Framing Citizen Journalism in Mainstream News Coverage:

A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis (1999-2012)

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ABSTRACT

A changing media environment led by digital technology, participatory culture, and economic crisis has made it possible for members of the public to take on the responsibility of representing common interests and actively participate in the creation and dissemination of information. However, due to the public's participation in the journalistic production process a variety of tensions likely exist between established journalism and citizen journalism. Like any occupation with professional objectives, professional journalists continually shield and protect their territory from potential competitors and legacy media try to fortify the privilege and special position of professional journalism. The main purpose of this study is to investigate how mainstream journalism responds to the growth of citizen journalism phenomenon, its participants and the power of citizen journalists' contribution on news content.

Reviewing professionalism and framing theory as the theoretical foundations, this dissertation specifically addressed the following objectives in the context of citizen journalism: (1) examine major news frames, narratives, argumentative tones; (2) explore representation of citizen news participants and citizen journalism with regard to role, norms, and values of professional journalism; (3) identify whether citizen journalism is undermined and professional journalism is legitimized in media coverage. 308 news articles from eight major U.S. newspapers on citizen journalism phenomenon for past fourteen years were analyzed through a mixed-method approach combining quantitative and qualitative analysis.

As a result of the content analysis, mainstream news articles have represented citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon and a comparatively new phenomenon. The data clearly unveiled that mainstream news coverage included discussions of citizen journalism from a variety of topical perspectives. However, citizen journalism has been mentioned in relation to the media industry, professional journalism, and journalism ethics more often than natural disasters and social events. Also, citizen news participants were portrayed as journalists-related performers – either "journalists" or "collaborators" – in a half of news articles analyzed.

Based on the quantitative analysis results alone, it appears that professional journalists approved of the positive value of citizen journalism in society and journalism field, and recognized the synergy between traditional journalists and citizen news participants. However, the qualitative textual analysis revealed that mainstream news articles routinely placed citizen journalism and citizen journalists outside the boundaries of professional journalism. By portraying citizen participants as non-journalists, news professionals often articulated specific reasons why citizen participants were clearly working outside the boundaries of professional journalism. Even if citizen news participants were portrayed as "journalists" in mainstream news articles, professional journalists were not supportive of these participants' position as "professionals." Additionally, the term "collaborators" is a complicated title because collaborators are not professionals, but do cooperate with professional journalists either within the legacy media system or independently. Therefore, regardless of how citizen news participants were identified, professional journalists distinguished themselves from citizen journalists,

effectively helping mainstream reporters to reinforce and legitimize their professional status in society.

More instances of journalists trying to legitimize their professional status were found. Since news articles with negative tonality largely considered citizen journalism as a dangerous or useless phenomenon, mainstream journalists explicitly legitimized their professional status in news coverage. By emphasizing harmful outcomes and dangerous side effects of citizen journalism, professional journalists found ways to justify why citizen journalism remains inferior to professional journalism and why professional journalism is still significant in society. Even in news articles with positive tonality, journalists attempted to legitimate their status in other ways. Although mainstream journalists focused on positive aspects of citizen journalism in this group of news articles, they continued efforts to legitimize their professional position while downplaying the status of citizen journalism. Specifically, mainstream journalists claimed that valuable citizen contributions were merely a result of access to technological innovations, favorable geographic proximity to events, and unconstrained time schedules; the values of democracy and civic mindedness were not explicitly mentioned as motivations of citizen journalism. Professional journalists also implicitly limited the role of citizen journalism to "information delivery," which, as in the above examples, served to successfully justify professional journalists' status and authority.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

"Twenty years ago, on March 3, 1991, a media shock wave hit Los Angeles and the nation: the Rodney King video. As a bystander captured the incident with his home video camera, several LA police officers beat King repeatedly while other officers stood by and watched" (Gillmor, 2011, n. p.).

George Holliday's Rodney King video represents a significant moment in the history of citizen journalism. Even though it was not the first occurrence of a citizen filming police activity, the event helped society recognize that anyone with video camera could be more than a witness to the events of our time. Indeed, as the video's creator, Holliday himself became an essential component of how we remember the Rodney King beating. Although an ordinary citizen generated the King clip, traditional media systems still served as a powerful means for filtering, editing and disseminating news about the event. The night following the beating, Holliday brought his 9-minute videotape to Los Angeles television station KTLA who edited and aired the piece locally then shared it with a national news station, carrying citizen-generated news content to the larger public.

Almost 10 years later, citizen journalism experienced another milestone on its rise to prominence as eyewitness accounts, survival stories, and photographs from the aftermath of 9/11 began appearing across the Internet on blogs and other websites. Citizen-generated news gained further attention when survivors and witnesses of the 2005 London Underground bombings and Hurricane Katrina shared and distributed their personal pictures, videos, and reactions to the tragedies online. Recent evolutions in

social networks, video-sharing sites, and micro-blogs have provided increasingly accessible platforms for distributing citizen-generated news. Today's mobile technology, including smartphones equipped with high quality cameras, allows nearly everyone to easily upload and share videos and photos on the web. Use of these platforms along with mobile technology helped citizen journalists play in an important role during the 2009 Iranian election protests, the so-called Arab Spring, and the Occupy Wall Street movement (Bulkley, 2012).

While traditional notions of journalism are still intact, the field has greatly evolved since Holliday's act of citizen journalism captured the Rodney King beating in 1991 (Myers, 2011). Today, everyone—not just professionally accredited journalists—has the tool to perform the practice of journalism (Flew, 2012). Many observers believe that cheap and convenient technologies such as smartphones have contributed to democratizing journalism practices and shaping participatory media culture. In participatory media culture, "media producers and consumers are increasingly participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules and consumers are increasingly powerful in relation to media corporations" (Jenkins, 2006, p.260). As Dan Gillmor (2007) noted said, "we used to say that journalists write the first draft of history. Not so, not any longer. The people on the ground at these events write the first draft" (n.p.). Certainly, the emergence of citizen journalism has challenged the privilege and roles of mainstream counterpart. The category of "professional" journalist has been blurred, and "the 'gatekeeper' function" has become "more about professional self-defense than about quality or standards, and 'what was once a service has become a

bottleneck'" (Shirky, 2008, p.69). Citizen participants "who may not adhere to professional standards and norms of reportage" have challenged "the profession's self-proclaimed mission to provide accurate and truthful information to the public in the service of democratic ends" (Chang et al., 2009, p.2). As citizen journalism is "the ultimate act of civic action in which ordinary people can participate in their own societies" (Rosenberry & St. John III, 2010, p.4), it is considered by some as a more capable model for news production than professional journalism.

Therefore, this study poses the following fundamental questions: How has mainstream journalism perceived the rise of citizen journalism? How has mainstream journalism considered the challenges citizen-generated news and citizen participants present to the roles, functions, and principles of professional journalism?

Professional authority, expertise, and the former audience

To a large extent, the phenomenon of citizen journalism is another example of the larger phenomenon of the clash between "experts" and "non-experts" in the digital age. Due to the crowdsourcing and democratizing effect of the Internet in medicine, sports, politics, education and so forth, public is able to gain knowledge that was in the past not accessible to people outside the expert's community, which blurred the line between "expert" and "non-expert" (Weinberger, 2014). As a mixture of "professional" and amateur", a new term "proteur" was coined to describe a person who is on the borderline between professional and amateur; she may not be officially professional, but is as skilled as other professionals (Kemmer, 2008). For instance, "citizen scientist" is used to describe a non-professional volunteer who participates in scientific activities such as data

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collection, analysis, and digital dissemination of a scientific project (Open Science, September 3, 2011). The "citizen scientist" is a clear representative of a public actor on the borderline between expert and non-expert.

Although many people welcome the increased opportunities for citizens to participate in knowledge generation and exchange, professionals have conflicting views between apprehension and support for greater and more visible audience or amateur engagement in their fields. Often, they are concerned that citizen participants pose a challenge to the authority of their professions, and struggle to define exactly which tasks and information they should share with citizens. Therefore, this dissertation, based on studying the advent of citizen journalism from the view of professional journalists, contributes to understanding of the ongoing clash between experts and non-experts in the digital age.

Changing news room

In recent years, mainstream journalism has been facing multiple changes both internally and externally (Downie & Schudson, 2009). According to *The Changing Newsroom,* a survey from Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism (2008), news outlets have reduced full-time newsroom staff over the past few years because of financial pressures. Similarly, many newsrooms (61%) have also reported a decrease in their overall news holes, number of pages, and staff size, which in turn influences a range of topics in newspaper companies. News audiences have also been dissatisfied with traditional journalism because in their minds, it has become overly politicized and commercialized, often neglecting ordinary people's concerns. This crisis

in trust between traditional journalism and the public suggests that traditional journalism and the news it produces have the potential to manipulate the truth and present a distorted view of public affairs issues (Downie & Schudson, 2009; Bowman & Willis, 2003). Additionally, the rise of citizen media, social media, and news aggregators give audiences the option of blogs and citizen news sites, instead of traditional media (Sambrook, 2008).

The changes faced by traditional journalism outlined above challenge the uniqueness of journalism as a profession. The Internet and its surrounding digital technologies have "denied the professional journalist the coveted authority and legitimacy to set the pace, timing, and the context of news reporting" (Chang et al., 2009, p.7). The watchdog function of journalism and the traditional, normative principle of objectivity have been considered less important in this new journalism practice resulting in a redistribution of power within the field (Deuze, 2009).

Some traditional news media have incorporated the work of citizen journalists into their existing news routines. On August of 2006, Cable News Network (CNN) launched I-Report, a user-generated citizen news site similar to YouTube (CNN.com, 2006). It now has more than 1.3 million contributors—up six-fold since its launch. I-Reporters contribute unedited and unfiltered user-generated text, image, and video content. Many compelling and vivid video clips captured by I-Reporters have been shared across the nation and the world. For instance, I-Reporter Jamal Albarghouti posted a video clip of the Virginia Tech shooting captured with his Nokia cell phone that was

disseminated to the public through CNN website and its television channel (Tompkins, 2007).

CNN is not the only major news firm trying to adapt to the citizen journalism phenomenon. Other mainstream news media also launched citizen journalism and blog sites, which allow ordinary people to post and share citizen-generated news content (e.g. MSNBC's *FirstPerson*, New York Time's *The Local*, ABC's *i-Caught*, etc.). This change in mainstream media practices indicates that major news outlets have realized the growth of citizen journalism as a phenomenon and understand that they cannot dismiss the power of citizen journalists' contributions to news content. By embracing citizen news in legacy media, mainstream journalism has on one hand considered citizen-generated news as legitimate information within the realm of professional journalism (Chang et al., 2009). On the other hand, however, corporate-sponsored citizen media may reproduce mainstream media's hegemony and blur the distinction between citizen and mainstream journalism (Kperogi, 2011).

GOAL OF RESEARCH

This study focuses on the rise of the citizen journalism phenomenon from the perspective of traditional journalism. A changing media environment led by digital technology, participatory culture, and economic crisis has made it possible for members of the public "to take on the responsibility of representing common interests and actively participate in the creation and dissemination of information" (Antony and Thomas, 2010, pp.1284-1285). However, due to the public's participation in the journalistic production

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process a variety of tensions likely exist between established journalism and citizen journalism. While this new form of nonprofessional journalism has transformed the boundaries between news audience and news producer, some boundaries between professionals and amateurs still remain. Like any occupation with professional objectives, professional journalists continually shield and protect their territory from potential competitors and legacy media try to fortify the privilege and special position of professional journalism (Waisbord, 2013). Therefore, it is possible that "journalism's response to multiple forms of citizen journalism demonstrate the strength of professionalism as the demarcation and reinforcement of occupational boundaries" (Waisbord, 2013, p.15).

The main purpose of this study is to explore how mainstream journalism responds to this new phenomenon of citizen journalism, its participants and the impact of citizen journalism on news coverage produced by mainstream outlets. Accordingly, this dissertation will examine how mainstream news coverage represents the value, narrative, and position of this new breed of journalism and perceived new competitors. Furthermore, this study aims to investigate how established journalism identifies the role and legitimacy of professional journalism in dealing with the emergence of citizen journalism. In doing so, this dissertation provides an examination of the nature of tensions between mainstream journalism and citizen journalism, leading to a better understanding of how established journalism has evolved in light of citizen journalism's entrance to the journalistic field.

In order to study representations of citizen journalism from the perspective of mainstream newspapers, it is beneficial to consider professionalism and framing theory as the theoretical foundations of this dissertation. According to the sociology tradition, established journalism as professions include specialized knowledge, technical skills, practice experience, disinterested public service, professional codes of ethics, and exclusive work jurisdiction (Deuze, 2005). Journalists have power as part of information professions and hold an occupational status and privilege in society (Abbott, 1985; Chang et al., 2009). The practice of citizen journalism, which embraces various, plural voices and encourages ideal participation, has also challenged to established journalism as a new agent of democracy (McQuail, 2001). By reviewing principles of professionalism, this study provides a sense of how normative values of established journalism have been constructed and challenged by journalism.

Professional values and legitimacy aside, the vital democratic function that established journalism has claimed as its special contribution—informing the citizenry— is also challenged by citizen journalism. Many observers charge that commercial pressures and intertwined interests between politicians and journalists have damaged American journalism's ability to be a real "watchdog" for the public (Nichols & McChesney, 2009; Viall, 2009).

Along with ideas on the importance of journalism as a profession, framing theory is also considered a main theoretical framework in this study. News content is socially constructed and reflects dominant ideas and beliefs in a culture (Tuchman, 1978; Goffman, 1974). In particular, journalists in the process of news making always consider

embedded and taken-for-granted values, ideologies, and assumptions. Therefore, identifying news frames generated by mainstream journalists effectively illustrates how they portray the phenomenon of citizen journalism.

