions and news, and in the process began to play the role of "citizen journalists" something which Makinen and Kuira suggest has valuable implications for the way in which democratisation processes in Kenya are evolving (Makinen and Kuira 2008: 329).[10]

Due to the sharp division between the bigger (mainstream) and smaller media houses, *working conditions* for journalists vary depending for which media house they work. Some of the worsely affected journalists in Kenya do not have permanent employment and earn a low salary (Helander 2010, Ogonga Ongong'a 2008). In addition to poor compensation, some of the biggest challenges they face are inadequate protection from threats, being supervised by managers who are not journalists (Media Council of Kenya 2013). The same study mentioned earlier which surveyed close to 300 Kenyan journalists, found that just over half had any skills on how to manage or mitigate threats, or had received any training on safety and

[9] Worth bearing in mind is that Kenya is an ethnically diverse country with over 40 ethnic groups and over 100 vernacular dialects spoken, aside from English and Kiswahili which are national languages (Maina 2006).

[10] It is important to keep in mind that at the time of the 2007/08 elections 3.2 percent of Kenyans had access to the internet and social media, predominantly in urban, middle class areas. The author highlights a need to develop a platform for mobile phone owners to submit and share information through SMS.

protection (Media Council of Kenya 2013b). Bodies such as the Media Council of Kenya and Media Industry Steering Committee have supported the development of a self-regulatory system by journalists, however these efforts have been undermined by the state. A Code of Conduct, which has been in force since 2001, outlines a requirement that Kenyan journalists and media outlets "openly account for their conduct" and emphasises that all journalists practice accurate and fair reporting, and issue an apology when this conduct is violated (Maina 2006: 11). It is clear though that, despite media's efforts to self-regulate, the government imposes legal sanctions on its practitioners and outlets.

A study that explored Kenyan journalists' motivations for entering this profession found that most perceived their *journalistic ideals* to revolve around improving society, fighting for the right of people, and providing the public with information that empowers them towards nation-building (Ogongo Ongong'a 2008). Journalists understood their role to be that of agenda setters, informing the public of injustices and their rights, giving a voice to the marginalized and excluded, encouraging political debate and transformation, and ensuring fair elections (Ogonga Ongong'a 2008). In spite of their socialization into newsroom dynamics and limitations, they continue to hold on to these idealized, self-perceived journalistic roles and try to practice them in their daily work. Ogongo Ongong'a describes this as "a process of negotiation between social controls and the young person's own convictions and insights" (2008: 162).

What these examples show is that the process towards a democratised media system is complex in Kenya, and although post-colonial economic growth offers opportunity, the promise of private media and the enticement of democratised media systems do not provide a panacea. Rather, the complex nature of change facing transitional and emergent democracies reflect the challenges that previously emergent media systems also encountered, albeit with their unique – in this case Kenyan – characteristics.

South Africa[11]

In South Africa, it is more difficult to define the media as 'post-colonial' firstly because the period of British colonialism was succeeded by the apartheid regime

[11] We thank our colleagues Herman Wasserman, Tanja Bosch and Wallace Chuma for their valuable contribution to the South African report.

which could be seen as a form of 'internal colonialism', and also because the effects of both these systems continue to be felt in society. The South African media system is *emerging out of apartheid and its legacies*, legacies which present a media system that is at once liberal and beset with the more oppressive aspects of its history.

Still, on the African continent, South Africa is heralded as one of the leaders of democratic reform, where free press is constitutionally guaranteed and protected. The introduction in 1996 of the democratic Constitution, including a Bill of Rights ensured that South Africa's media could enjoy and perform some of its fundamental rights, such as freedom of expression and access to information – vital components of a democratic media and society (Wasserman and de Beer 2007). However, in a new democracy such as South Africa, the role of the media becomes more complicated because of the fact that "the journalistic paradigm is still being negotiated alongside parallel debates about identity, citizenship and social justice" (Wasserman 2013: 70). This is made more challenging by ongoing questions around what sort of function and role the media should perform in society, especially one marked by *continued social polarisations and tensions and extremely high levels of economic inequality*. Recurring xenophobic and racist conflicts indicate the persistence of high levels of intolerance.

After decades of oppression under Apartheid, and 20 years after its first democratic elections, the media in post-Apartheid South Africa plays a key role in assisting the development of a democratic country where the public is informed and involved in decision-making. The country's public broadcaster, the SABC, broadcasts in 11 official languages in an effort to reach a multitude of audiences (Giffard, De Beer and Steyn 1997). However the SABC remains beset by managerial problems and charges of political interference. The print media is vibrant and diverse, although it serves mostly an elite audience. The community media sector is supported by government agencies in order to reach under-served communities, although these attempts have only been partially successful in broadening the public sphere.

However, despite *regulatory and constitutional freedom*, the narrative is far from clear-cut. Where these protections mean journalists are rarely harassed or threatened with legal action, when they are, it is usually in response to coverage of prominent figures in political and business spheres (Freedom House 2014c). Further, while libel is not criminalized, large fines can be imposed on the media. The *self-regulatory system* for both print and broadcast media is intended to serve as a way to

ensure ethical standards without recourse to legal sanctions. However, these processes have come under attack from critics, notably in the ruling party, who would prefer statutory bodies such as a proposed Media Appeals Tribunal which could impose stronger sanctions. While South Africa's public broadcaster, whose three TV stations dominate the market, is independent, it is frequently criticised for showing pro-government bias (Freedom House 2014c). Although access to information is constitutionally protected, it was recently threatened with the Protection of State Information Bill which would allow the state to restrict journalists from accessing information classified as being in the "national interest", the possession of which would result in potential imprisonment (Freedom House 2014c).

Throughout the 1990s, South African media opened itself up to global competition and ownership and with it *commercial pressures* and therefore shifts in media ownership, content and structures professional ideologies, ethical frameworks, and practices of media workers (Wasserman and Rao 2008). This has led to an increase in tabloid-driven content, staff cuts, juniorisation, lack of training as well as financial security for journalists, and increase in ethical violations and editorial decisions driven by profit in favour of quality investigative reporting (Wasserman and de Beer 2007).

Despite globalisation's seemingly homogenizing effect on the format of media production, countries like South Africa have provided "contraflows" by maintaining localized content and developing *unique ethical approaches* located in Ubuntuism and the ethics of listening, further discussed below (Wasserman and Rao 2008: 164). One such example of glocalisation are local tabloid newspapers like the Daily Sun and Son and Daily Voice, which reflect the sensationalist format of other international tabloids, but its content is local in so far that it focuses on issues of interest to a local, albeit racially fragmented audience (Wasserman and Rao 2008; Wasserman and Jacobs 2013). Although South Africa's newsrooms and journalists have been diversified, the media sector and the consumer market remains racialized, to a large extent due to media ownership, editorial make-up and a divided target market (Wasserman and de Beer 2007).

By adapting itself to the established media systems of old 'Western' democracies, South African journalism has adopted a *perception of itself* as the 'watchdog'. In its exaggerated form, this can be a journalism which is resistant to any criticism and perceives its professional duty as elitist, ultimately failing to amplify

marginalized voices (Wasserman 2013). It is a perception stemming from the functionalist framework which sees this kind of professional duty as a "safeguard" (Wasserman and de Beer 2007: 42) against government control, contrary to the critical analysis perspective which sees it as an "ideological smokescreen" (Wasserman and de Beer 2007: 43) allowing the entrenchment of elitist interests. It is argued that an overemphasis on performing the watchdog role traps journalists into perpetuating established professional routines and news production structures such as accessing sources perceived as powerful and authoritative more often than seeking out the voices of the marginalized, which unintentionally reproduces the elitist views of those in power (Wasserman 2013). This was evident in the coverage of a 2012 strike by miners at the Lonmin mine at Marikana in the Northwest Province, which resulted in violent clashes and the death of 36 miners, as well as 2 police and 78 injured. Subsequent studies of the protest's media's coverage revealed that miners, or subjects of protest, were the least accessed as sources, compared to mine management, political parties, government and the police. Democratisation conflicts such as this one raise questions around the role of the media in a developing democracy; or more precisely "whose voices should the media be listening to and how should it listen to them" (Wasserman 2013:70).