Within these two main frameworks, this study will specifically address the following objectives in the context of citizen journalism: (1) examine major news frames, narratives, argumentative tones; (2) explore representation of citizen news participants and citizen journalism with regard to role, norms, and values of professional journalism; (3) identify whether citizen journalism is undermined and professional journalism is legitimized in media coverage.

STRUCTURE OF RESEARCH

Chapter 1 briefly presents research background, goals of research, and theoretical frameworks. This chapter helps the researcher and readers position this dissertation in the field of mass communication and journalism.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a review of relevant literature. Chapter 2 reviews a variety of definitions and features of citizen journalism and distinguishes relevant models of journalism from citizen journalism. In addition, Chapter 2 presents viewpoints from the world of established journalism on the rise of citizen journalism and discusses the relationships between mainstream and citizen journalism. Chapter 3 outlines literature about journalism as a profession and how framing theory functions as the study's main theoretical foundation. The first section reviews ideas behind professional journalism, normative value and roles related to journalism, and boundary work in relation to the rise

of citizen journalism. The second section of Chapter 3 explores framing theory - a main body of literature in media sociology. In particular, framing literature related to news frames will be considered for the purpose of this research. In addition, literature on dynamics in journalistic field and research on news coverage of citizen journalism is reviewed and presented in the last section.

Chapter 4 explains the link between research objectives and research questions. It also introduces the two main research questions and their sub questions. Chapter 5 discusses research methods used in this study such as quantitative content analysis and qualitative textual analysis, and also outlines data collection procedures, data analysis procedures, databases used and coding schemes.

The next two chapters review the results of this research. Chapter 6 presents the results of the quantitative content analysis including answers to of the first set of research questions. Chapter 7 interprets the qualitative textual analysis results and answers the second set of research questions. Lastly, Chapter 8 summarizes findings and implications, presents study limitations, and considers contributions of this research to the field of journalism and mass communication. This final chapter also explores possible suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2. CITIZEN JOURNALISM

This chapter defines and conceptualizes the main term of this research—*citizen journalism*—on the basis of its characteristics and structures, and reviews journalism models relevant to citizen journalism. This chapter also provides a preliminary discussion about how traditional media practitioners and scholars have responded to the rise of citizen journalism.

CITIZEN JOURNALISM

Many terms are often interchanged with citizen journalism including: civic journalism, public journalism, amateur journalism, collaborative journalism, participatory journalism, grass-root journalism, do-it-yourself journalism, hyper-local journalism, alternative journalism, open-source journalism, and networked journalism (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Gillmor, 2004; Glaser, 2011; Goode, 2009; Singer et al., 2011; Wall, 2012). Even though the above terms may share several features, each was defined in response to different focuses and purpose (Tilley & Cokley, 2008). In this review, the term "citizen journalism" was chosen as a catch-all descriptor because citizen journalism comprehensively embraces common features that other terms share.

Journalism: Principles and practices

In his recent publication, Tony Harcup introduced the term – citizen journalism saying "something of a contested term for material produced by people who are not

employed as journalists but whose writing or other media output appears to contain journalistic elements" (2014, p.55). Although "there really is no simple definition for what a citizen journalism/ citizen journalist is, just lots and lots of examples" (Vargas, 2007, November 27), one thing all scholars of journalism agree on is this: whether they do function as professional journalism or not, ordinary citizens have more opportunities than any previous generation of news audiences to take on the role of news producers.

Arguably, the most popular definition of citizen journalism among scholars came from Jay Rosen of New York University (Singer, et al., 2011). Rosen explained citizen journalism as "when the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, that's citizen journalism" (2006, n.p.). While Rosen's definition was certainly clear, other scholars refined Rosen's understanding of these new employers of press tools. For example, in *Online Journalism Review*, an online Annenberg School website dedicated to discussion of digital journalism, citizen journalism is defined "the collecting and publication of timely, unique, nonfiction information by individuals *without formal journalism training or professional affiliation*" (Niles, 2007, emphasis added). Thus, more explicitly than Rosen, other scholars made a point to specify that citizen journalists do not share the educational or professional backgrounds of journalists who work in established news outlets. Various journalistic activities by ordinary people who are not affiliated with any legacy media institution were considered one of important emphases for conceptualizing citizen journalism (Roberts, 2013).

Changing role of audience

Another important distinction developed in many definitions is the ability of audiences to simultaneously produce and respond to news in a wider variety of ways than in the past. Like Rosen, Dan Gillmor, a former professional journalist and founder of the citizen news site *Bayosphere*, indicated that the very notion of news audiences has changed with the development of the Internet. He elaborated what Rosen calls "the former audience" in terms of two recent phenomena: 1) audiences can receive news faster than before via digital sources and; 2) audiences can participate in the journalistic production process (Gillmor, 2004). Because of this, Gillmor (2004) suggested we conceptualized traditional professional journalism in Western culture as one-way communication that functions more like a lecture, whereas citizen journalism potentially allow multiple vectors of communication, more like a seminar or conversation. At its best, citizen journalism can provide a forum for deliberation that considers all existing perspectives on a given issue, rather than the conventional two sides. In his book *We The Media*, Gillmor considered this new type of journalism driven by citizens who are actually interested in the transformation of journalism from a mass media structure to something profoundly more grassroots and democratic (Gillmor, 2004).

Alex Bruns also emphasized the shift from audience to producer in citizen journalism (Bruns, 2010). He focused on the process of citizen journalism, particularly in community-based formats, such as open-source news. Bruns (2010) argued that given the ways audiences can participate in online news environments as users *and* producers, it makes sense to articulate how the boundaries between these two roles are blurred.

Therefore, he proposed a hybrid term of user and producers, *prouser* (Bruns, 2008) to describe the distinct features of citizen journalism and citizen journalists.

Citizen journalists as critics of traditional journalism

Sometimes, people are dissatisfied with traditional journalism, a common sentiment being that it does not address the concerns of "ordinary people." Traditional journalism is criticized for becoming overly politicized and commercialized, with some suggesting that this kind of news has the capacity to manipulate the truth and present a distorted view of public affairs issues (Bowman & Willis, 2003). Bowman and Willis contended that citizen journalism involves "the act of a citizen, or a group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information … [to] provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires" (2003, p.9). Therefore, proponents of citizen journalists importantly highlighted what citizen journalism provides to public, and how that news product is different from what professional journalists release.

In his research, Woo (2005) indicated that citizen journalism necessarily has different purposes from traditional journalism that utilizes long-held journalistic news reporting standards, which allows citizen journalism to offer a unique perspective on news events. Citizen journalism embodies "the transformation of alternative media participants (or community media, participatory media, or radical media) into active citizens, which means that it accounts for the process of empowerment and fragmentation of power that results when men, women, and youth gain access to and reclaim their own media" (Rodriguez, 2001). However, there is still little doubt that "citizen journalism is

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decisively realigning traditional news reporting's communicative priorities and protocols, sometimes in profound ways" (Allan, 2013, p.9).

Additionally, it is necessary to mention that citizen journalism is closely associated with new technologies. The rise of new technology has allowed anyone with access to an internet-connected computer and simple software to publish content that is available to everyone with Internet access (Bruns, 2010; Glaser, 2011; Goode, 2009; Matheson, 2008). Thanks to these technologies, physical obstacles of participation in journalistic activities have either been lowered or removed, enabling ordinary people to "reach a mass audience in terms of cost, effort, technical skills, and expertise" (Roberts, 2013, p.39). Through blogs, social networking sites, video-sharing sites, and other forms of participatory publishing, citizens have the potential to do "quasi-journalistic acts" (Coddington, 2012, p. 383) such as reporting information, sharing photos, and offering analysis or commentary on news events to communicate with the world.

In his comprehensive definition of citizen journalism, Mark Glaser (2011) highlighted the impact of communication technology. He noted that "the idea behind citizen journalism is that people without professional journalism training can be use the tools of modern technology and the global distribution of the Internet to create, augment, or fact-check media on their own or in collaboration with others" (Glaser, 2011, p.578). Benkler (2006) also emphasized the impact of communication technology, saying "the capacity to make meaning and the capacity to communicate one's meaning around the world, are held by, or readily available to, at least many hundreds of millions of users" around the globe (p.27).

Due to the expansion of citizen journalism as an outgrowth of the Web, traditional power dynamics respecting the privilege of news producers have changed, and the boundary between news audiences and news producers is no longer clear (Antony & Thomas, 2010). According to Castells et al. (2004), technologies and tools that have been possessed and utilized by professional journalists in the past are now available to everyday citizens for distributing information. Any member of the general public with technology is able to "take on the responsibility of representing common interests and actively participate in the creation and dissemination of information" (Antony & Thomas, 2010, pp.1284).

Throughout definitions provided by scholars and practitioners, most of the terms surrounding citizen journalism try to reinforce that ordinary people who are not trained as professional journalists and not affiliated with legacy media perform journalistic activities such as the collection and distribution of information about events in ways that contribute to alternative perspectives or deliberation based on new communication technology.

RELEVANT MODELS OF JOURNALISM

Even though I briefly explicate the term - citizen journalism, it is necessary to distinguish the term from other journalism models that have often been used together. As a starting point, it is worth reviewing Nip's review of models (2006). Based on the relationship and connection between mainstream journalism and ordinary people, Nip (2006) effectively identified three controversial models of journalism, including public

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journalism, participatory journalism, and citizen journalism. Although all three models purport to embrace citizen participation in news production and their mission is located in opposition to traditional journalism, each has a different format and purpose in terms of the news production process.

Before comparing these three models of journalism, it is necessary to identify the features of what is considered to be traditional journalism. According to Nip, traditional journalism is a type of journalism in which "professional journalists are the gatekeepers who filter through the happenings of the world, select the significant events, and report them for their audience" (2006, p. 216). In traditional journalism, therefore, professional journalists are involved in the entire process of news production from gathering information to writing, editing, and publishing the story. Professional journalism also employs established professional values of journalism at every stage. Therefore, audience/user participation occurs at a minimal level in the professional model. Audiences are only allowed to participate reactively—such as through letters to the editor or other forms of audience feedback (Kperogi, 2011, Lewis, 2011, Roberts, 2013). Traditional journalism does not imagine a role for audiences as news producers.

Public journalism (also known as civic journalism) aims to "engage people as citizens in both the news making process and the use of the news. Town hall meetings, citizen panels, and polls are common strategies used to tap into the concerns of the community, which would then form the reporting agenda for the journalists" (Nip, 2006, pp.216-217). On the one hand, public journalism is a reaction to the deepening gap between journalism and the citizens; on the other hand, it reflects concerns about the

participation of ordinary people in public life in general (Rosen, 1999). Kperogi (2011) noted that "public journalism imposes on itself the task of actively seeking the input of local communities both in decisions about what constitutes newsworthy events and in how the news is presented" (p.316).

Pubic journalism seems to provide a greater connection with citizens' concerns than traditional journalism does. However, professional journalists still hold the role of gatekeepers in "editing the stories and publishing the news which frames the issues and presents the story elements in a way that addresses public concerns and helps the people to participate in the community" (Nip, 2006, p.217). On account of this, public journalism is criticized because it still sustains "the fundamental essence of professional, mainstream media practices", even though "pretending to be an improvement on mainstream journalism" (Kperogi, 2011, p.317).

The basic idea behind, participatory journalism is user-participation in the news gathering process. In participatory journalism, news audiences are allowed to have a chance to present their perspective about public affairs (Nip, 2006). People inside and outside the newsroom are actively engaged in communicating not only to, but also with, one another (Bowman & Willis, 2003) allowing all to participate in the ongoing process of news production (Singer, et al., 2011). Focusing on this active involvement from diverse venues, instead of a single source, participatory journalism is considered as a "commons-based peer production" what Yochai Benkler (2006, p.60) refers to. This open-source model "harnesses and harvests the collective energy and intelligence of large

numbers of people, each doing small tasks that contribute to a larger project, and often with little organizational direction and no compensation" (Lewis et al., 2010, p.64).

While the practice known as public or participatory journalism is sometimes regarded as being essentially the same as citizen journalism, these terms should remain distinct from citizen journalism. The primary difference between public journalism and citizen journalism revolves around the involvement of professional journalists. As mentioned above, though public journalism presents a better connection with citizens, professional journalists still play the role of gatekeeper in controlling news content.

Some scholars suggest that a distinction between these terms is unimportant— what we call participatory journalism or public journalism can all fall under the heading of citizen journalism (Gillmor, 2004). However, Nip (2006) made clear the important distinction between participatory/public journalism and citizen journalism in terms of those involved in news making process.

In participatory journalism, news users generate content that they pass on to journalism professionals who then use that and other information to create, publish and market a professionally produced news product. This kind of participatory journalism can be seen drawing increasing interest among media entrepreneurs as well as mainstream news organizations (e.g. BBC's "Have Your Say" or CNN's I-Report initiative). In this vein, participatory journalism is particularly close to citizen journalism (Singers et al., 2011).

Citizen journalism, however, removes "the authority of the professional journalists" (p.217) from participatory journalism (Nip, 2006). Participatory journalism

not only presumes users participate in a many-to-many collaborative or collective action, but it also retains the role of professional journalists as a gatekeeper. In citizen journalism, users maintain sole responsibility for gathering information as well as producing and publishing entirely citizen-generated news (Nip, 2006). Bowman and Willis considered citizen journalism "the act of a citizen, or a group of citizens, playing an active role in the process of collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information … [in order to] provide independent, reliable, accurate, wide-ranging and relevant information that a democracy requires" (2003, p.9). In fact, citizen journalism allows the widest range of participants to perform the widest range of journalistic activity (Kperogi, 2011; Lasica, 2003).

In short, the citizen journalism model, ideally, allows members of community to generate and distribute news stories without any involvement with traditional media and professional journalists. It provides news stories related to people and events that might be considered mundane—events often ignored by most professional publishers. However, it does not mean that any unfiltered, user-generated content on the Internet can be characterized as citizen journalism. In order to be included in the category of citizen journalism, user-generated content needs to include some original interviewing, reporting, or analysis of events or issues to which people other than the authors have access (Nip, 2006).

Kperogi concluded that, "there appears to be sufficient agreement among journalism scholars on their distinguishing features to justify delineating them as distinct journalistic models" (2011, p.316). Nevertheless, the models overlap at the conceptual

level. The models do not have intrinsic, self-sufficient meanings and constantly change in time and space (Kperogi, 2011). Also, citizen journalism has been built on various media platforms, including personal blogs, photo, or video sharing sites, social media, micro-blogging sites, legacy media's citizen participation pages, independent citizen news sites, hyper-local news sites, and personal broadcasting sites (Glaser, 2011; Lasica, 2003).

In addition, to the above models, many other terms are used instead of or indistinct from citizen journalism. In trade and scholarly publications, terms including networked journalism, grassroots, pro-am journalism, and multi-perspectival journalism are used simultaneously to indicate citizen participation in the news making. Lewis et al. (2010) explained, "journalism is no longer the provenance of professionals only. The door is open, even if only slightly in some cases, for regular folks to act in creating news content, as opposed to merely reacting to it" (p. 63). In this study, therefore, the term, citizen journalism comprehensively embraces other terms as long as the terms incorporate the essence of the characteristics articulated in this review.

RESPONSE OF ESTABLISHED JOURNALISM

User-participation in news production system has long been part of journalism and thus controlled by news professionals. However, digital forms of participation have expanded "the potential volume and scope that citizen journalism entails" (Lewis, 2012, p. 859). Free from the constraints of time and space, ordinary people have infinite opportunities to participate in online news processes via various formats, such as video, photo, or text.

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With the rise of citizen journalism, "more people are passing on their observations and ideas, playing a role previously occupied only by members of the institutional press" (Gant, 2007, p.45). Chris Atton (2002) also highlighted the value of individual experiences, particularly as they are not limited by the embedded routines of professional news media. While non-professional journalists gather and generate news as part of their own lives, they embody their own history, experience, and opinions within a publication (Atton, 2002). Non-professional journalists can also "disrupt the framing of the mass media in various ways and denaturalized the dominant social processes of the media" (Roberts, 2013, p. 43).

Because of this ability to disrupt, news professionals and media industry have struggled with the rise of citizen journalism during the past two decades and now realize that this emerging reality will impact their industry (Lewis, 2012). Confronting this problem has allowed news professionals to deal with the degree and type of citizen participation competing with their established news industry (Hermida & Thurman 2008; Lewis et al., 2010; Singer et al. 2011; Thurman 2008;; Wardle & Williams 2010; all cited in Lewis, 2012). Research has highlighted the role of citizen journalism and citizen media "as a corrective to mainstream news whose quality of coverage has been found wanting on a number of occasions" (Bruns, 2009, p.9). Any way one looks at it, the impact of citizen journalism on the established journalism field and its role in the future news media remain key topics in current journalism research.

In recent years, mainstream journalism's traditional ability to control the content and distribution of information has been eroding (Chang et al., 2009). Although the title

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"journalist" still has more social power than "citizen news participant," mainstream journalists realize that citizen journalism has become a powerful force in the world of traditional news reporting, challenging the professional power of established journalism (Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Lowrey, 2006). Particularly, the Internet and its surrounding digital technologies have clearly challenged the authority and legitimacy of professional journalists that set the space, timing, and context of news reporting.

Established journalism "finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology and competitors but, potentially, by the audience it serves" (Singer et al., 2011, p.3). Some have tried to redefine their journalistic roles amid this changing environment. As Bardoel and Deuze put it, "with the explosive increase of information on a worldwide scale, the necessity of offering information about information has become a crucial addition to journalism's skills and tasks … this redefines the journalist's role as an annotational or orientational one, a shift from the watchdog to the guide-dog" (2001, p.94).

Established journalists have worried that citizen journalism would quickly replace the mainstream journalism industry (Bruns & Highfield, 2012). Because of the threats to the integrity of their professionalism and the legitimacy of their established status in society, mainstream journalists should be reluctant to embrace citizen journalism as their counterparts even though they accept the democratic function of citizen journalism.

However, research suggests that citizen journalism is not in a position to replace or provide the same type of coverage as traditional outlets (*The State of the News Media*,

2010). Instead, citizen journalism performs a different kind of role, namely, partnering with traditional news media to fill gaps where commercial news outlets lack resources. Citizen journalists also routinely join forces with one another to increase their offerings. On account of these practices, established news organizations accept the fact that citizen journalism has continued to play a role in the journalism field (Curran, 2010; Rosen, 2006) and adopt citizen content (Brown, 2005; Schaffer, 2007).

However, As Rosen (2006) made clear, this does not mean that traditional journalism is going to be replaced by citizen journalism. Lewis (2012) considered this tension between legacy journalism and citizen journalism as "a both/ and condition of complementary strengths", not as "an either/ or phenomenon" (p.62). Since legacy media and citizen media have different goals and meet different needs, it is highly unlikely that one can perfectly replace the other; rather, they will co-exist. The primary questions for scholars of citizen journalism are "what will be the quality of this co-existence in terms of the stature and status of the models of journalism?" and "how will each refer to the other in regards to legitimacy and public service?"

Critics view citizen journalism as a poor substitute for professional news since citizen practitioners lack the skill to adequately serve as a watchdog on wrongdoing by powerful forces (Mosco, 2009). Critics argued that "citizen journalism will displace the careful, credible reporting of professionals with an untrustworthy version of events that is at best incomplete and at worst sensational, propagandistic, and potentially dangerous" (Wall, 2010, p.2). Thurman (2008) also noted that mainstream journalists worry that "non-professional produced content challenges journalism's professional norms in ways

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that might not benefit either group, eroding trust and accountability for professional and amateur journalists alike" (p.144). More mundane but also of concern to some, is "simply the quality of the citizen content, which critics argue is more prone to grammatical mistakes and sloppy execution, if not inaccuracies" (Wall, 2010, p.5).

More pessimistic accounts suggested, "the real driving force behind the development of citizen journalism is simply money" (Wall, 2010, p.3). Professional news outlets have encouraged and promoted content produced by citizens in order to attract broader audiences and lead consumers to believe that they can make real contributions to the news—that theirs and other, similar voices are in fact listened to. Researchers have shown how these citizens' contributions are then homogenized to reflect the traditional values of mainstream news. Deuze (2005) argued that most citizen journalism is dependent on mainstream news outlets and is not independently produced. From this point of view, citizen journalism represents just one more cost-cutting measure employed by corporate news media.

Established journalists also consider citizen participatory news and the blogosphere as "biased and slanted because there is no expectation requiring objectivity" (Thornley, 2007, n.p.). Citizen journalists are criticized by established journalists for their propensity to feature entertainment articles with little background research rather than informing the public on matters that benefit them as citizens (Brown, 2005; Carpenter, 2008). As a result, citizen journalists have lowered standards within the realm of professional journalism. Mark Cooper, the former editorial coordinator of *OffTheBus* claimed that "where we've had the bigger problem is assuming that untrained citizen

reporters can quickly and adequately replace professional and trained reporters. We do

ourselves a lot of damage if we underestimate the training and professional rigors of

journalism. I'm talking about the standards and training that go into building a journalist.

Journalists don't just come off the shelf" (cited in Glaser, 2011, p.584). Critics assumed

that many citizen journalists have not been trained to subscribe to the same standards

(e.g., objectivity, thoroughness, fairness, accuracy) as professional journalists working

for news organizations (Carpenter, 2008). As a result, established journalists dismiss such

bottom-up journalism activities as being part of a new "cult of the amateur" (Keen,

2007).

CHAPTER 3. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

In order to study representations of the citizen journalism phenomenon from the perspective of mainstream newspapers, this chapter reviews professionalism and framing theory as the theoretical foundations of this study. Reviewing two streams of theories, this chapter provides theoretical rationales about how journalists construct the nature of themselves as a profession and how journalists construct the nature of reality in society (Anderson, 2008). Since citizen journalism has become a social phenomenon in recent decades, journalists need to construct the reality of citizen journalism in news stories. Framing theory is, thus, a useful framework to explain how the reality is constructed (Entman, 2004; Gans, 1980; Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). At the same time, citizen journalism is also regarded as a threat or challenge to the authority and social status of professional journalism. Therefore, the press' presentation of citizen journalism can be a process in through which journalists claim their legitimacy and privileges as professions.

PROFESSIONALISM

The review of the literature regarding professionalism helps this research explore why journalism is considered a profession, how journalists establish and reinforce their professional boundaries, and how citizen journalism influences professional norms and values of journalists.

Sociology of Profession

From the perspective of sociology, professionals have been considered people having a unique status in society (Jones & Himelboim, 2010). Generally, occupations such as lawyers, physicians, or librarians have been regarded as professionals who have special knowledge and skills in their fields and who have excluded others from their field (Abbott, 1988). Professions were initially identified based on professional traits. In exploring what occupations are professions and what professional traits embody professions (Van Ginneken, 1998), scholars tried to identify professions on the basis of "formal education, licensing, codes of ethics, relationships of trust between professional and client, a public service, and social status" (Lewis, 2012, p.839).

The functional approach's focus on professional traits, however, could not provide the field with a fundamental understanding of what it means to be a professional. From kinds of professional traits and functional requisites of professions, scholars' interest turned toward the circumstances in which "people in an occupation try to turn it into a profession, and themselves into professional people" (Hughes, 1971, p. 340), and the way that "people in an occupation attempt to claim status and authority" (Sarfatti-Larson, 1977, cited in Lewis, 2012, p.839). Because professions are not a fixed category, sociologists focused more on the ongoing evolution of "professionalization" (Sarfatti-Larson, 1977), or "the system of professions" (Abbott, 1988).

Professionalization is the process through which people in an occupation obtain "societal significance of its occupation accepted in accordance with its own conception of

it" (Van der Krogt, 1981, p.93). Occupational groups striving for professionalization

attempt to convey the societal significance of their occupation and get society to accepted

that occupation in accordance with its own conception of it. In order to accomplish

professionalization, however, "occupational groups must not only extend and shape

professional practices, but also try to legitimate those professional activities" (Van der

Krogt, 1981, p.93).

To accomplish this process, people in the group must preserve their scarcity and

create a monopoly within the field so that they maintain their own exclusiveness among

other competitors (Sarfatti-Larson, 1977). Hughes (1971) suggests that credibility and

exclusivity are important demands in the process of professionalization. Professional

credibility evolves with "a profession's insistence on autonomy and internal adjudication

of its members," so that professions can claim to be "the sole possessor of the appropriate

tools to take care of its publics" (Jones & Himelboim, 2010, p.275).

While building internal relationships among the group, isolating a profession from

other occupations also grants a profession distinct social status. By creating a unique

cultural framework (e.g. symbols and professional jargon) and by defining rigid and

stringent behavioral norms that obligate members of the profession (e.g. code of ethics,

isolation) help maintain "the hierarchical relations between itself, the public, and other

occupations" and "reinforce the profession's authority" (Jones & Himelboim, 2010,

p.275).

In defining professions as "exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat

abstract knowledge to particular cases," Andrew Abbott highlighted the significance of

"the evolution and interrelations of professions, and more generally the ways occupational groups control knowledge and skill" (Abbott, 1988, p.8). According to this system, "occupations exist within a network of other occupations and institutions, occupations seek to invade into the jurisdictional areas of other occupations, and these interconnections influence decisions and work processes, as occupational members try to adjust to external challenges" (Abbott, 1988; Child and Fulk, 1982; Freidson, 1994; Simpson, 1985; cited in Lowrey and Mackay, 2008, p.65). In the area of inter-professional competition, this jurisdictional claim plays an important role. By claiming an exclusive right to its particular tasks and abstract knowledge of its work practices, a profession asks society "to recognize its cognitive structure through exclusive rights" (Abbott, 1988, p. 59) and acquires the authority accepted in society (Lewis, 2012; Schudson & Anderson, 2008).

Journalism as a profession

Andrew Abbott (1988) considered journalism similar to the profession of librarians because both groups work in the area of qualitative information tasks. He noted that "the news jurisdiction has steadily grown in size and importance" through the last century and "the incumbent profession of journalism has come to extraordinary power" (Abbott, 1998, p.225). Abbott (1988) suggested that some historical events such as the Civil War increased the public's demand for news coverage and strengthened the jurisdiction of newspapers.

Similar to other professions, established journalism have had power as profession and journalists have held occupational status and privilege. Established journalism has represented unique structures of "specialized knowledge, technical skills, practice experience, disinterested public service, professional codes of ethics, and exclusive work jurisdiction" (Deuze, 2005; Jennings et al., 1987; Oledski, 1998; Roberts & Dietrich, 1999; Wilensky, 1964; cited in Chang et al., 2010, p.4). In the United States, especially, journalists have possessed and enjoyed distinctive power because "journalism is the only occupation in the United States that is specifically protected by the First Amendment" (Chang et al., 2009, p.4).