Since the onset of democracy in South Africa all efforts have been made to construct a formal and self-regulated media system with a set of structures, such as the Press Council, ensuring that at least on a procedural level ethical considerations matter (Wasserman 2013). While procedural mechanisms, such as the establishment of various media regulations, may be necessary in any democratic society seeking to develop an independent media, Wasserman (2013:69), in his call for a "reorientation towards the ethics of listening" argues that these mechanisms are not sufficient. What also needs to be asked is, what sort of substantive outcome do we expect to emerge from these mechanisms? In other words, how do the outcomes of these regulations help improve "human lives and experiences" (Wasserman 2013:74)?

The *'ethics of listening'* bases itself in the need for journalism to enable the protection of human dignity, more specifically the "fulfilment of a set of criteria for a decent human life and human flourishing" (Wasserman 2013:77). However, it can also be used spuriously to protect figures of authority from being linked to corruption (Wasserman 2013:77). Within the ethics of listening framework

> 'listening' as an ethical value is appropriate for a new democracy where social polarisations continue to impact media narratives and agendas, and in a society where continued economic inequalities provide certain parts of the citizenry with disproportionate power to make themselves heard in the public sphere (Wasserman 2013:77).

Wasserman (2013) argues that such an approach to ethics would bridge divisions between marginalized groups but also connect citizens vertically to those in power by giving them agency to challenge the status quo. This, however, would demand a "proactive intervention" (Wasserman 2013:78) from journalists. Instead of continuing to act as 'gatekeepers', journalists would become "gate openers" (Wasserman 2013:79), allowing the public to become active and equal contributors to the production of news. A strong democracy depends on the ability of its citizens to engage in democratic processes – for this to happen, journalism needs to understand that enabling such a process should be an "ethical responsibility" (Wasserman 2013:75).

In summary, existing scholarship in the field of journalism studies in Africa offers studies on journalism, democracy and press freedom, media systems and political economy of media, journalism ethics, journalism/media and development, and journalism education and training. To continue both interrogating and advancing media freedom and a democratised media system in South Africa, as well as Kenya, journalism studies research and development of theoretical approaches in Africa needs to be furthered (Wasserman 2009: 434-435), and stronger focus needs to be placed on the gap between regulatory, constitutional, and aspirational freedom and the instrumentalist or corporatist media relationships and political intervention that betray such values.

Serbia[12]

The expansion of media post-2000 has brought about a *rich media landscape*, evident in the number of media outlets, but has by now resulted in a saturated market and competitive space with an abundance of media for Serbia's relatively small population of 7.2 million inhabitants (Radojkovic 2011, Milivojevic 2012). Serbia has almost 650 print outlets, 225 radio stations, and 90 television stations. Among all of these, the state owns 79 outlets. Online media are gaining importance, with over 50

[12] We thank our colleagues Nebojsa Vladisavljevic, Filip Ejdus, Aleksandra Krstic and Ana Stojiljkovic for their valuable contribution to the Serbian report.

percent of the 7.2 million person population having access to the internet (Freedom House 2014b). Milivojevic (2012) highlights that the *government's involvement in media ownership* is still high, that the regulatory systems still lack transparency when it comes to media ownership, and that there is an *absence of mechanisms responsible for the regulation of media diversity and protection of public interest.* As a result, soft censorship is exercised through government funding allocation, with examples of direct censorship including hacking of news websites and removal of stories (Freedom House 2014b). Overall, the Serbian media landscape is facing problems which are reflective of a society in transition and a democracy which consists of "basic democratic arrangements and stability, but not the expected growth and development" [13] (Milivojevic 2012: 53). However, according to the recently adopted set of media laws (Broadcast Media Law, Law on Public Information and the Media, enforced by the Republic of Serbia, 2014) the deadline for media privatization is set for July 2015. By that time, all media outlets owned by local municipalities should be privatized. The withdrawal of the state from media ownership is also envisaged by the Strategy of the Public Information System Development until 2016, adopted by the Serbian Government in 2011.

One of the major challenges facing local and privately-owned Serbian media is *economic instability and constraints* due to the wide spread economic crisis, forcing media to rely on government subsidies and advertising (Krstic 2012, Radojkovic 2011, Freedom House 2014b). Advertisers continue to pull much of their advertising revenue, which is otherwise one of the main sources of financial security for many media outlets. The financial pressure has led to an overemphasis on sensationalism and tabloid journalism as well as a lack of adherence to ethical reporting – while those employed by the public media are slightly better resourced and in a position to produce quality journalism (Radojkovic 2011, Milivojevic 2012). Aside from sensationalism, other challenges mentioned by journalists in Milivojevic's (2012) study were *external political pressures* on journalistic autonomy, most commonly manifesting through corruption, the withholding of advertising revenue and access to information (Milivojevic 2012). Serbia's main public broadcaster, the RTS has been criticised for having limited autonomy and failing to create a public forum for the public – a domain in which the private media is seen to be performing much better (Dragomir 2010). According to the new Law on Public Media Services, adopted in

[13] "bazični demokratski aranžmani i stabilnost, ali ne i očekivani rast i razvoj"

2014, the payment of TV subscription fee for RTS has been cancelled and the main public broadcaster will be financed from the state's budget until 2016. On the other hand, private media was seen as enjoying better autonomy. This was especially the case for Serbia's private TV station B92 which had in the past established itself as a "tireless watchdog over powerful interests" and whose reporting focuses on corruption, crime and human rights (Dragomir 2010: 267). However, in recent years, the ownership over TV B92 was partially taken over by a foreign media company, causing the overall orientation of the station to *move away from hard news and towards entertainment*. As one example, the management of TV B92 has since decided to cancel the political talk show "The impression of the week" ("Utisak nedelje") in September 2014. Journalists associations based in Belgrade signed the petition for the change of the name of this TV station from TV B92 to another name, because they thought the station failed to uphold the watchdog journalistic role it had once established during the 1990s (Balkan Insight 2014).

Krstic's (2012) study of several media outlets in Serbia revealed *that financial insecurity has also impacted the ability of media houses to afford the resources*, including technology and journalistic training necessary to integrate new media into everyday work. Krstic (2012) argues that successfully developing media's online presence would eventually lead advertisers to migrate to online spaces, bringing back some of the lost revenue. Despite the media's willingness and recognition of the need to integrate online media, most media simultaneously maintain a "traditional approach towards the public and insist on differentiating between professional and citizen journalism"[14] (Krstic 2012: 123). Online media technologies are perceived as providing a platform to be used for the distribution of media content but not for interaction between journalists and the public. Journalistic professional ideals therefore remain guarded, while citizens can contribute in the form of material, journalists see themselves as those capable of producing news. Radojkovic (2011) emphasises that such guarding mechanisms will eventually have to loosen in response to a strengthening information society.