As part of professionalization, journalists have been focused on "how they construct themselves as profession" and "how the occupation of journalism became codified and legitimized in society" (Anderson, 2008; Gieryn, 1983, cited in Lewis, 2012, p.841). Invoking Gieryn's (1983) term used in his study of the science community, Lewis (2012) considered "this process of codification and legitimation as a form of boundary work" (p.841). Lewis (2012) stressed the importance of boundary work because "these are efforts to establish and enlarge the limits of one domain's institutional authority relative to outsiders, thus creating social boundaries that yield greater cultural and material resources for insiders" (p.841). By constructing and negotiating its own boundary, the profession reaffirms its professional identities and claims to professional jurisdictions.

In journalism studies, boundary work is considered as a significant process of drawing rhetorical boundaries between journalism and other related occupations, and

between journalists and non-journalists (Robinson, 2009; Zelizer, 1992). Displaying specialized skill and social authority, journalists construct and negotiate professional boundary in order to intensify exclusive professional identity and jurisdictional claims.

Nevertheless, it is still controversial whether journalism is a profession and a journalist is a professional (Abbott, 1988; Chang et al., 2010a; Singer, 2003). Abbott (1988) argued that "journalism remains a very permeable occupation" (p.225), which means there is no clear distinction between journalism and public relations, and between journalism and other forms of writing. It could be because "journalism lacks the trappings of a classical professions" (Lewis, 2012, p.843).

Even though journalism has schools, associations, degrees, and codes of ethics, "there is no exclusion of those lack them" (Abbott, 1998, p.225). Journalism has "no monopoly to formal training and certification of its workforce", and it does not have "the means to prevent others from journalists" (Lewis, 2012, p.843). Most journalists in the United States are not required to pass entrance exams, certification, and licensing that are common to other professions (Allison, 1986; cited in Jones & Himelboim, 2010). In terms of the democratic value of journalism, "journalists are—and normatively should be—closely tied to the common man in order to perform a free press function (Jones & Himelboim, 2010, p.276).

Professional values and citizen journalism

In order to claim their professional status, journalists and scholars consider journalism values from the normative perspective (Singer, 2003; Schudson & Anderson,

2008). Working with normative structures that consist of normal values and occupational principles (Schudson, 1995), journalists produce news as a cultural product and legitimize "their contribution to public information more valuable than that of the non-professional" (Robert, 2013, p.26). This normative system of professionalism also helps journalists hold their special authority as professionals in comparison with other professionals or non-professionals. In other words, therefore, this is "an on-going professionalization process and corresponding development of a shared occupational ideology in journalism" (Deuze, 2005, p.446).

There seems to be a consensus among scholars in the field of journalism studies that what typifies more or less universal similarities in journalism can be defined as a shared occupational ideology among news workers which functions to self-legitimize their position in society. Deuze (2005) summarized five key characteristics as "ideal-typical values" in professional journalism: public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy, and ethics (Golding and Elliott, 1979; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Merritt, 1995). Key characteristics of this professional self-definition can be summarized as a number of discursively constructed ideal-typical values. Journalists feel that "these values give legitimacy and credibility to what they do" (Deuze, 2005, p.446).

Of ideal-typical values, *autonomy* has been considered "the most essential in shielding journalism from the outside influences of government, sources, advertisers and audience, enabling journalists to speak truth to power" (McDevitt et al., 2002; cited in Lewis, 2012, p.844). Journalists are supposed to be autonomous, free, and independent in their work (Deuze, 2005). Professionalism builds autonomy against outside critics and

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emphasizes public service over financial profit—all of which benefit journalism (Beam 1990).

Professional journalists have also adopted *objectivity* as a way of claiming social authority, presenting their work as value-free and impartial and therefore credible, balanced, and true (Deuze, 2005; Lewis, 2012). "Reporting of reality, of facts, as nearly as they can be obtained without the injection of prejudice and personal opinion (Maras, 2013, p.7)" has been working as a basic norm of professional journalism (Schudson, 2001). The objectivity norm guides journalists to separate facts from values and to report only the facts. According to the objectivity norm, "the journalist's job consists of reporting something called 'news' without commenting on it, slanting it, or shaping its formulation in any way" (Schudson, 2001, p.149-150).

In recent years, however, a new type of journalism has become an increasingly powerful force in news production and has challenged established journalism. The emergence of citizen journalism has undermined the background belief that journalism possesses a unique body of knowledge and skills that cannot be easily transferred to non-professionals (Chang et al., 2012; Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Gillmor, 2004; Lowrey, 2006). It has not only raised practical issues for journalists but also challenged long-standing values.

The full potential of citizen participation in news production challenges perceptions of the roles and functions of journalism as a whole (Deuze, 2003). Technology has extended "mass communicative abilities to a larger part of the public – so, the occupational control of professional journalists increasingly challenged by citizen

with the means to record, share, and analyze information in text, visual, and audio, as well as the ability to access data from a variety of sources, and engage with fellow citizens online" (Roberts, 2013, p. 60). If anyone in the developed world can publish anything anytime, and the instant it is published, it is globally available and readily findable, if anyone can be a publisher, then anyone can be a journalist" (2008). Lowrey and Anderson suggested that increased transparency in journalism and audience participation could contribute to a weakening of journalists' authority, explaining: "increased transparency may weaken the occupation's authority as well as its 'specialness' in the eyes of the public" (2005).

A gate-keeping role, "the foremost marker of occupational jurisdiction in journalism" (White, 1949 cited in Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009, p. 571-572), has also been attacked by the growing presence of citizen-generated news (Bruns, 2008; Gillmor, 2004; Singer, 2006). Deuze (2005) calls this "one of the most fundamental 'truths' in journalism, namely: the professional journalist is the one who determines what publics see, hear and read about the world" (p.451). In losing the power of information control, professional journalists also lost this privilege and authority.

As a result, who can be a journalist and what counts as journalism in the contemporary media environment are more open to negotiation than ever before (Allan, 2006; Kopper et al., 2000; Singer, 2003). Boczkowski (2004a) found that news workers engaged in 'gate opening,' practices that fostered user participation rather than the kind of content selection associated with traditional gate-keeping tasks. The demise of the gate-keeping role could lead audiences to challenge the authority of journalism and also

challenge the claims of objectivity and autonomy that make up the primary norms of journalism as a profession (Boczkowski, 2004b; Deuze, 2007).

Democratic press theory and citizen journalism

A democratic value of journalism is another issue that shapes tensions between traditional and citizen journalism (Cushion, 2012). The community of established journalism has long focused on the centrality of news reporting in a democracy as a duty to the public trust (Chang et al., 2009; Chang et a;, 2010b). The information and analysis journalists provide enable citizens to participate more effectively in a democracy (Jennings, Callahan, & Wolf, 1987). Along with other professional routines, journalism's ideal of providing citizens information to make decisions within their democracy has been a criterion to evaluate its performance (Atton & Hamilton, 2008; Roth, 2004).

Democratic press theory emphasizes that the press desires to promote a variety of voices and perspectives in society. The extent to which the less powerful and politically marginal can obtain media access is "one of the most significant debates concerning democratic processes, and it has consequences for the diversity of information and interpretive frameworks through which we understand society" (Manning, 2001, quoted in Atton & Hamilton, 2008, pp.117-118). Cottle (2003) argued "questions such as 'whose voices and viewpoints structure and inform news discourse' go to the heart of democratic views of, and radical concerns about, the news media" (p.5).

Professional journalism aims to provide a public service by working as watchdogs or news-hounds, actively collecting information in the public interest, and most

importantly upholding the public's right to know by disseminating credible information. As the core purpose of American journalism, the watchdog function is "rooted in the theory of democratic press and is championed today by those who argue that the public has a 'right to know'" (Koehler, 1998, p.691). The watchdog function is the idea that the news media serve the public as a check on the operation of their government (Koehler, 1998; Marder, 2001). By watching over the powerful few in society on behalf of the many, the press claims to guard the public against tyranny (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). However, because of recent trends toward commercialization and politicization of mainstream media, many scholars charge that commercial pressures and intertwined interests between politicians and journalists have damaged American journalism's ability to be a real "watchdog" for the public (McQuail, 2002; Nichols & McChesney, 2009; Viall, 2009).

One solution to this perceived crisis has come from the journalism community itself, under the name of 'civic' or 'public' journalism (Glasser, 1999; Glasser & Craft, 1997; Schudson, 1998). McQuail (2002) proposed "a category of theory under the heading democratic-participant to take account of many ideas expressed on behalf of alternative, grass-roots media" (p.160). Its key elements are the use of the media "for interaction and communication in small-scale settings of community, interest group and subculture," "horizontal patterns of interaction," and "participation and interaction" (Atton & Hamilton, 2008, p.120).

The movement of public journalism is an indication of the conscious awareness that public participation in news reporting is critical in bringing journalism closer to

citizen concerns (Deuze & Dimoudi, 2002). The practice of citizen journalism or blogging will give people greater freedom to participate in open democratic debates (Bowman & Willis, 2003; Gillmor, 2004; Pavlik 2001; Rosen, 2006). Blogs that arise organically from the need to express oneself are increasingly serving a democratic function in the news production process (Roth, 2004).

Citizen journalism takes the movement one step further. This democratized media challenges "the notion of the institutional press as the exclusive, privileged, trusted, informed intermediary of the news and the dominance of centralized, commercialized, state-controlled and even professionalized media" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p.47). Gillmor (2004) extended the above claim, noting that powerful technologies and acknowledgement of the citizen's new role as a news producer have allowed bloggers to make mainstream news media more transparent because of their role as media watchdogs. Citizen journalism's role as a watchdog contributes to the process of holding governments, corporations, and media agencies accountable for their actions, thus putting citizen journalists at the forefront of a new transparency (Good, 2009). It also shows the possibility of "wemedia" in threatening the "hegemony [of the journalism profession] as the gatekeeper of news" (Bowman & Willis, 2003, p.47).

In this sense, citizen journalism has been regarded as an ideal form of public participation in the realm of political debates and civic discourse (Deuze & Dimoudi, 2002). Citizen participation in news production ultimately influences media's role within the public sphere. According to democratic press theory, journalism should be regarded as an integral part of democracy—informing citizens of important facts and issues so that

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they can make governing decisions (Roth, 2004). Because citizen journalists have diverse interests and opinions—more so than mainstream or other forms of professional journalism possibly could—citizen journalism increases the diversity of voices contributing to public discourse. Citizen journalism can be viewed as "a direct response to lapses in the performance of the traditional mass media role in the public sphere" (Antony & Thomas, 2010, p.1284).

Even though the "democratic role" is a core value of journalism, it has been an obstacle to maintaining exclusive rights and professional status for journalists. Singer (2003) argued that "professionalism can stifle the diversity that is a core strength of a free press, implying homogeneity and standardization rather than healthy differences among journalists, reduce individual autonomy, or be used by organizations to control the behavior of reporters and editors, and justify that control" (p. 33). Along those lines, the democratic value of journalism became one of issues creating tension between professional journalism and a new ideal actor of democracy—citizen journalism. The democratic value of journalism also underlies journalists' claim to existence as an organized profession distinct from other occupations.

Legitimizing professions

Professional journalists argued that only *trained* professional journalists understand the rigors and ethics involved in reporting the news. Even though traditional journalists are not the exclusive center of knowledge on a subject, "traditional journalism still includes professional training and recognition, paid work, unionized labor, and

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behavior that is often politically neutral and unaffiliated, at least in the claim if not in the actuality" (Khiabany & Sreberny, 2012, pp.121).

Based on a specific set of values, journalism established industrial routines and organization norms in pursuit of professionalization, such as "professional control and occupational closure" (Freidson, 2001; Abbott, 1988, cited in Lewis, 2012, p.843). Journalism, therefore, has attained its professional power through information, giving journalists an occupational privilege (Chang et al., 2012). Connecting this to the discussion of boundary work, it is important to note that "an occupational value excludes or marginalizes certain ideologies or values as surely as it codifies and make salient others" (Deuze, 2007, p.163).

Reese (1990) argued that a "professional journalistic paradigm has been developed, sustained, interpreted, and modified within this larger hegemonic context" (p. 395). Professional values that have discrepancies with the paradigm are not forcefully stifled, but "excluded through the maintenance of mainstream boundaries" (Maras, 2013, pp.144-145). In this process, professional journalists accept and reinforce the boundaries, values, and ideological "rule of the game" established and interpreted by elite sources (Reese, 1990, p.395).

Jessica Roberts (2013) linked the boundary work of professional journalism to the effort of paradigm repair. According to Kuhn's idea of paradigm as "an accepted model or pattern" (1962), a paradigm that consists of long standing values in the field provides a practical direction for professions and underlying assumptions (Reese, 1990). Thus,

professionals rely on a paradigm, and moreover, maintain and repair this paradigm to protect their professions.

Roberts argued that "professional journalistic status is based on the ritual and occupational values of a particular ideology or view of journalism (2003, p.56)." Therefore, "journalists must respond with attempts to *repair* the paradigm when that ideology is challenged either by the failings of a member of the community, or by outsiders who claim to share their status" (Roberts, 2003, p.59). Paradigm repair primarily involves excluding non-professionals from professional tasks and criticizing cases that violate the paradigm and threaten to undermine its validity. In the process of paradigm repair, journalists identify threats to established values and norms and recover their legitimacy and authority as professionals (Roberts, 2013).

Within this process, journalists often display a conscious self-understanding that what they do is important and non-transferable in society (Anderson, 2008). They attempt to determine which facets of journalism are considered professional, how journalism is codified and legitimated, and how journalists construct their expertise and social authority (Anderson, 2008; Carlson, 2007).

FRAMING THEORY

In order to examine how mainstream media represent the rise of citizen journalism, it is important to review theories about how journalists construct the nature of reality in society and how the press represents the world outside (Anderson, 2008). Journalists construct the world based on a both/either dynamic process that combines

political interests and the media and/or journalistic normative structure (Fishman, 1978; Tuchman, 1973).