Despite high education and extensive professional experience (over half have been in the industry over 10 years), *journalists are exploited* – they work long hours, do not receive salaries on a regular basis, earn a salary well below the national

[14] "tradicionalan pristup prema publici i insistira na razlici izmedju profesionalnog i gradanskog novinarstva"

average, and suffer from stress-related health problems (Radojkovic 2011, Krstic 2012, Milivojevic 2012). Even though *freedom of speech is constitutionally and legally protected, journalists nevertheless face physical and verbal harassment and attacks*, with some living under 24-hour police protection (Freedom House 2014b). Defamation is no longer a criminal offence but remains a civil offence, and journalists can be threatened with fines and legal action if they insult a powerful figure. Under the Data Secrecy Act, journalists can face prosecution if information classified as national security is accessed and published in the media. Journalists are restricted by "political pressures, pervasive corruption, a climate of impunity for crimes against journalists, regulatory setbacks, and economic difficulties" (Freedom House 2014b). Despite the public's stereotypical perception of journalists as uneducated, Radojkovic's (2011) survey showed that 73% were university graduates in journalism, humanities and social sciences. Journalists frequently lose their jobs, while those who remain struggle to secure permanent contracts and often have to work for several media in order to make a living (Radojkovic 2011). Journalists are perceived by the public as lacking power and status, frequently face physical and verbal assault, are accused of defamation and libel, and some even receive death threats, or end up getting killed.

Asked to describe today's journalist in Serbia, one focus group participant in Radojkovic's study said: "That is a withered person who is not adequately paid, is not adequately appreciated, who has potential, has education, has big responsibility, but this isn't recognized at this moment in this society"[15] (Radojkovic 2011: 25). Another journalist, in Milivojevic's study said: "A typical journalist in Serbia is (…) a person with a great responsibility and great potential, but who is undervalued in society, is not adequately paid and does not live with dignity (…)."[16] (Milivojevic 2012: 45).

In conclusion, what we see in Serbia, then, is not entirely dissimilar to the other cases outlined above. While its unique history and conditions of democratisation offer elements of political intervention, legacies of state control and ideological constraints, the pressures journalists and media organizations face are similar. These include poor working conditions and limited resources, pressures to reflect rather than interrogate the views of those in power, and the continued

[15] "To je uvenula osoba koja nije adekvatno plaćena, nije adekvatno cenjena, koja ima potencijal, ima obrazovanje, ima veliku odgovornost ali to se ne prepoznaje u ovom trenutku u ovom društvu"
[16] "Tipičan novinar u Srbiji je… osoba koja ima veliku odgovornost i veliki potencijal, ali koja je potcenjena u društvu, nije adekvatno plaćena i ne živi dostojanstveno…"

pressures and economic constraints of private and political forces that contradict the freedoms enabled by democratic turns of history.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

What can be summarised as being the main findings and shortcomings with regard to the constituents of journalism that we have defined in Section 2? Which arguments and hypotheses can be derived from the empirical state of research for the empirical study in Work Package 4 of the MeCoDEM project? And what are the conclusions to be drawn for further research?

First, the thematic focus of existing research seems to be limited, both in terms of theory and empirical research. Our review has shown that, in the wide and rich research field on journalism, there is a **lack of conceptualization and empirical investigations concerning our specific research topic**, that is, the role of journalism and journalistic actors in democratisation conflicts. In spite of a very rich field of theoretical concepts on journalism, so far there is no elaborated theory on journalism in the context of conflict societies and transitional democracies. Only few empirical studies have focused on journalistic ethics and practices in democratisation processes and transitional countries. Empirical research on journalism in conflict has focused on different types of conflicts. However, roles and mechanisms of journalism in democratisation conflicts have not been considered yet. Due to a lack of systematic and up-to-date empirical research, only little is known on current journalistic practices, role perceptions, ethical orientations and their structural conditions in the MeCoDEM countries, especially Egypt and Serbia. These shortcomings make it necessary to rely on an inductive approach in MeCoDEM's empirical research on journalism in Work Package 4. However, we will refer to research findings discussed above for both development of research instruments as well as analysis and interpretation of data. Based on the empirical findings, we will then be able to further conceptualize 'conflict journalism', that is, journalism in democratisation conflicts, or more broadly, in conflict societies and transitional democracies. Through this, MeCoDEM Work Package 4 will provide a valuable contribution to research, both in terms of theory and empirical data.

Second, we can detect a **Western bias in (comparative) journalism studies**: Due to the political economy of scholarship resulting in a dominance of American and other scholars from the global North, some areas of the world (notably Africa) remain

either ignored or occupy a marginal position in comparative studies, both theoretically and empirically (Wasserman and de Beer 2009: 431).

Normative assumptions rooted in Western traditions, like the equation of journalism and liberal democracy remain largely unquestioned. As Wasserman and de Beer (2009: 429) point out, the "Western democratic model of liberal democracy remains the implicit or explicit normative ideal against which journalism in non-Western societies is measured". This bias does not only apply to "safari research" (Hantrais and Mangen 1996: 4) where researchers from Western countries evaluate other cultures through the lens of their own cultural value systems. Rather, as Wasserman stresses for the African case, "African scholars and media practitioners themselves also often uncritically measure their own media institutions and practices against Western-biased frameworks rather than engaging with them critically and creatively" (Wasserman and de Beer 2009: 431). Thus, a non-Western-biased concept of journalism is still work in progress.

What is needed therefore is a "dialogic" or "global approach" (Wasserman and de Beer 2009: 429) to journalism studies that is "comprehensively and mutually comparative" (Couldry 2007: 247) and would develop concepts that extend beyond Western-grown models, incorporating valuable ideas and norms from both Western and non-Western traditions. In this 'dialogic approach', journalism studies from non-Western regions would be considered as equal contributions, not as an "area study, isolated from other debates" (Wasserman and de Beer 2009: 430). MeCoDEM seeks to put the required "De-Westernization" into practice: Here, the multinational project consortium which includes scholars from different countries and regions of the world, is a great asset as this kind of collaborative research is considered to be "the most powerful approach to overcome ethnocentrism in research" (Hanitzsch 2009: 424).

Third, we are in need of a '**contextual approach'**. This approach is in contrast to universalism that tries to impose one universal set of principles on different media cultures (Hanitzsch et al. 2013: 34), ignoring the fact that journalistic practices, roles, ethical orientations and structural conditions are obviously neither static nor globally uniform. More generally speaking, the 'contextual approach' aims to understand journalism as one component in relation to many other societal components, as a relevant institution with a particular identity, logic of practices and ethics, but still embedded, dependent and limited within the societal context. The contextual approach also stresses historical developments and process-related dimensions,

focusing on changes of journalistic roles across time. Again, this contextual approach is a work in progress. Basically we could see the structural conditions of journalism as interconnections with typical arrangements bound to cultural and historical backgrounds. In a more sociological and holistic approach, we could define journalism as a component of societal "figurations", a concept brought up by the sociologist Norbert Elias (Elias 2000, [originally published in Elias 1939]), or else "communicative figurations" (Hepp 2013, Hepp and Hasebrink 2014): Social interactions, both of individuals and of institutions, are seen as actors in a dance, depending on the overall setting as well as on their specific counterparts, in a way passive but also active and responsible for whatever steps they take. Communicative figurations are oscillating and ever changing, but they do follow certain patterns, which we (the actors as well as the observers) try to investigate.

Against these three issues of conceptual background we can draw **methodological consequences**. In general, we require innovative and sensitive empirical designs; explorative and qualitative rather than standardized and quantitative. Here the first issue is the need for an ***inductive, exploratory approach*** for certain research goals. Journalism research so far has developed a basic theoretical model. However, a model of conflict journalism (of non-Western societies) requires further empirical findings. Analyses should therefore not be situated purely in grounded theory, but built on a basic theoretical understanding, while remaining open enough to varieties and deviances in terms of contextualization and practices.

> For academic researchers, progress may require a break with deductive approaches. We should stop thinking of the media in terms of traditional models, as these models are static and thus have difficulty explaining the dynamic processes of democratisation. There may need to be a period of inductive investigation that is theory generating rather than theory testing (Jebril et al. 2013: 33).