The rise of citizen journalism is changing the environment of established journalists. Citizen journalism has challenged dominant power structures within the traditional journalism news production system because it has an overlapped social function. In responding to this challenge, professional journalists construct the reality of citizen journalism and the reality of the journalism field in certain ways. Therefore, this section considers framing as a theoretical foundation, focuses on media frames, and briefly reviews news coverage on new communication technology.

Framing Theory

Framing is considered a main body of literature in media sociology (Anderson, 2008) and has been adopted as a concept, theory, or a research method in various research areas including communication, journalism, rhetoric, sociology, and political science (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Hallahan, 1999; Scheufele, 1999). Framing theory is regarded as the most frequently utilized theory in top mass communication journals since the beginning of the 21st century (Bryant & Miron, 2004).

Many scholars have developed the theoretical domain of framing. Pan and Kosicki (1993) noted that "framing analysis placed in the framework of constructivism and on the ground of empirical analysis of news discourse offers a fruitful area of research" (p.70). Theoretical development of framing analysis in media studies and

journalism areas allows integration of research on news discourse, news production, news interpretation, and news effects.

The fundamental assumptions of framing are that reality is constructed and the reality of everyday life is an inter-subjective world (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Scheufele, 1999). Social interaction and languages constitute one's reality by providing the order within which everyday life has social meanings for people (Carey, 1989). Social meanings are transformed into institutional and organizational rules and procedures that may be invoked to justify actions (Tuchman, 1978). This means that the reality of everyday life that is constructed by social interaction of people and language is interpreted in a process of internalization (Rhee & Cappella, 1997).

News-making is "the act of constructing reality itself rather than a picture of reality" (Tuchman, 1978, p.12). Edelman (1988) noted that "news accounts largely ignore everyday life, drawing an artificial boundary between the events people confront directly and those that are reported to them and threatening the latter as the more significant" (p.88).

News can also be understood as socially constructed (Ball-Rockeach & Cantor, 1986; Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Chang & Chen (2000) contend that "news, as a way of seeing and charting about social world, cannot be detached from the confines of the larger social structure in which the mass media locate themselves and practice their trade in accordance with the operational logic of their position (p.201)." Thus, the purpose of news content is to provide what people need to know to act in their "environment and through their actions to build a common identity" (Tuchman, 1978, p.81). Many news

frames reflect dominant ideas and beliefs within a culture (Goffman, 1974), and they, therefore, can shape the dominant interpretations of social issues (Entman, 1991).

Gitlin (1980) defined framing as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (p.17). Events, issues, and actors can be framed in ways that promote perceptions and interpretations that benefit one perspective while hindering others. Therefore, framing entails "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993, p.41). In this way, framing becomes a valuable tool for journalists as they attempt to produce stories more efficiently under various organizational pressures such as space constraints or airtime limits (Gans, 1980). The use of framing techniques can also help reduce the complexity of an issue and make a news story more relatable since journalists can frame their stories using existing schemas and contexts accessible to the audience.

Journalists in the process of presenting information, however, draw upon culturally embedded and taken-for-granted values, ideologies, and assumptions. News frames produced by journalists represent embodiments of "the principles of organization which govern social events" (Goffman, 1974, p.10). Even if it cannot be said that "journalists spin every story according to their own beliefs and organizational duty or to deceive the audiences", it is possible that "the statement bias described previously can

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seep into news coverage, thus creating an effect on the ways in which people form impressions and attitudes about events in the news" (Wang, 2011, p.37).

Scholars have considered framing as two processes. Tuchman (1978) argued that "one process is that in which society helps shape consciousness and another is that in which people collectively construct and constitute social events through their intentional apprehension of worlds in a shared social world" (p.182). In other words, one process refers to the way news content is typically shaped and contextualized by journalists within some familiar frame of reference and according to some latent structure of meaning (Tuchman, 1978).

A second, related meaning concerns the effect of framing on the public (Tuchman, 1978). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) focused the influence of framing on audiences. They argued that "how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is interpreted and understood by audiences" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.11). Since the audience is thought to "adopt the frames of reference offered by journalists and see the world in a similar way," (McQuail, 2000, p.343) framing tells the audience how and why to think about an issue by leading them to see things from a certain perspective. These two meanings of framing are called the media frame and the individual frame (Scheufele, 1999). This study utilizes the idea of the "media frame" when considering the way in which news content is shaped and contextualized by legacy journalists.

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Media Frames

Media frame is conceptually defined as "a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events…the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p.143). A media frame is "a cognitive device that contributes to news encoding, interpreting, and retrieving; it is communicable; and it is related to journalistic professional routines and conventions" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p.57). Framing, therefore, may be studied "as a strategy of constructing and processing news discourse" or "as a characteristic of the discourse itself" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p.57). Moreover, argued Pan and Kosicki (1993), "every news story contains a dominant theme which is the frame of the story and functions as the central organizing idea" (p.58).

Tuchman (1978) considered the frame to be a key-mediating concept in the construction of news and as a key arena of institutional transformation through which journalists create news accounts that constitute constructions of reality. News frames connect news content, journalists, readers, and political parties—all of which operate in the context of various social influences (Van Dijk, 1991).

In early studies, Shoemaker & Reese (1996) found five factors that have the ability and potential to influence how journalists frame a given issue: social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists. In reporting social events or issues, journalists' cultural beliefs and values (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987) influence news content. In addition, the frames adopted by the media tend to reflect "shared

cultural narratives and myths" of the larger population (Gamson, 1990, p.41). Therefore, media frames are the product of a journalist's perception and legacy media's professional norms (Stout & Buddenbaum, 2003).

In order to identify media frames in news stories, Ghanem (1997) broke down media frames into four major dimensions: "presentation (size and placement), subtopics within a particular issue (what is included in the frame), cognitive attributes (details of what is included in the frame), and affective attributes (tone of the picture)" (pp.10-14). More than all others, the affective attribute is an especially subjective dimension. Michaelson and Griffin (2005) described this tonality analysis as "a subjective assessment to determine if content is either favorable or unfavorable to the person, company, organization or product discussed in the text" (cited in Roberts, 2013, p.80). Ghanem's typology and tonality analysis have helped scholars examine and depict media frames in an effective way (Roberts, 2013; Rossler, 2001).

LITERATURE

Dynamics of professional journalism and citizen journalism

Research about the dynamics of professional journalism and citizen journalism can be categorized in several ways: a content analysis of user-generated news and user-participatory options in traditional news sites to investigate how citizen news reflects professional values or how traditional news media responds to challenges from citizen journalists (Antony & Thomas, 2010; Domingo & Heinonen, 2008; Herring et al., 2006;

Rosenberry, 2005; Thurman, 2008); a comparative analysis of traditional journalism and citizen journalism to test how they are similar or different based on professional values and roles of journalism (Carpenter, 2008; Domingo et al., 2008; Lacy et al., 2010; Rutigliano, 2008; Rutigliano & DeShano, 2011; Viall, 2009); a case study of citizen news sites to analyze whether citizen media are accepted by the larger public as journalism (Allan, 2009; Bruns, 2008; Hamdy, 2012; Johnson, 2009; Wall, 2009).

Accordingly, scholars considered the challenges of citizen journalism to professionalism in either optimistic or pessimistic ways. On the one hand, some authors argued that these challenges could be beneficial for society (Deuze & Dimoudi, 2002; Pavlik, 2000). Russell (2001)'s study concluded that in the online environment, journalism could replace the need to establish credibility through adherence to professional codes with the credibility that results from sharing a common concern. On the other hand, some research raised concerns about the broader societal significance of these challenges (Salwen, 2005; Singer, 2001; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2000). Nerone and Barnhurst argued that the loss of journalists' gate-keeping function could replace "the benign dictatorship of the editor" with "the tyranny of the mouse" (2011, p.471).

A body of research also focused on interviewing and surveying professional journalists to examine how they self-perceive the changing media environment and the challenge of the new breed of journalistic practices (Chang et al., 2009; Lewis, et al., 2010; Roth, 2004; Schultz, 2008). Lewis and his colleagues' study (2010) provided both philosophical and practical perspectives of professional journalists on the citizen journalism phenomenon. His study utilized interviews to better understand how online

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community newspapers editors negotiate the professional complexities posed by citizen journalism. This result noted that citizen journalism has been regarded as a new phenomenon undermining editors' gate-keeping control over content. Chang and colleagues (2009) surveyed newspapers and broadcasting station editors about the effect of citizen journalists and user-generated news. According to the study, professional news editors do not regard citizen journalists and user-generated content as journalists or news on philosophical ground; however, editors realized that the immediacy of information and sources provided by citizen journalism are worth collaboration.

News coverage on citizen journalism, relative journalistic activities

Another way to investigate the emergence of citizen journalism phenomenon from the perspective of journalists is a news coverage analysis. By establishing news frames and themes on news coverage, journalists provide a way to understand citizen journalism. In particular, if the issues are related to communication technology and the media industry, a news analysis plays a more important role because ideology along with positions of journalists and media industry reflect news content.

In that way, news coverage on citizen journalism and related journalistic activity provided by professional journalists is a significant resource for examining how citizen journalism is understood in society and how professional journalism responds this new breed of journalism within their occupational field. To date, however, how professional media represent the emergent phenomenon of citizen journalism in their news coverage remains largely unstudied. As mentioned above, most studies have examined professional

journalists' perspectives on citizen participatory phenomenon through interviewing or surveying journalists and editors.

Citizen journalism has been considered a journalistic activity rather than one tied to technologies or media platforms; however, emerging technology and brand-new media are closely related to the predominance of citizen journalism. When a new technology is invented or introduced to society, journalists dedicate news articles to the topic in order to keep the public informed. Journalists in particular, tend to represent new technologies in sensational terms (Jones & Himelboim, 2010), either in a positive/ negative way or in a revolutionary force/harmful power way in accordance with the intention of specific journalists or the dynamics of industry and academia. In this process of representation, certain types of media frames and argumentative tones are utilized.

For example, a quantitative news coverage analysis of the diffusion of the Internet in Germany showed that the Internet has a strong tendency towards a favorable assessment of the Internet (Rossler, 2001), and this news coverage used specifically euphoric and economically optimistic argumentation. In a discourse analysis of news coverage regarding the Internet, Dicken-Garcia (1998) found five categories of Internet discourse: about the Internet, on the Internet, about communication technologies across time, about tomorrow, and about importance today. This study also uncovered that "the most pervasive theme, progress, recurs about emerging communication technologies through history" (p.19) and that "the Internet is equated with progress and advancement of civilization" (p.20). Studying media frames of the Internet in mainstream media, Cornish (2008) found that "as the technology diffused to a wider base of users, vague

fears crystallized into specific concerns over privacy, hackers, pornography and information overload" (cited in Arceneaux & Schmitz Weiss, 2010, p.1265). Other communication technologies, such as the telephone, telegraph, electronic media, radio, and personal computer also have been heralded to the public within particular frames and tonality (Blondheim, 1994; Cogan, 2005; Marvin, 1988; Wellman, 1999).

Few studies analyzed news coverage of a brand-new communication technology or media platforms with the potential of citizen journalism (e.g. social media, microblog, weblogs, mobile phone, etc.). Arceneauz & Schmitz Weiss (2010)'s news coverage analysis of Twitter examined news themes and positions of both traditional news articles and blog content. In this study, main themes of Twitter may be new and unique, but public responses to this media are similar to public reaction to earlier communication technologies. In a more relevant study, Jones and Himelboim (2010)'s examined news coverage of blogs on mainstream news media in terms of professional value and the rise of new technology. In Jones and Himelboim's study (2010), the authors concluded that even though weblogs began to play major role in the public spheres of politics and journalism, professional journalists also realized that weblogs pose a significant threat to their profession.

Recently, Roberts (2013) examined editorials and op-ed news coverage of a specific online site, WikiLeaks and analyzed the terms and frames used by professional journalists. Primarily, WikiLeaks was framed as a non-journalist actor who threatened national security. Since WikiLeaks is an online site that enables collaborative news production and user-participatory journalism, this study is closely related to the present

study. Additionally, Tilley and Cokley's research (2008) is a rare case that considered the term, citizen journalism itself as the subject of a discourse analysis in media, industry, and academic publications. In this study, the authors created five key participant groups related to discourse about citizen journalism, including professional journalists, news publishers, citizen journalists, advocates of free speech, and academics. In particular, main elements of professional journalists' discourse are the quality of information and the procedures of maintaining journalism standards.

Despite usefulness of these recent studies, this dissertation aims to provide a better answer to how the citizen journalism phenomenon has been represented in mainstream media than early research. First, this study does not focus on a specific communication technology or media platform itself, but considers the phenomenon of citizen journalism in society in a way that incorporates citizen participatory news and citizen based journalistic practices. By considering a broad concept of citizen journalism instead of specific media technologies on news coverage, this study focuses more on the role of citizen journalism rather than features of new technology. News coverage on a single specific new communication technology cannot describe the whole phenomenon of citizen journalism.

Second, while other studies have interviewed and surveyed journalists at a specific time interval, this study aims to also observe changes in frames and perspectives on citizen journalism over time. News coverage analyses usually collect news articles within a limited time period (e.g. the formation period of new media). Due to the importance of understanding the phenomenon of technological innovation, it is important

to consider how a new media is represented when it is just exposed to public. However, expanded time periods will provide a general view of the citizen journalism phenomenon and also incorporate the rise and demise of specific communication technologies in terms of their role in citizen journalism.

Third, this dissertation aims to go beyond analysis of whether citizen journalism is framed as useful or dangerous to examine whether the press imagines a new kind of relationship with citizen journalists and whether the citizen journalist is grouped with professional journalists in terms of the democratic function of journalism. This study is also interested how mainstream journalists perceive and frame the nature of citizen journalism's values and the threat citizen journalism poses to its mainstream counterpart.

CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Mainstream journalists have been regarded as a primary conduit for information distribution in society. They fill the role of introducing the phenomenon of citizen participatory news and the content of citizen reporters to both audiences and the larger public sphere. New types of media platforms such as blogs, photo/video sharing sites, and social media, provide ordinary people efficient tools for producing news content. Also, under severe circumstances such as natural disasters or terror-attacks during which professional journalists are denied ready access to their usual news production networks, the role of citizen reporters and citizen-generated news is enhanced. At the same time, traditional journalists have interests in sustaining their professional role in society and to protecting their professional legitimacy from the challenge of citizen journalism. In particular, financial risk in the news media industry has reinforced professional occupational boundary, further marginalizing challenges by non-professionals, citizen journalists. This dissertation aims to better understand this dilemma and to investigate professional journalists' responses to the phenomenon of citizen journalism. Since news coverage represents the first venue through which professional journalists release their perspectives, this dissertation examines news frames and in-depth discourses in mainstream news coverage about citizen journalism.

Two principal questions drive this dissertation. The first research question investigates how mainstream newspapers represent the phenomenon of citizen journalism and what news frames mainstream journalists use to describe the citizen journalism

phenomenon. In order to fully understand how professional journalists frame citizen journalism, the first research question also addresses five sub questions regarding topical perspective, value frames, news narrative, portrayals of citizen news participants, and argumentation tones:

RQ1: How have mainstream newspapers framed citizen journalism in the past fourteen years?

RQ1-1: What topical perspectives have mainstream newspapers had?

RQ1-2: Have mainstream newspapers framed citizen journalism as a "valuable," dangerous," or "useless" phenomenon?

RQ1-3: Have mainstream newspapers framed citizen journalism as a "new" or "common" phenomenon?

RQ1-4: How have citizen journalists been portrayed in content produced by their mainstream counterparts?

RQ1-5: What argumentative tones have mainstream newspapers used to frame citizen journalism?

RQ1-1 is aimed at examining the topical perspective with which mainstream newspapers represent the phenomenon of citizen journalism. News stories relate implicitly or explicitly to at least one of the topics (Cushion et al., 2008), which means a news item could be delivered from different perspectives. Understanding the topical perspective used to report a given event represents an important component in the

examination of how mainstream media frame citizen journalism. In accordance with the topical perspective used to generate news articles, the news event can be represented in a different manner and different elements of the event can be emphasized or omitted. When studying a social phenomenon that can contain multiple aspects and can impact various areas, such as citizen journalism, determining topical perspective is especially important. A topical perspective in news analysis can be considered the main area or subject of the news event or information that helps clarify the nature of the event (Cushion et al., 2008). Therefore, RQ1-1 is designed to examine topical perspectives of mainstream newspapers when they are representing the phenomenon of citizen journalism and citizen news participants.

The purpose of RQ1-2 is to understand how mainstream newspapers framed the value of citizen journalism, which is the main frame explored in this dissertation. Based on the dilemma of professional duty outlined in the literature review (Chang et al., 2009), mainstream news coverage is expected to assess the value of citizen journalism in different a multitude of ways. This research question, therefore, examines how often mainstream newspapers frame citizen journalism as a "valuable," "dangerous," or "useless" phenomenon.

RQ1-3 explores whether citizen journalism is framed as "new" or "common" phenomenon. Even though citizen journalism is not an innovation or technology itself, content produced by citizen journalists has been closely associated with and delivered by various new media platforms in recent years. Since adopting a new technology and innovation in society takes time and procedure (Rogers, 1983), how a new technology is

framed in media coverage is significant to lay people who may potentially adopt it. Particularly, since citizen journalism incorporates both journalistic practices *and* new communication technology, it is more important to examine the actual news frames generated by mainstream journalists. Based on previous research about news framing analysis of a new technology (Arceneaux & Schmitz Weiss, 2010; Cogan, 2005; Dicken-Garcia, 1998; Rossler, 2001), RQ1-3 investigates whether citizen journalism is framed as a "new" or "common" phenomenon.

RQ1-4 is designed to investigate how mainstream news stories portrayed citizen news participants. Specific events and incidents as well as topical perspectives also have also an effect on portraying citizen news participants. In news coverage, citizen news participants may be depicted in different ways based on how those citizens perform the roles and functions of journalism (Robinson, 2009; Tilley& Cokley, 2008). Therefore, whether or not traditional news coverage depicts citizen news participants as journalists reflects professional journalists' views about them in meaningful ways.

Lastly, RQ1-5 analyzes the argumentative tone used to frame the citizen journalism phenomenon in news stories. A tonality analysis represents a significant part of determining if news frames seen in coverage are favorable or unfavorable to an issue (Michaelson & Griffin, 2005). This subjective assessment can be used to effectively examine and depict media frames (Rossler, 2001). With respect to RQ1-5, whether a news story takes a positive or negative tone also serves as a good indicator of professional journalists' perspectives on citizen journalism phenomenon. The analysis of

argumentative tone has been used as a base category to do further in-depth analysis in some research (Arceneaux & Schmitz Weiss, 2010; Jackson, 2009).

In order to identify any changes in how professional journalists deal with the phenomenon of citizen journalism, frames, topics, and tones will be observed over a fourteen-year period. A chronological analysis from formative to recent years, including important incidents and disasters that released a large volume of news articles about citizen journalism, may unearth changes in trends of news coverage related to citizen journalism. This historical analysis will also help scholars identify and track how the field responded to a potential threat from citizen journalism—which emerged in large part due to technological change and economic crisis within journalism—during pivotal transitional moments.

Based on what dominant frames are present in mainstream news coverage, the second research question examines the representation of citizen journalism in the context of professional journalism. As a legitimate news distributor, professional journalists are tasked with presenting the phenomenon of citizen journalism to the public. However, mainstream journalists also have a professional duty to protect their occupational authority from non-professional workers in the journalism field. Therefore, RQ2 considers how mainstream media represent citizen journalism in terms of professional duty and legitimacy. In other words, the second research question investigates whether professional journalists tend to justify their professional authority while underrating citizen journalism in the context of professionalism. If RQ 2 finds a trend toward underrating of citizen journalists, this dissertation will also examine how professional

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journalists legitimate their dignity in comparison with citizen journalists and user-generated content.

RQ2. Do mainstream journalists tend to legitimize the practice of professional journalism in news coverage of citizen journalism?

To combat the paradox presented by citizen journalism, professional journalists often try to maintain and develop professional legitimacy when dealing with citizen journalism in news stories. To more deeply understand a variety of aspects within RQ2, the following questions are also considered: How have mainstream newspapers positioned citizen journalism in relation to professional journalism?; How have mainstream newspapers undermined citizen journalism?; How have mainstream newspapers either dismissed the role of citizen journalism or negotiated it to fit within the context of the field of professional journalism?; How have mainstream newspapers justified a professional status of established journalism in news content about citizen journalism?; What roles of citizen journalism have been emphasized?; What risks of citizen journalism have been emphasized?; What characteristics of professional journalism have been identified?. Answering these questions will provide a variety of perspectives through which to identify whether professional journalists tend to legitimize themselves in news content about citizen journalism and to gain insight into what forms this legitimization takes. This question includes the following two sub questions in

analysis focused both on the identity of citizen news participants or the roles of citizen journalism:

RQ2-1: How, if at all, have mainstream newspapers legitimated professional journalists in identifying citizen news participants?

RQ2-2: How, if at all, have mainstream newspapers legitimated professional journalism in discussing the roles of citizen journalism?

CHAPTER 5. METHODS

This chapter presents an overview of the research plan in relation to the research questions and describes the main methods—a mixed-method and longitudinal study—utilized. In addition, this chapter outlines data collection procedures, newspaper selection criteria, the time period studied, and defines and describes search keywords. Lastly, the data analysis process of both the quantitative content analysis and qualitative textual analysis are explained.

METHODOLOGY

To answer the first set of the research questions, this study utilizes a quantitative content analysis to uncover news frames, argumentative tone, and depictions of citizen news participants. This analysis uses pre-defined codes and statistical analysis. In conjunction with the content analysis, a qualitative textual analysis is used to determine how mainstream news coverage represents citizen news participants and citizen journalism within the context of professional journalism. Since legitimacy themes are embedded in the context—not clearly stated in words and expressions—quantified categories or codes alone cannot capture those nuanced meanings. Therefore, to answer the second set of the research questions, this qualitative textual analysis of news coverage is included as a complimentary method to the content analysis. Combining content analysis and qualitative analysis, this study tries to find both explicit meanings generated from the coding system and implicit meaning embedded in news articles.

Mixed-method approach

Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) defined a mixed-methods data analysis as "the use of quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques, either concurrently or sequentially, at some stage beginning with the data collection process, from which interpretations are made in either a parallel, an integrated, or an iterative manner" (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003, pp.352-353).

Chuang (2012) explained the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative strategies in order to find meaning within data sets: Some elements of quantitative analysis, such as providing numerical comparisons for the frequency of certain coded categories are employed to provide a means "to estimate the frequency of a particular defined phenomenon according to other pre-defined variables"; thereafter, articles in the data set are analyzed qualitatively in the context of "those numerical results to explore the latent and deeper meanings of denotations" (Chuang, 2012, p.249). A combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is useful to achieve a measure of breadth and depth on an issue (Squires, 2007). Squires (2007) also indicated that this mixed-method approach is "satisfying to many researchers because it allows for both numerical information about the quantity and frequency of themes and exploration of the nuances of how information is contextualized for the audience" (p.26-27). Since this study aims to find coded news frames and latent emphases on legitimacy, a mixed-method approach is expected to be a useful and efficient method.

Longitudinal analysis

This study also employs a longitudinal analysis of news coverage. Citizen participatory news as a phenomenon has evolved during the past decade and the emergence of citizen journalism has been associated with critical events and moments (Antony & Thomas, 2010). Thus, the perception of mainstream journalism on the phenomenon may change over time (Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2010).

This study looks across one decade to ascertain whether there is any change in news coverage of citizen journalism, which will contribute to our understanding of how mainstream journalism has responded to what is now clearly a significant trend. In this research, a chronological analysis is useful, especially because it allows comparison of news tones and frames between the formative period and developed period of the concept "citizen journalism." This distinction is important for mass communication researchers because the concept of citizen journalism has developed over two decades, and its features and elements have also shifted due to a variety of events and technologies.

DATA COLLECTION

Object of study

To figure out news frames about the phenomenon of citizen journalism, this study considers news stories published from mainstream daily newspapers in the United States. Mainstream news articles are produced by professional journalists who are affiliated with a media group. Trade publications in the journalistic field have not been incorporated into this study's the data set. Even though trade publications could be a significant source of

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gauging the professional perspective of the field (Tilley & Cokley, 2008), the format and length of articles vary too greatly to compare with news stories from daily newspapers.

Time period

      This study considers news articles on citizen journalism phenomenon from 1999-2012. Data collection begins in 1999, the year *Indymedia* was founded. Even though few critical events occurred that early in the rise of citizen journalism, *Indymedia*, "a transnational multimedia news outlet that became prominent for opposing the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999, is often cited as one of the pioneers of the citizen journalism model" (Kperogi, 2010, p.318). Therefore, this study regarded 1999 as the earliest spike in use of the term citizen journalism and collected news data from 1999 to the most recent year. Between 1999-2012, some well-known incidents and events often associated with citizen journalism include: The Tsunami in East Asia (2004), London bombings (2005), Hurricane Katrina (2005), Egyptian protests (2007), and Syrian protests (2012). These events have often been considered milestones of citizen participatory news content and received attention from the public and scholars. Emergencies and natural disasters usually influence widespread content generation by citizen media and/or citizen news participants (Robinson, 2009; Wall, 2009; Zayyan & Carter, 2009). Therefore, news articles in relation to the above incidents and events during this time period are analyzed in this study.

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Selection of newspapers

Eight major daily American newspapers were selected across the country based on the list of top 25 daily newspapers provided from the *State of the News Media* (2013). I considered: 1) a large volume of circulation size; 2) a balance between national newspapers and local newspapers; and 3) a geographical diversity and availability in database when considering which newspapers to include.

Table 5 - 1 Selection of eight newspapers

Newspaper	Total Average of Circulation as of 9/30/12	Type
Wall Street Journal	2,293,798	National
USA Today	1,713,833	National
New York Times	1,613,865	National
Los Angeles Times	641,369	Local
San Jose Mercury News	529,999	Local
Washington Post	462,228	National
Denver Post	412,669	Local
Chicago Tribune	411,960	Local

Among top twenty-five newspapers, I considered the top twelve newspapers that had more than 400,000 of total average circulation as of September 30, 2012. *The Wall Street Journal* had the largest circulation size (2,293,798). To ensure balance between national newspapers and local papers, I tried to select the same number of national and local newspapers. *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today* are conventionally considered as national papers (Jackson, 2012; Jones & Himelboim, 2012). For geographical diversity, I chose only one newspaper in each location. Among the top twelve, three newspapers located in New York were listed and

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two newspapers originating Chicago were listed. Therefore, only one New York-based newspapers and one Chicago-based newspapers were included in the dataset. After taking the above criteria into account, four national newspapers and four local newspapers were selected (see Table 5-1).

Database to access electronic news articles

In order to access electronic news articles, two different databases were used because all newspaper companies are not covered in a single database. The *LexisNexis Academic* database catalogued news articles from the *Chicago Tribune*, *Denver Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal* and *ProQuest Academic* provided news articles from *New York Times*, *USA Today*, *Washington Post*, and *San Jose Mercury News*. I searched each database for full-text news articles regarding citizen journalism from January 1, 1999 to December 31, 2012.

Types of news articles

I considered all types of news articles including op-ed or column, commentary, masthead editorial, hard/ straight news, long-form feature, and others when searching for news frames and legitimacy themes about citizen journalism. As opposed to hard/straight news or long-form feature, commentary and editorials are regarded as opinion pieces expressing perspectives and opinion of controversial issues on behalf of news media (Richardson, 2004). Some studies analyzing responses or discourses on the issue mostly focused on commentary and editorials (e.g. Roberts, 2013).

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However, in this study, all kinds of news articles including both hard/straight news stories and editorials are considered as objects of analysis in order to achieve a holistic view of how professional reporters generally frame the phenomenon of citizen journalism.

Keywords

Since the term "citizen journalism" is a conceptual term like "professional journalism," it does not return specific objects in database searches and is often rephrased via many other terms, concepts, and characteristics. As mentioned in Chapter 2, citizen journalism and citizen journalists are defined as having at least the following three elements: 1) Citizen journalists are not trained for the purpose of professional journalist; 2) citizen journalists provide information for the purpose of release; and 3) citizen journalists deliver and share user-generated content with other people. In order to search news stories reporting about the citizen journalism phenomenon, specific terms and words, such as "citizen journalism," "participatory journalism," "participatory news," "citizen media," "citizen reporters," "citizen journalists," and "citizen news" were used as main keywords.

For the formative period of citizen journalism, there were many news articles and studies that did not use the term "citizen journalism" to identify citizen participatory news. Instead, some news stories used words including "blog" and "blogger" convey the phenomenon of citizen generated news and content (Jones & Himelboim, 2010). Since there are various types of blogs and bloggers, it could not be assumed that all blogs can

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be considered as citizen journalism. Blogs can be utilized as a platform in which citizen journalists work; however, only a few blogs have been closely related to news and journalism. Jones and Himelboim also found that many news articles regarding blogs and bloggers were not related to news or journalism in their study (2010). Additionally, I tried to find news articles having keywords such as "blog," "blogger," "weblog" from the early period of study (1999-2004) and selected citizen journalism related news articles from among them.

News articles that included the above keywords in their headlines or abstracts, citations, and subjects were collected. Among news articles collected by keywords, eight duplicated articles originally coming from syndicated content were reduced to one article and 24 news articles not relevant to citizen journalism phenomenon were dropped. In some news articles, terms such as "citizen journalists" and "citizen reporters" were found within the credit of photography, which was not relevant to any news content.

Finally, 308 news articles reporting about citizen journalism from eight U.S. mainstream newspapers covering the years between 1999 to 2012 were collected: *Wall Street Journal* (N=20), *USA Today* (N=14), *New York Times* (N=88), *Washington Post* (N=61), *San Jose Mercury News* (N=44), *Los Angeles Times* (N=35), *Denver Post* (N=14), and *Chicago Tribune* (N=32).

ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Through a mixed-method data analysis of newspaper coverage, this research explores how citizen journalism has been described from 1999 to 2012 through both a

quantitative content analysis and qualitative textual analysis. Once news frames, story narratives, and argumentative positions from pre-defined codes were found using quantitative methods, I closely read news stories to look for more subtle themes, emphases, and nuances in news articles in a qualitative way.

Content analysis procedure

The quantitative content analysis was conducted using pre-defined codes to count what frames have been used to represent citizen journalism, what terms and words have been employed to depict citizen news participants, what argumentative tones have been exercised in news articles, and what news narratives have been used to determine and define the citizen journalism phenomenon. Quantitative content analysis is useful to determine countable codes in news articles, particularly when large differences or discrepancies can be detected through comparison across time, cases, or types of media (Chuang, 2012; Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003; Squires, 2007).

In order to generate more persuasive quantified data from the dataset, a coding scheme needs to be understandable in a broad sense and generate the same results from a similar sample. Codes need to be explicitly recognizable in media texts and easily transformed into numerical data. Therefore, researchers use "a set of codes created through review of literature and theoretical models and apply them to a sample of texts. However as one interacts with texts, unexpected issues and themes unaccounted for by the preset codes can emerge" (Squires, 2007, p.25).

In this study, a systemic coding scheme was drafted from both research and preliminary analysis of sample coding from the dataset. First, I reviewed relevant studies

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and publications dealing with representations of new communication technologies (Arceneaux & Schmitz Weiss, 2010; Cogan, 2005; Dicken-Garcia, 1998; Jones & Himelboim, 2010; Rossler, 2001) and assessments of alternative types of news productions (Allan, 2009; Robinson, 2009; Wall, 2012). This review helped the author construct many of the preliminary codes.

Second, a small subset of news data with the basic codes from relevant publications was analyzed. I tested approximately 20% of news samples (60 news articles) from the dataset and adjusted the given codes. In this pre-analysis stage, pre-defined codes were refined: some vaguely defined categories were redefined or eliminated. For example, some codes portraying citizen news participants, such as "evil" and "hero" (Robinson, 2009) were either integrated into other codes or excluded. Consequently, it is evident that considering both relevant studies and pre-analysis is a very significant approach to forming a clear and valid coding scheme.

Codebook

Every set of codes was defined and explained with excerpts from the sample as follows. A full text of coding book is attached as an Appendix A. The unit of analysis is a single news article in this content analysis.

(1) Topics

To discern topical perspectives of news stories including the citizen journalism phenomenon in RQ1-1, seven topics were predefined from Jones & Himelboim's study (2010) and one topic was added after reviewing sub-sample of the data. The eight coding

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topics are as follows: Technology, journalism, politics, activism, disasters, warfare, community, and entertainment. For example, if the citizen journalism phenomenon is represented from the perspective of technological innovation, such as digital technology, rise of the Internet, mobile technology, etc., a "1" was coded for the "technology" code. Since a single news story could have multiple topics, plural topics are possible within the same article.

(2) Value frame

In order to determine how the role or value of citizen journalism has been depicted, I originally conceptualized two news frames—benefit and threat—from a previous study (Jones & Himelboim, 2010). Using those frames, I have reviewed the subset of the data sample and realized a need to add additional codes. Finally, three adjusted codes, *Valuable*, *Dangerous*, and *Useless* frames, were posed and defined.

The *Valuable* frame is associated with any beneficial consequences from citizen journalism in different levels and areas. Individual satisfaction, innovative journalism, contribution to community, and democratic participation are considered as possible sub codes to present the *Valuable* frame. For example, if a story describes citizen journalism's help and contribution to local community, "1" is coded for contribution to community, which was counted toward the *Valuable* frame. However, if a story represents a benefit of citizen journalism, but could not be in any sub categories, this story can still be coded for the *Valuable* frame.

The *Dangerous* frame consists of four sub codes, such as risky job, misinformation, fragmentation, and media industry deconstruction. The *Useless* frame

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has two sub codes—no news value and low quality. Clear differences exist between the dangerous frame and useless frame. Citizen journalism could be dangerous to professional media industry, mainstream news staffs, and citizen journalists themselves. In order to count toward the *Dangerous* frame, the subject of the frame should be threatening and/or risky. In contrast, the *Useless* frame indicates incompleteness or valueless news content itself regardless of the content's influence on someone or something. For example, if citizen generated news provides fake and inaccurate information that influenced news audiences, this news article can be considered as using the dangerous frame. On the other hand, if news content that citizen journalism provides is useless and trivial—if it is not newsworthy, private, and boring—it can be regarded as using useless frame.

(3) The *New/ Common* frame

In response to RQ1-3, the *New* and *Common* frames were analyzed. In accordance with the findings of Jones & Himelboim (2010), if citizen journalism or citizen participatory news was represented as a brand-new, innovative phenomenon, a "1" was coded for the *New* frame. Likewise, if citizen journalism was represented as a common, outdated, widespread, well-known phenomenon, a "1" was coded for the *Common* frame.

(4) Portrayals of citizen news participants

RQ1-4 was designed to better understand how citizen news providers are portrayed in mainstream news coverage. This portrayal is important because the use of the words in news content closely represents how news coverage considers citizen journalism/the citizen journalist phenomenon and what aspects reports about this

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phenomenon are focused on. From the pilot study and relevant literature, seven codes such as "journalists," "collaborators," "eyewitnesses," "ordinary people," "activists," "media users," and "others" were drafted.

If citizen news participants were associated with any journalistic practices or if citizen news participants named any kind of journalists, storytellers, journal writers, history drafters, meaning-makers, or opinion leaders, the article was coded as "journalists." Also, if a citizen news participant was associated with new journalism, grassroots journalism, or a citizen journalist movement, the news story was coded as "journalists."

However, it is possible that some of codes are integrated in this stage of analysis. For example, both "journalists" and "collaborators" are linked to journalism related activity as either main reporters or collaborators with professional journalists. For the above two codes, a positive linking between citizen news participants and journalists were indicated. Multi-codes were allowed in this category.

(5) Argumentative tone

Argumentative tone (RQ1-5) of news articles was analyzed if a news story expressed positive or negative tone. Referring to codes from RQ3 and RQ4, only one option out of five should have been marked. More positive than negative and more negative than positive comprise the middle categories that require the coder's judgment. If a news story simultaneously expressed multiple items and argumentative positions, the coder was told to judge whether the total tone of the news story was more positive than negative or more negative than positive.

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(6) Journalistic characteristics

I also recorded what characteristics of journalism were mentioned when mainstream news articles dealt with the citizen journalism phenomenon. This is important because the journalistic roles, duties, and practices identified with respect to with citizen journalism were considered as significant criteria to determine whether the citizen journalism phenomenon is valuable, dangerous, or useless. In accordance with information from scholarly/trade publications of professional journalism and pre-analysis of the sample, the following characteristics of journalism were listed and recorded: information delivery, objectivity, accuracy, democracy, ethics, watchdog, gatekeeper, public service, democracy, and autonomy.

(7) Descriptive information

Additional information on news articles and descriptive factors, such as publication year, news industry type, length of news article, type of news article and news section was also recorded. In particular, the format of media discussing the citizen journalism phenomenon was characterized in the following ways: blog, independent citizen media, social media, micro-blogging, photo/ video sharing site, and etc. Brands of citizen journalism and relevant major incidents identified on news articles were also recorded.

Coding

Two coders participated in coding with a constructive codebook (Appendix A) for the validity of coding. The author and an undergraduate student majoring journalism at

the University of Minnesota did the coding. I had a training session with the

undergraduate coder to give her background information on this content analysis and

explain the codes listed.

Once the two coders had agreed on definitions of codes, we tried to assess inter-

coder reliability. To test inter-coder reliability, 10% news articles of the corpus (31 news

articles) were randomly selected and coded by two coders. In this study, two coefficients

of overall inter-coder reliability are reported: the percentage of agreement and Scott's π, a

conservative statistic that takes into consideration a chance agreement (Krippendorff,

2004, cited in Jones & Himelboim, 2010). Reported results showed an average of 85.2%

agreement among the coders and Scott's π = .60. Percent agreement and Scott's π for the

other variables are respectively: citizen journalism as a new phenomenon 0.90 and π =

.61; citizen journalism as common phenomenon .87 and π = .74; the *Valuable* frame .84

and π = .68; the *Dangerous* frame .84 and π = .67; the *Useless* frame .81 and π = .38.

Table 5 - 2 Inter-coder reliability test of main frames

Frames	% Agreement	Scott's Pi	N Agreement	N Disagreement	N cases
New	90.323	0.610	28	3	31
Common	87.097	0.742	27	4	31
Valuable	83.871	0.676	26	5	31
Dangerous	83.871	0.672	26	5	31
Useless	80.645	0.380	25	6	31
Average	**85.163**	**0.616**			

Qualitative textual analysis procedure

Squires (2007) emphasized the importance of combining quantitative and

qualitative textual analysis, especially to understand complex sets of discourse. She

mentioned,

> While quantitative analysis is the preferred method for taking account of
> textual information, qualitative analysis of texts allows a researcher to
> access and evaluate implied meanings as well as take into account the
> cultural and historical context of a text. Qualitative analysis of the texts,
> the, helps the researcher explore how and why certain themes show up
> more frequently than others, or are shown more prominently in news texts.
> A combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is satisfying to
> many researchers because it allows for both numerical information about
> the quantity and frequency of themes and exploration of the nuances of
> how information is contextualized for the audience (Squires, 2007, p.26-
> 27).

To discern how mainstream media dealt with citizen journalism in terms of

professional status, I performed a close reading of all the news articles within the same

dataset after completion of the quantitative content analysis. Since quantified data often

misses subtle meanings and nuances present in news content, qualitative textual analysis

is useful to interpret implicit themes and discourses as well as repetitive emphases in

media texts (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010). Since mainstream news media face a paradox

between delivering fair information to public and protecting their professional stature

from amateurs, news articles generated by professional journalists could have complex

meanings on both stances. Also, it is possible that a news article viewing citizen

journalism phenomenon in a positive tone could also have implicit meanings to justify

the occupational status of professional journalism.

In order to answer the second research questions —whether mainstream newspapers legitimize their professionalism and how they do on news coverage of citizen journalism—I reviewed news articles in accordance with the results of quantitative content analysis. Open coding was used to find emerging themes with regard with to identity, value, and role of professional journalism. Researchers can "reshape the categories originally developed earlier in the coding and making connections between the categories identified, then finally construct and interpret the findings" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2010, pp.218-222). While in the process of close reading, I attempted to find as many themes as possible. I then incorporated them into several dominant themes.