A second methodological consequence refers to the ***units of analysis and comparison***. It was pointed out in the above sections that most empirical studies in journalism research are related to the nation state, or to comparisons of nation states. This is not completely wrong, since nation states, as has been elaborated on above, are certainly related to media systems, to advertising markets as basic business fields for the media, and last but not least to political institutions. But the nation state and its political and economic relevance for the media is also weakened through the globalization of markets, diffusion of digital media in general and social

media in particular, the transnational and cross-border cultural exchanges, and so on. Therefore media should be seen as "translocal" (Couldry 2007: 248). This applies especially to some of the MeCoDEM regions, such as Sub-Saharan Africa and the Arab countries, where, as we have pointed out in the above sections, due to historical political developments as well as cultural and linguistic similarities, the surrounding (trans-national) regions are an important source of influence on media and journalism, evident in the emergence of transnational media outlets and transnational audiences as well as diffusion of journalism models. As democratisation is a dynamic, non-linear and rather meandering process, we are in need of methods that allow capturing historical developments of journalism cultures *across time*.

Against this background, research within Work Package 4 will not use countries as the only units of analysis and comparison. Rather, we will analyse and compare journalistic work practices, role perceptions and ethical orientations *across different democratisation conflicts*. This comparative case-study design allows for case-specific in-depth analysis *within one country* and its historical development as well as for comparisons *across similar types of conflicts* in different world regions. Additionally, sampling within Work Package 4 will allow comparing how practices and ethics may vary among journalists across different media outlets, different media types, and different levels of hierarchy.

With regard to these different units of analysis and comparison, our analysis techniques will address the challenges that arise from combining case-specific, in-depth analysis and comparative approach. Here, organization of work among MeCoDEM researchers should help to ensure that equivalent research methods and administrative procedures are applied.

The methodological framework of MeCoDEM Work Package 4 will further build on the innovative ***reconstruction method*** for the interviews (Reich 2006, Reich 2009, Flick 2002); i.e. besides exploring the journalists' work practices and ethics in general, the main objective of the interviews is to reconstruct the interviewee's own coverage of the selected democratisation conflicts. The journalists will possibly be shown their own coverage as a stimulus and asked to detail how the specific story was produced (in terms of relevant aspects/categories of the study). This approach should foster "retrospective introspection" (Flick 2002: 120) and take the interviewees back in time to remember particular circumstances while also being guided to refer to specific factors. Thereby we should achieve vital and in-depth insights that go beyond

general information emerging from broad self-descriptions and 'socially desirable' answers by the journalists – a criticism voiced against traditional, typically quantitative surveys in the field. Thus, by linking the journalist's values and norms (and their perception of behaviour) with their work products (i.e. the actual media content) we will contribute to filling a significant research gap of empirical journalism research (Weaver and Willnat 2012a: 545).

The fact that research of Work Package 4 is part of the overall MeCoDEM project, permits a ***triangulation of findings***: Work Package 4 findings of research on journalistic actors can therefore be explained and further deepened, being systematically contextualized with the results of the content analysis on media representations of democratisation conflicts (Work Package 3) as well as the findings of work packages on communication of civil society actors and political activists (Work Package 5), government communication (Work Package 6), the contribution of ICT to the dynamics of democratisation conflicts (Work Package 7), and Work Package 8 research on media assistance organisations. Hence, triangulation methods will allow the study to systematically assess the relative contribution of contextual factors to the variations among journalistic cultures under study.

5. Bibliography

Abdulla, Rasha (2014): *Egypt's Media in the Midst of the Revolution*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Washington, DC.

Aday, Sean; Livingston, Steven; Herbert, Maeve (2005): Embedding the Truth. A Crosscultural Analysis of Objectivity and Television Coverage of the Iraq War. In *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 10 (3), pp. 3–21.

Aginam, Arthur Martins (2005): Media in "Globalizing Africa". What Prospect for Democratic Communication? In Robert A. Hackett, Yuezhi Zhao (Eds.): *Democratizing Global Media. One World, Many Struggles*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Critical Media Studies: Institutions, Politics, and Culture), pp. 121–141.

Allan, Stuart; Zelizer, Barbie (2004): *Reporting war. Journalism in wartime*. London, New York: Routledge.

Association for Freedom of Thought and Expression (2013*): Ten Months of Crisis Inside Maspero: Holding Minister of Information Salah Abdel Maqsoud Accountable*. Available online at http://afteegypt.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/afte001-9-06-2013.pdf, checked on 01/21/2015.

BBC World Service Trust (2008): *The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: the role of media and communication*. Available online at:

http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/kenya_policy_briefing_08.pdf , checked on 01/08/2015.
Beeman, William O. (2011): *Egyptian State Media Changes Structural or Cosmetic?* Available online at http://connectedincairo.com, checked on 01/08/2015.
Bennett, Lance (2013): *Changing Societies, Changing Media Systems. Challenges for Communication Theory, Research and Education*. Center for Communication & Civic Engagement, University of Washington. Seattle (Working Paper, 2013-1). Available online at www.engagedcitizen.org, checked on 11/7/2014.
Bennett, W. Lance; Lawrence, Regina G.; Livingston, Steven (2007): *When the press fails. Political power and the news media from Iraq to Katrina*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Studies in communication, media, and public opinion).
Berger, Miriam (2014): A Revolutionary Role or a Remnant of the Past? The Future of the Egyptian Journalist Syndicate after the January 25th Revolution. In Sarah El-Shaarawi (Ed.): *Three years since the Spring. A collection of essays on the state of Arab Media. Arab Media and Society (18).* Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo, Kamal Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism, pp. 237–265.
Berkowitz, Dan; Limor, Yehiel; Singer, Jane (2004): A cross-cultural look at serving the public interest. American and Israeli journalists consider ethical scenarios. In *Journalism* 5 (2), pp. 159–181, checked on 1/20/2015.
Black, Jay; Roberts, Chris (2011): *Doing ethics in media. Theories and practical applications*. New York: Routledge.
Blankson, Isaac A. (1996): Media Independence and Pluralism in Africa. Opportunities and Challenges of Democratization and Liberalization. In Gretchen Casper, Michelle M. Taylor (Eds.): *Negotiating Democracy. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies, 1), pp. 15–50.
Blöbaum, Bernd (1994): *Journalismus als soziales System. Geschichte, Ausdifferenzierung und Verselbständigung*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
Blöbaum, Bernd (2004): Organisationen, Programme und Rollen. Die Struktur des Journalismus in systemtheoretischer Perspektive. In Martin Löffelholz (Ed.): *Theorien des Journalismus. Ein diskursives Handbuch.* 2., vollständig überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, pp. 201–215.
Blum, Roger (2014): *Lautsprecher und Widersprecher: Ein Ansatz zum Vergleich der Mediensysteme*. Köln: von Halem.
Boeyink, David E.; Borden, Sandra L. (2010): *Making hard choices in journalism ethics. Cases and practice*. New York, NY: Routledge.
Bourdieu, Pierre; Johnson, Randal (1993): *The field of cultural production. Essays on art and literature*. New York: Columbia University Press (European perspectives).

Brosius, Bernd (2003): Kommunikationswissenschaft als empirisch-normative Sozialwissenschaft. In Helmut Richter, H. Walter Schmitz (Eds.): *Kommunikation--ein Schlüsselbegriff der Humanwissenschaften?* Münster: Nodus, pp. 401–415.

Brown, Fred; Black, Jay (2011): *Journalism ethics. A casebook of professional conduct for news media.* 4th ed. Portland, Or: Marion Street Press.

Bunce, Mel (2010): 'This Place Used to be a White British Boys' Club'. Reporting Dynamics and Cultural Clash at an International News Bureau in Nairobi. In *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* 99 (410), pp. 515–528.

Carruthers, Susan L. (2011): *The media at war.* 2nd ed. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chammah, Maurice (2014): The Scene of the Crime. October 9th, Maspero, and Egyptian Journalism after the Revolution. In Sarah El-Shaarawi (Ed.): *Three years since the Spring. A collection of essays on the state of Arab Media. Arab Media and Society (18)*. Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo, Kamal Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism, pp. 266–288.

Christians, Clifford G. (2010): The Ethics of Universal Being. In Stephen J. A. Ward, Herman Wasserman (Eds.): *Media ethics beyond borders. A global perspective*. New York: Routledge, pp. 6–23.

Christians, Clifford G.; Glassner, Theodore L.; McQuail, Denis; Nordenstreng, Kaarle; White, Robert A. (2009): *Normative theories of the media. Journalism in democratic societies.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press (The history of communication).

Comunello, Francesca; Anzera, Giuseppe (2012): Will the revolution be tweeted? A conceptual framework for understanding the social media and the Arab Spring. In *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 23 (4), pp. 453–470.

Cottle, Simon (2006): *Mediatized conflict. Developments in media and conflict studies*. Maidenhead, Berkshire, England, New York: Open University Press (Issues in cultural and media studies).

Cottle, Simon (2008): Reporting demonstrations: the changing media politics of dissent. In *Media, Culture & Society* 30 (6), pp. 853–872.

Cottle, Simon (2009): *Global crisis reporting. Journalism in the global age*. Maidenhead, England, New York, NY: Open University Press (Issues in cultural and media studies).

Cottle, Simon (2011): Media and the Arab Uprisings of 2011. Research Notes. In *Journalism* 12 (5), pp. 647–659.

Couldry, Nick (2007): Researching media internationalization: Comparative media research as if we really meant it. In *Global Media and Communication* 3 (3), pp. 247–250.

Couldry, Nick; Pinchevski, Amit; Madianou, Mirca (Eds.) (2013): *Ethics of media*. Houndsmills [et al.]: Palgrave Macmillan.

Deuze, M. (2005): What is journalism?: Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. In *Journalism* 6 (4), pp. 442–464.

Dietrich, Sandra (2007): *Embedded Journalism. Ursprünge, Ziele, Merkmale, Probleme und Nutzen von "Embedding" am Beispiel des Irak-Krieges 2003*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller.

Dobek-Ostrowska, Bogusława (Ed.) (2010): *Comparative media systems. European and global perspectives*. Budapest, New York: Central European University Press.

Donsbach, Wolfgang (2010): The global journalist. Are professional structures being flattened? In Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska (Ed.): *Comparative media systems. European and global perspectives*. Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, pp. 153–170.

Donsbach, Wolfgang; Patterson, Thomas E. (2004): Political news journalists. Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. In Frank Esser, Barbara Pfetsch (Eds.): *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics), pp. 251–270.

Dragomir, Marius (2010): Regional case studies of media roles: Central and Eastern Europe. In Pippa Norris (Ed.): *Public Sentinel. News Media & Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp. 245–274.

Elias, Norbert (2000): *The civilizing process. Sociogenetic and psychogenetic investigations.* Rev. ed. Oxford, Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

El Issawi, Fatima (2014): *Egyptian Media Under Transition. In the Name of the Regime… In the Name of the People?* London School of Economics, POLIS. London (Arab Revolutions: Media Revolutions).

Elmasry, Mohamed Hamas (2012): Journalism with Restraint. A Comparative Content Analysis of Independent, Government, and Opposition Newspapers in pre-Revolution Egypt. In *Journal of Middle East Media* 8 (1), pp. 1–3.4

Entman, Robert M. (1993): Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. In *Journal of Communication* 43 (4), pp. 51–58.

Esser, Frank (1998): *Die Kräfte hinter den Schlagzeilen. Englischer und deutscher Journalismus im Vergleich*. Freiburg: K. Alber (Alber-Reihe Kommunikation, Bd. 23).

Esser, Frank; Pfetsch, Barbara (Eds.) (2004): *Comparing political communication. Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics).

Fahmy, Shahira; Johnson, Thomas J. (2005): “How we Performed”: Embedded Journalists' Attitudes and Perceptions Towards Covering the Iraq War. In *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 82 (2), pp. 301–317.

Faris, David (2013): *Dissent and Revolution in a Digital Age. Social Media, Blogging and Activism in Egypt*: London: I. B. Tauris (Library of Modern Middle East Studies).

Flick, Uwe (2002): *Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung.* 6th ed. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verl.

Forsyth, Donelson R. (1980): A Taxonomy of Ethical Ideologies. In *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39 (1), pp. 175–184.

Freedom House (2014a): Freedom of the Press. Country Report Egypt. Available at: https://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/egypt#.VMJvmyifs25, checked on 01/23/2015.
Freedom House (2014b): Freedom of the Press. Country Report Serbia. Available at: https://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/serbia#.VMJvcCifs25, checked on 01/23/2015.
Freedom House (2014c): Freedom of the Press. Country Report South Africa. Available at: https://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/south-africa#.VMJt9yifs25, checked on 01/23/2015.
Galtung, Johan; Ruge, Mari H. (1965): The Structure of Foreign News The Presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus Crises in Four Norwegian Newspapers. In *Journal of Peace Research* 2 (1), pp. 64–90.
Giddens, Anthony (1990): *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
Giffard, Anthony C.; de Beer, Arnold S.; Steyn, Elanie (1997): New Media for the New South Africa. In Festus Eribo, William Jong-Ebot (Eds.): *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, pp. 75–101.
Gilboa, Eytan (2005): Effects of Global Television News on U.S. Policy in International Conflict. In Philip M. Seib (Ed.): *Media and conflict in the twenty-first century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1–32.
Gilboa, Eytan (2009a): Media and Conflict Resolution. In Jacob Bercovitch, Viktor Aleksandrovich Kremeniuk, I. William Zartman (Eds.): *The SAGE handbook of conflict resolution*. Los Angeles, London: SAGE, pp. 455–475.
Gilboa, Eytan (2009b): Media and Conflict Resolution. A Framework for Analysis. In *Marquette Law Review* 93, pp. 87–110.
Gitlin, Todd (1980/2003): *The whole world is watching. Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Habermas, Jürgen (2006): Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. In *Communication Theory* 16 (4), pp. 411–426.
Hackett, Robert A. (2007): Journalism Versus Peace? Notes on a Problematic Relationship. In *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition* 2 (1), pp. 47–53.
Hafez, Kai (2002): Journalism Ethics Revisited: A Comparison of Ethics Codes in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Muslim Asia. In *Political Communication* 19 (2), pp. 225–250.
Hafez, Kai (2005): Globalization, Regionalization and Democratization. The Interaction of Three Paradigms in the Field of Mass Communication. In Robert A. Hackett, Yuezhi Zhao (Eds.): *Democratizing Global Media. One World, Many Struggles*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Critical Media Studies: Institutions, Politics, and Culture), pp. 145–163.
Hallin, Daniel C.; Mancini, Paolo (2004): *Comparing media systems. Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics).

Hallin, Daniel C.; Mancini, Paolo (Eds.) (2012): *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics).

Halloran, James D.; Elliott, Philip Ross Courtney; Murdock, Graham (1970): *Demonstrations and communication. A case study*. Harmondsworth: Penguin (Penguin special).

Hamdy, Naila; Gomaa, Ehab E. (2012): Framing the Egyptian Uprising in Arabic Language Newspapers and Social Media. In *Journal of Communication* 62, pp. 195–211.

Hanitzsch, Thomas (2007): Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Toward a Universal Theory. In *Communication Theory* 17 (4), pp. 367–385.

Hanitzsch, Thomas (2009): Comparative Journalism Studies. In Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, Thomas Hanitzsch (Eds.): *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge (International Communication Association handbook series), pp. 413–427.