Dominant legitimacy themes emerged in both areas – portrayals of citizen news participants and roles of citizen journalism—and necessitated supplementary questions: How did professional journalists use the term "journalist" in discussing citizen journalism?; What features of citizen news participants are emphasized and ignored by professional journalists?; What roles of professional journalism are highlighted in discussing the performance of citizen journalism?; When did professional journalists call citizen participatory news journalism? These questions help guide the researcher in emerging, adjusting, and incorporating themes in discussions about the second set of research questions.

CHAPTER 6. FRAMING CITIZEN JOURNALSIM

In this chapter, I present the results of the quantitative content analysis and answer the first set of research questions that examine news framings of the citizen journalism phenomenon.

First, in the data overview section, I provide descriptive overview on news articles discussing citizen journalism, specifying when and where, and in relation to which events news articles about citizen journalism have appeared in mainstream news media. In the section about news frames, I also present main outcomes of the content analysis involving the frequency data of codes describing topical perspectives, portrayals of citizen journalists, main news frames, and tonality of news coverage. Finally, in the discussion section, I summarize significant findings from the analysis and discuss what those results mean in relation to posed research questions.

DATA OVERVIEW

The overview of this study's dataset illustrates basic ideas regarding news coverage on citizen journalism in terms of the number, geographic location, publication, and type of news articles. The above data points serve as background information for answering my research questions. This analysis incorporates 308 news articles about citizen journalism that were published between 1999 to 2012 in eight U.S. mainstream newspapers.

Number of news articles

There were some variations, but most news articles (296 out of 308) were gathered between the years 2005 and 2012. As Figure 6.1 illustrates, the news articles reporting on citizen journalism have drastically decreased since their peak in 2007. This trend may be a result of a significant amount of major news events and disasters related to citizen journalism during this time period. In particular, the periods before and after Presidential elections of 2004, 2008, and 2012, saw a number of news stories related to the performance of citizen journalists published (e.g. Ms. Fowler's case, Big Tent, *OffTheBus*, and so on). Also, domestic and foreign disasters such as Hurricane Katrina and the London bombings represent notable incidents that incorporated the term "citizen journalism." For example, 108 news articles were either deeply concerned with or explicitly mentioned Hurricane Katrina in relation to citizen journalism.

From 1999 to 2004, only twelve news articles discussed the citizen journalism phenomenon. Even though a couple of considerable incidents linked to citizen journalism, such as the launch of *Indymedia* (1999) and 9/11 (2001) took place during this interval, news articles from this period did not frequently use the term citizen journalism to describe user-generated news content. Instead, news articles reported this phenomenon as blogs, alternative journalism, or public journalism.

Additionally, no news articles featured discussions of 9/11 using the exact term "citizen journalism" even though some news articles in this study dated from 1999 through the tragic event. Despite 9/11's position a landmark moment in the development

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of citizen journalism at that time, people did not use the term citizen journalism itself. During those years, camera equipped phones and the image uploading/ downloading processors that allow citizens to actively participate in news production and news delivery today were not yet predominant. Also, primary social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter did not enjoy widespread reach as they do today.

Figure 6 - 1 Number of news articles by year (n=308)
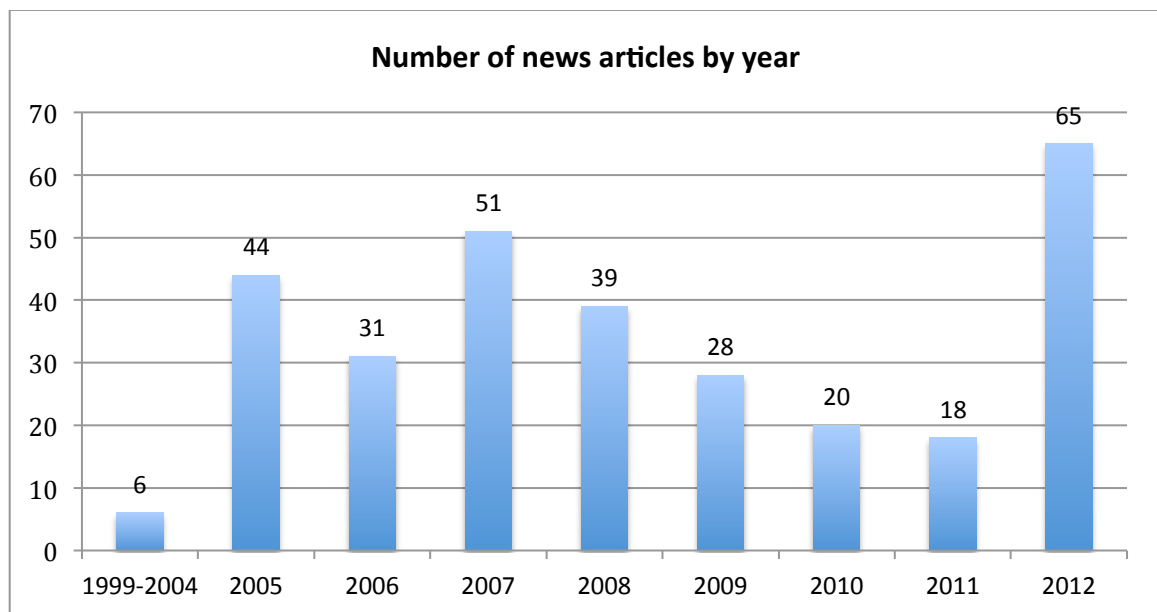
Newspaper brands

During the entire period studied, The *New York Times* (88) and *The Washington Post* (61) published the largest number of news articles on citizen journalism. During the interval 1999-2004, half of the 12 news articles collected (6) were published in the *San Jose Mercury News*. Five news brands including the *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Denver Post*, and *Chicago Tribune,* did not have any news articles. With

respect to publication types, 183 out of 308 news articles (59.9%) were collected by

national newspapers—The *Wall Street Journal, USA Today*, *New York Times*, and

Washington Post. This amount includes two leading newspaper companies. Combined,

the national newspaper outlets published 20% more than news articles than regional/

local newspapers.

Table 6 - 1 Number of news articles by newspaper brands

Newspapers	1999-2004	2005-2012	Total
Wall Street Journal	0	20	20
USA Today	0	14	14
New York Times	3	85	88
Washington Post	3	58	61
San Jose Mercury News	6	36	44
Los Angeles Times	0	35	35
Denver Post	0	14	14
Chicago Tribune	0	32	32
Total	**12**	**296**	**308**

Geography of news articles

Among the 308 news articles studied, more than half of the articles mentioning

citizen journalism phenomenon were related to domestic news events. News articles

related to domestic issues dealt primarily with the rise of citizen journalism phenomenon

during disasters, but also mentioned media industry and citizen journalism issues

together. However, news articles related to international issues namely reported on

disasters and terror attacks, such as the London bombing in 2005 and Mumbai terror

attacks in 2008.

Table 6 - 2 Number of news articles by geography

Geography	Number of news articles	Percentage
National-domestic news	164	53.2%
National-local news	56	18.2%
International news	88	28.6%
Total	**308**	**100%**

Types of news articles

Half of news articles (n=162, 52.6%) considered the citizen journalism

phenomenon in long-form, feature type articles. An additional 25.9% of news articles fell

into the category of hard/straight news, which largely focused on special events and

incidents. There were 57 news articles published about citizen journalism in the

categories of op-ed or column, commentary and masthead editorials.

Table 6 - 3 Number of article type

Types of news articles	Number	Percentage
Op-ed or column/ Commentary	45	14.6%
Masthead Editorial	12	3.9%
Hard/straight news article	80	25.9%
Long-form feature	162	52.6%
Other	9	2.9%
Total	**308**	**100%**

News sections

Articles falling under the category of "Culture, Entertainment, Media,

Technology, and Life" accounted for the largest article total of any news section (n=99,

32.1%).

Table 6 - 4 Number of news section

News section	Number of news articles	Percentage %
Politics	37	12.0%
Economics, Business, Finance	63	20.5%
Culture, Entertainment, Media, Technology, Life	99	32.1%
Foreign, International, World	64	20.8%
Domestic, Local, Community	40	13.0%
Others	5	1.6%
Total	**308**	**100%**

A large volume of news articles discussed citizen journalism as a fresh cultural phenomenon and a new trend led by technology. News articles from the "Economics, Business, and Finance" sections, focused largely on the media industry and business issues surrounding payment for user-generated content at online-based corporations.

Platforms of citizen journalism

The variety of different media platforms delivering citizen participatory content was also counted. These distinctions are important when attempting to understand how media technology has influenced the stories of citizen journalism. Overall, blogs, photo/video sharing sites, and citizen journalism sites (either mainstream media related or independent) were frequently mentioned as platforms of citizen journalism across all time intervals.

Blogs were mentioned as a platform for citizen journalism in 22.1% (n=62) of news articles studied—the largest volume of any platform. While the low occurrences of news articles in early years may seem problematic, the percentages of articles discussing

blogs as a platform from citizen journalism rose to 50 percent between 1999-2004 (Table

6-6).

Table 6 - 5 Platforms of citizen journalism

Platforms	Number	Percentage %
Blogs	62	22.1%
Social networking sites	18	6.4%
Micro-blogging sites	27	9.6%
Photo or video sharing sites	54	19.2%
Mainstream media's citizen journalism project	47	16.7%
Independent citizen media	57	20.3%
Hyper-local community media	16	5.7%
Mainstream media	21	7.5%
Mobile device	26	9.3%
Total	**281**	**100%**

Comparing early years, the ratio of blogs as a platform for citizen journalism

during later was as low as, or lower than, 30 percent. In particular, throughout 2007 and

2011, only one in ten news articles covering citizen journalism mentioned blogs as a

media platform related to citizen journalism.

Table 6 - 6 Blogs, Social Networking sites, and Micro-blogging as platforms

	~2004 (n=6)	2005 (n=44)	2006 (n=31)	2007 (n=51)	2008 (n=39)	2009 (n=28)	2010 (n=20)	2011 (n=18)	2012 (n=65)
Blogs	3 50%	14 31.8%	8 25.8%	5 9.8%	8 20.5%	4 14.3%	4 20%	2 11.1%	10 15.4%
SNS	-	-	-	1 2.0%	-	2 7.1%	2 10.0%	4 22.2%	9 13.8%
Twitter	-	-	-	-	1 2.6%	4 14.3%	4 20.0%	5 27.8%	13 20.0%

Additionally, the percentage of articles discussing social network sites and Twitter as platforms for citizen journalism have increased since they appeared, however, the total number of articles mentioning these platforms was not substantial during their early years. After social networking sites and Twitter began to dominate the online landscape after 2009, the combined percentage rose to be larger than blogs as a media platform.

Photo/video sharing sites have also been highly mentioned as a platform for citizen journalism. In particular, YouTube has been described as a useful tool for people to participate in citizen journalism. A news story (Sarr, 2006, December 20) from the *Los Angeles Times* emphasized the power of YouTube's effect and declared that a mainstream news agency hiring thousands of professional journalists will be never as omnipresent as millions of people carrying cellphones that can record video. This sentiment clearly suggests the impact of YouTube on the phenomenon of citizen journalism.

The amount of mentions related to social media and micro-blogging sites uncovered in this study seems to downplay their general impact on society. This is because citizen participants who are based on social networking sites were not named "citizen journalists" and their works not named citizen journalism even though they created and published news content. Rather, citizen news projects supported by mainstream news were named as establishing a space for citizen participants who need to spread out their content (e.g. CNN's I-Reporter).

The above data review has demonstrated when, where, and in which situations news coverage on citizen journalism has occurred in mainstream news media. In the following section, news frames and argumentative tones will be analyzed. The actual analysis of news frames provides possible links for discussing how the overview relates to the news frames themselves and how the findings could be interpreted based on the overview.

NEWS TOPICS, FRAMES, PORTRAYLS, TONES

Topical Perspective

Among the first set of research questions, RQ1-1 was aimed at examining topical perspectives of news coverage. News stories usually related either implicitly or explicitly to at least one of the topics listed in Table 6-7. Because citizen journalism can often be mentioned in stories about global disasters, technological development, and the media and news industries, it is frequently covered in tandem with a variety of news topics. A frequency of topical perspectives on citizen journalism helps us grasp what topics have been related to the phenomenon of citizen journalism. These frequencies also illustrate what kinds of issues and events were mentioned in coverage specifically focused on citizen journalism.

To determine topical perspectives, eight codes of topics were counted: technology, journalism, politics, activism, disasters, warfare, entertainment, and community. Since a single news story could have plural topics, multiple choices were allowed.

Table 6 - 7 Topical perspectives of news coverage

Topical perspective	Number	Percentages
Journalism	174	41.6%
Politics	54	12.9%
Activism	53	12.7%
Technology	46	11.0%
Disasters/ Tragedy	36	8.6%
Community	33	7.9%
Entertainment	14	3.4%
Warfare	8	1.9%
Total	**418**	**100.0%**

Remarkably, 174 of the news articles studied related to the Journalism category

(41.6%), which included journalistic practices, roles, ethics, and industry. In comparison

to other studies, this analysis uncovered more stories addressing the topic of journalism.

This could be because the search terms used for collecting data in this study already

included news or journalism related words.

The role of citizen journalism in politics and activism was also frequently

highlighted in news coverage studied, accounting for 12.9% and 12.6% of articles

respectively. Since most of the news articles related to activism covered political activism

and activists in places where recent political unrest has occurred, such as Syria and

Egypt, news articles in these two categories could be incorporated into the category of

"politics." Therefore, it could be concluded that one fourth of news articles were actually

covered from a political perspective. One of ten topics in news articles related to

communication technology innovation, and 8.6% of news topics were related to disasters

and tragedies. Other topical narratives included community (7.9%), entertainment (3.4%),

and warfare (1.9%). Each code and examples of news articles representing that code are discussed below.

(1) Journalism

Mostly