Hanitzsch, Thomas (2011): Populist disseminators, detached watchdogs, critical change agents and opportunist facilitators: Professional milieus, the journalistic field and autonomy in 18 countries. In *International Communication Gazette* 73 (6), pp. 477–494.

Hanitzsch, Thomas; Hanusch, Folker; Mellado, Claudia; Anikina, Maria; Berganza, Rosa; Cangoz, Incilay et al. (2011): Mapping journalism cultures across nations. In *Journalism Studies* 12 (3), pp. 273–293.

Hanitzsch, Thomas; Plaisance, Patrick L.; Skewes, Elizabeth A. (2013): Universals and Differences in Global Journalism Ethics. In Stephen J. A. Ward (Ed.): *Global media ethics. Problems and perspectives*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 30–49.

Hanitzsch, Thomas; Seethaler, Josef; Skewes, Elizabeth A.; et al. (2012): World of Journalism. Journalistic Cultures, Professional Autonomy, and Perceived Influences across 18 Nations. In David H. Weaver, Lars Willnat (Eds.): *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge (Routledge communication series), pp. 473–494.

Hantrais, Linda; Mangen, Steen (1996): Method and management of cross-national social research. In Linda Hantrais, Stephen P. Mangen (Eds.): *Cross-national research methods in the social sciences*. London, New York: Pinter.

Harcup, Tony (2007): *The ethical journalist.* London, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Harcup, Tony (2009): *Journalism. Principles and practice*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Harcup, Tony (2013): *Alternative journalism, alternative voices*. London, New York, NY: Routledge.

Heath, Carla W. (1997): Communication and Press Freedom in Africa. In Festus Eribo, William Jong-Ebot (Eds.): *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, pp. 29–51.

Helander, Elisabet (2010): A critical view of the Kenyan media system through the perspective of the journalists. In *African Communication Research*, 3(3), pp. 521-542.

Hepp, Andreas (2013): The communicative figurations of mediatized worlds: Mediatization research in times of the 'mediation of everything'. In *European Journal of Communication* 28 (6), pp. 615–629.

Hepp, Andreas; Hasebrink, Uwe (2014): Human interactions and communicative figurations: The transformation of mediatized cultures and societies. In Knut Lundby (Ed.): *Mediatization of communication*. Berlin: de Gruyter (Handbooks of communication science, 21), pp. 249–272.

Himelboim, Itai; Limor, Yehiel (2010): Media Institutions, News Organizations, and the Journalistic Social Role Worldwide: A Cross-National and Cross-Organizational Study of Codes of Ethics. In *Mass Communication and Society* 14 (1), pp. 71–92.

Hydén, Göran; Leslie, Michael; Ogundimu, Folu Folarin (2002): *Media and democracy in Africa*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers.

Iggers, Jeremy (1999): *Good news, bad news. Journalism ethics and the public interest*. Boulder, Colo: WestviewPress (Critical studies in communication and in the cultural industries).

Ismail, Jamal A.; Deane, James (2008): The 2007 General Election in Kenya and Its Aftermath. The Role of Local Language Media. In *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (3), pp. 319–327.

Jebril, Nael; Stetka, Vaclav; Loveless, Matthew (2013): *Media and Democratisation: What is Known about the Role of Mass Media in Transitions to Democracy*. Available online at https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Media%20and%20Democratisation.pdf, checked on 11/4/2014.

Khamis, Sahar; Vaughn, Katherine (2014): Cyberactivism in the Egyptian Revolution. How Civic Engagement and Citizen Journalism Tilted the Balance. In Sarah El-Shaarawi (Ed.): *Three years since the Spring. A collection of essays on the state of Arab Media*. Arab Media and Society (18). Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo, Kamal Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism, pp. 21–55.

Kirkpatrick, David D. (2015): Egypt Deports Peter Greste, Journalist Jailed With 2 Al Jazeera Colleagues. In T*he New York Times,* 2/1/2015. Available online at http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/02/world/africa/egypt-releases-and-deportsal-jazeera-journalist-from-australia.html?_r=2, checked on 4/9/2015.

Knightley, Phillip (2004): *The first casualty. The war correspondent as hero and myth-maker from the Crimea to Iraq*. 3rd ed. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kraidy, Marwan M. (1996): Reality Television, Politics and Democratization in the Arab World. In Gretchen Casper, Michelle M. Taylor (Eds.): *Negotiating Democracy. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh: University of

Pittsburgh Press (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies, 1), pp. 179–197.

Krstić, Aleksandra (2012): Novinarstvo i medijska industrija u Srbiji: profesionalni dobitak, ekonomski gubitak. In *Communication management Quarterly* 7 (24), pp. 115–132.

Löffelholz, Martin (2014): Embedded journalism. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Available online at http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1978634/embedded-journalism, updated on 4/9/2014, checked on 1/2/2015.

Luhmann, Niklas (2000): *The reality of the mass media*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press (Cultural memory in the present).

Lynch, Jake; Galtung, Johan (2010): *Reporting conflict. New directions in peace journalism*. St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press.

Lynch, Jake; McGoldrick, Annabel (2005): Peace Journalism. A Global Dialogue for Democracy and Democratic Media. In Robert A. Hackett, Yuezhi Zhao (Eds.): *Democratizing Global Media. One World, Many Struggles*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Critical Media Studies: Institutions, Politics, and Culture), pp. 269–288.

Mackell, Austin (2011): Egypt's Media Must Undergo its Own Revolution. The Guardian. Available online at http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/nov/05/egypt-media-revolution, checked on 01/21/2015.

Maina, Lucy (2006): Kenya: Country report context". African Media Development Initiative. BBC World Service Trust. Available online at http://africanmediainitiative.org/content/2013/07/22/AMDI-Report-Kenya.pdf, checked on 01/29/2015.

Makinen, Maarit; Wangu Kuira, Mary (2008): Social Media and Postelection Crisis in Kenya. In *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (3), pp. 328–335.

Marin, Noemi; Lengel, Laura (1996): Emerging Media Transformations in the New Europe. Past and Future Challenges. In Gretchen Casper, Michelle M. Taylor (Eds.): *Negotiating Democracy. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (Pitt Series in Policy and Institutional Studies, 1), pp. 51–69.

McCombs, Maxwell E.; Shaw, Donald L. (1972): The agenda-setting function of mass media. In *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (2), pp. 176–187.

McNair, Brian (1998): *The sociology of journalism*. London, New York, New York, NY: Arnold; Co-published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press.

McNair, Brian (2005): What is Journalism? In Hugo de Burgh (Ed.): *The making of journalists*. Abington, Oxon, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 25–43.

Media Council of Kenya (2013a): Kenya General Election: How responsible was the media? In The Media Observer. April-June 2013. Available online at http://www.mediacouncil.or.ke/en/mck/index.php/publications/viewcategory/3-media-observer-magazine, checked on 01/08/2015.

Media Council of Kenya (2013b) “Safety and protection of Kenyan journalists: Is it common sense or common cents?" Available online at https://www.hivos.org/sites/default/files/baseline_survey_report_final.pdf, checked on 01/08/2015.
Mellado, Claudia; van Dalen, Arjen (2013): Between Rhetoric and Practice. In *Journalism Studies*, pp. 1–20.
Mendel, Toby (2011): Political and Media Transitions in Egypt: A Snapshot of Media Policy and Regulatory Environment. Commissioned by Internews. Available online at http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/research/Egypt/Internews_Egypt_MediaLawReview_Aug11.pdf, checked on 1/23/2015.
Meyers, Christopher (2010): *Journalism ethics. A philosophical approach*. New York: Oxford University Press (Practical and professional ethics series).
Milivojevic, Snježana (2012): Novinarstvo i medijska industrija u Srbiji: izazovi i odgovori. In *Communication management Quarterly* 7 (24), pp. 35–57.
Morrison, David E.; Tumber, Howard (1988): *Journalists at war. The dynamics of news reporting during the Falklands conflict*. London: SAGE.
Moss, Natalie; O'Hare, Alasdair (2014): Staging democracy. Kenya's televised presidential debates. In *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8 (1), pp. 78–92.
Murphy, Sheila T.; Kennard, Cinny (2005): Characteristics of War Coverage by Female Correspondents. In Philip M. Seib (Ed.): *Media and conflict in the twenty-first century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 127–140.
Neverla, Irene; Lohner, Judith; Banjac, Sandra (2015): Mapping structural conditions of journalism in four countries. *MeCoDEM Working Paper Series*. To be published at www.mecodem.eu/publications
Nossek, Hillel; Sreberny, Annabelle; Sonwalkar, Prasun (2007): *Media and political violence*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
Nyamnjoh, Francis B. (2005): *Africa's media, democracy, and the politics of belonging*. London, New York: Zed Books; Palgrave Macmillan.
Oberg, Jan (2005): The Iraq Conflict and the Media. Embedded with War rather than with Peace and Democracy. In Robert A. Hackett, Yuezhi Zhao (Eds.): *Democratizing Global Media. One World, Many Struggles*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Critical Media Studies: Institutions, Politics, and Culture), pp. 185–203.
Ongong'a, Stephen Ongongo (2008): The shaping of news values of young journalists in Kenya. In *African Communication Research* 1 (2), pp. 159–185.
Onyebadi, Uche; Oyedeji, Tayo (2011): Newspaper coverage of post political election violence in Africa. an assessment of the Kenyan example. In *Media, War & Conflict* 4 (3), pp. 215–230.
Patterson, Thomas E.; Donsbach, Wolfgang (1996): News decisions: Journalists as partisan actors. In *Political Communication* 13 (4), pp. 455–468.
Peterson, Mark Allen (2014): Egypt's Media Ecology in a Time of Revolution. In Sarah El-Shaarawi (Ed.): *Three years since the Spring. A collection of essays on the state of Arab Media. Arab Media and Society (18)*. Cairo, Egypt:

American University in Cairo, Kamal Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism, pp. 81–95.
Pintak, Lawrence (2010): Regional case studies of media roles: Arab States. In Pippa Norris (Ed.): *Public Sentinel. News Media & Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp. 329–348.
Plaisance, P. L.; Skewes, E. A.; Hanitzsch, T. (2012): Ethical Orientations of Journalists Around the Globe: Implications From a Cross-National Survey. In *Communication Research* 39 (5), pp. 641–661.
Powers, Angela (2012): Transformation of Business practices in news organizations of Emerging Democracies. A Case Study of Egyptian Newspapers. In *Media Transformations* 7, pp. 70–85.
Price, Monroe E.; Al-Marashi, Ibrahim; Stremlau, Nicole (2010): Media in the Peace-Building Process: Ethiopia and Iraq. In Pippa Norris (Ed.): *Public Sentinel. News Media & Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp. 221–241.
Price, Monroe E.; Rozumilowicz, Beata; Verhulst, Stefaan (Eds.) (2002): *Media reform. Democratizing the media, democratizing the state*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge research in cultural and media studies, 9).
Radojković, Miroljub (2011): Socijalno-ekonomski položaj novinara. In *Communication management Quarterly* 6 (20), pp. 21–40.
Rayman, Noah (2014): Is the Egyptian Press Ready for Democracy?`. Evaluating Newspaper Coverage as an Indicator of Democratization. In Sarah El-Shaarawi (Ed.): *Three years since the Spring. A collection of essays on the state of Arab Media. Arab Media and Society (18).* Cairo, Egypt: American University in Cairo, Kamal Adham Center for TV and Digital Journalism, pp. 110–140.
Reich, Zvi (2006): The Process Model of News Initiative. In *Journalism Studies* 7 (4), pp. 497–514.
Reich, Zvi (2009): *Sourcing the news. Key issues in journalism; an innovative study of the Israeli press*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press (Hampton Press communication series).
Reich, Zvi; Hanitzsch, Thomas (2013): Determinants of Journalists' Professional Autonomy: Individual and National Level Factors Matter More Than Organizational Ones. In *Mass Communication and Society* 16 (1), pp. 133–156.
Robertson, Alexa (2013): Connecting in Crisis: "Old" and "New" Media and the Arab Spring. In *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (3), pp. 325–341.
Robinson, Piers (2002): *The CNN effect. The myth of news, foreign policy, and intervention*. London, New York: Routledge.
Rosen, Jay (2001): *What are journalists for?* Revised Edition. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
Rothenberger, Liane; Auer, Claudia (2013): Normativität in der Kommunikatorforschung: Journalistik. In Matthias Karmasin, Matthias Rath,

Barbara Thomaß (Eds.): *Normativität in der Kommunikationswissenschaft*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS, pp. 19–48.

Scheufele, Bertram (2011): Faktizität und Funktion. Plädoyer für eine Reflexion über Leitbilder in der empirischen Kommunikationswissenschaft mit einem Beispiel zur politischen Kommunikation. [Facticity and Function. A Case for Reflecting the Guiding Principles in Empirical Communication Science with an Example from Political Communication]. In *SCM - Studies in Communication | Media* (2), pp. 333–353. Available online at www.scm.nomos.de/fileadmin/scm/doc/SCM_11_02_03.pdf, checked on 5/18/2015.

Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger; Voltmer, Katrin (2006): The mass-media in third-wave democracies. Gravediggers or seedsmen of democratice consolidation? In Richard Gunther (Ed.): *Democracy, intermediation, and voting on four continents*. Oxford [u.a.]: Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 75–134.

Schoemaker, Emrys; Stremlau, Nicole (2014): Media and Conflict. An Assessment of the Evidence. In *Progress in Development Studies* 14 (2), pp. 181–195.

Scholl, Armin; Weischenberg, Siegfried (1998): *Journalismus in der Gesellschaft. Theorie, Methodologie und Empirie*. Opladen [u.a.]: Westdt. Verl.

Seethaler, Josef (2013): *Selling war. The role of the mass media in hostile conflicts from World War I to the 'War on Terror'*. Bristol: Intellect (European Communication Research and Education Association series).

Seib, Philip M. (1994): *Campaigns and conscience. The ethics of political journalism*. Westport, Conn: Praeger (Praeger series in political communication).

Seib, Philip M. (2002): *The global journalist. News and conscience in a world of conflict*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.

Seib, Philip M. (Ed.) (2005): *Media and conflict in the twenty-first century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shoemaker, Pamela J.; Cohen, Akiba A. (2006): *News around the world. Content, practitioners, and the public*. New York: Routledge.

Shoemaker, Pamela J.; Reese, Stephen D. (1996): *Mediating the message. Theories of influences on mass media content*. 2nd ed. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman.

Shoemaker, Pamela J.; Reese, Stephen D. (2013): *Mediating the Message in the 21st Century. A media Sociology Perspective*. Routledge.

Siebert, Fred S.; Peterson, Theodore; Schramm, Wilbur (1963): *Four theories of the press. The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press (Illini book, IB-15).

Simiyu, Tome F. (2014): Media Ownership and the Coverage of the 2013 General Election in Kenya. In *Global Media Journal: African Edition* 8 (1), pp. 114–145.

Smith, Ron F. (2008): *Ethics in journalism*. 6th ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Somerville, Keith (2011): Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification. In *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32 (1), pp. 82–101.

Sparks, Colin (2005): Civil Society as Contested Concept: Media and Political Transformation in Eastern and Central Europe. In Robert A. Hackett, Yuezhi Zhao (Eds.): *Democratizing Global Media. One World, Many Struggles*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers (Critical Media Studies: Institutions, Politics, and Culture), pp. 37–56.

Splichal, Slavko (1994): *Media beyond socialism. Theory and practice in East-Central Europe*. Boulder: Westview Press (International communication and popular culture).

Tettey, Wisdom J. (2010): Regional case studies of media roles: Sub-Saharan Africa. In Pippa Norris (Ed.): *Public Sentinel. News Media & Governance Reform*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, pp. 277–304.

Thomaß, Barbara (1998): *Journalistische Ethik. Ein Vergleich der Diskurse in Frankreich, Großbritannien und Deutschland*. Opladen, Wiesbaden: Westdt. Verl.

Thomaß, Barbara (2008): Das Ende der Eindeutigkeiten. Aporien und Dilemmata journalistischer Ethik in einer global vernetzten Mediengesellschaft. In Bernhard Pörksen, Wiebke Loosen, Armin Scholl, Siegfried Weischenberg (Eds.): *Paradoxien des Journalismus. Theorie, Empirie, Praxis: Festschrift für Siegfried Weischenberg*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften / GWV Fachverlage, Wiesbaden, pp. 297–310.

Thomaß, Barbara (Ed.) (2013): *Mediensysteme im internationalen Vergleich*. 2. Aufl. Stuttgart, [s.l.]: UTB GmbH; UVK (utb-studi-e-book, 2831).

Thomass, Barbara; Kleinsteuber, Hans J. (2011): Comparing Media Systems: The European Dimension. In Josef Trappel, Denis McQuail (Eds.): *Media in Europe today*. Bristol, UK, Chicago: Intellect, pp. 23–42.

TNS Qual+ (2012): *Journalists and Social media*. Aggregate report. January 2012. Eurobarometer Qualitative studies. European Commission, Directorate-General for Communication. Available online at http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/quali/journsm_en.pdf, updated on 1/26/2012, checked on 4/4/2015.

Tomaselli, Keyan G. (2009): (Afri)Ethics, Communitarianism and Liberitarianism. In *The International Communication Gazette* 71 (7), pp. 577–594.

Tumber, Howard (2013): The Role of the Journalist in Reporting International Conflicts. In Stephen J. A. Ward (Ed.): *Global media ethics. Problems and perspectives*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 50–68.

Tumber, Howard; Palmer, Jerry (2004): *Media at war. The Iraq crisis*. London, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications.

Tumber, Howard; Prentoulis, Marina (2005): Journalism and the Making of a Profession. In Hugo de Burgh (Ed.): *The making of journalists*. Abington, Oxon, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 58–73.

Tumber, Howard; Webster, Frank (2006): *Journalists under fire. Information war and journalistic practices*. London, Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.

van Dalen, A.; de Vreese, C. H.; Albaek, E. (2012): Different roles, different content? A four-country comparison of the role conceptions and reporting style of political journalists. In *Journalism* 13 (7), pp. 903–922.

Vladisavljevic, Nebojsa (2015): Media framing of political conflict: A review of the literature. *MeCoDEM Working Paper Series*. Available online at www.mecodem.eu/publications, checked on 6/9/2015.

Voltmer, Katrin (Ed.) (2006a): *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science, 42).

Voltmer, Katrin (2006b): Political communication between democratization and the trajectories of the past. In Katrin Voltmer (Ed.): *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science, 42).

Voltmer, Katrin (2006c): The mass media and the dynamics of political communication in processes of democratization. An introduction. In Katrin Voltmer (Ed.): *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science, 42), pp. 1–21.

Voltmer, Katrin (2012): How Far Can Media Systems Travel? Applying Hallin and Mancini's Comparative Framework outside the Western World. In Daniel C. Hallin, Paolo Mancini (Eds.): *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world.* Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics), pp. 224–245.

Voltmer, Katrin (2013): *The media in transitional democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Voltmer, Katrin; Rawnsley, Gary (2009): The Media. In Christian W. Haerpfer (Ed.): *Democratization*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 234–248.

Voltmer, Katrin; Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger (2006): New democracies without cititzens? Mass media and democratic oreintations - a four-cuntry comparison. In Katrin Voltmer (Ed.): *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*. London, New York: Routledge (Routledge/ECPR studies in European political science, 42).

Wachanga, D. Ndirangu (2011): Kenya's indigenous radio stations and their use of metaphors in the 2007 election violence. In *Journal of African Media Studies* 3 (1), pp. 109–125.

Ward, Stephen J. A. (2009): Journalism Ethics. In Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, Thomas Hanitzsch (Eds.): *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge (International Communication Association handbook series), pp. 295–309.

Ward, Stephen J. A. (2010): *Global journalism ethics*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Ward, Stephen J. A. (Ed.) (2013): *Global media ethics. Problems and perspectives*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Ward, Stephen J. A.; Wasserman, Herman (Eds.) (2010): *Media ethics beyond borders. A global perspective*. New York: Routledge.

Wasserman, Herman (Ed.) (2011): *Popular media, democracy and development in Africa*. London, New York: Routledge (Internationalizing media studies).
Wasserman, Herman (2013): Journalism in a new democracy. The ethics of listening. In *Communicatio: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research* 39 (1), pp. 64–84.
Wasserman, Herman; de Beer, Arnold S. (2005): Which public? Whose interest? The South African Media and its role during the first ten years of democracy. In *Critical Arts* 19 (1-2), pp. 36–51.
Wasserman, Herman; de Beer, Arnold S. (2009): Towards De-Westernizing Journalism Studies. In Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, Thomas Hanitzsch (Eds.): *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge (International Communication Association handbook series), pp. 428–438.
Wasserman, Herman; Jacobs, Sean (2013): Media Freedom, Citizenship and Social Justice in South Africa. In U. Pillay, G. Hagg, F. Nyamnjoh, J. Jansen (Eds.): *State of the Nation*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, pp. 333–354.
Wasserman, Herman; Maweu, Jacinta Mwende (2014): The freedom to be silent? Market pressures on journalistic normative ideals at the Nation Media Group in Kenya. In *Review of African Political Economy* 41 (142), pp. 623–633.
Wasserman, Herman; Rao, Shakuntala (2008): The Glocalisation of Journalism Ethics. In *Journalism* 9 (2), pp. 163–182.
Weaver, David H. (1998a): Journalists around the world: Commonalities and Differences. In David H. Weaver (Ed.): *The global journalist. News people around the world*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press (International Association for Media and Communication Research), pp. 455–480.
Weaver, David H. (Ed.) (1998b): *The global journalist. News people around the world*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press (International Association for Media and Communication Research).
Weaver, David H. (2005): Who are journalists? In Hugo de Burgh (Ed.): *The making of journalists*. Abington, Oxon, N.Y.: Routledge, pp. 44–57.
Weaver, David H. (2007): Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming. In *Journal of Communication* 57 (1), pp. 142–147.
Weaver, David H.; Willnat, Lars (2012a): Journalists in the 21st century: Conclusions. In David H. Weaver, Lars Willnat (Eds.): *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge (Routledge communication series), pp. 529–551.
Weaver, David H.; Willnat, Lars (Eds.) (2012b): *The global journalist in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge (Routledge communication series).
Weischenberg, Siegfried (1998): *Journalistik*. 2., überarb. und aktualisierte Aufl. Opladen: Westdt. Verl.
Wolfsfeld, Gadi (2004): *Media and the path to peace*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press (Communication, society, and politics).
Wolfsfeld, Gadi; Segev, Elad; Sheafer, Tamir (2013): Social Media and the Arab Spring: Politics Comes First. In *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (2), pp. 115–137.

Xiaoge, Xu (2009): Development Journalism. In Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, Thomas Hanitzsch (Eds.): *The handbook of journalism studies*. New York: Routledge (International Communication Association handbook series), pp. 357–370.
Zelizer, Barbie (2004): *Taking Journalism Seriously. News and the academy*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE.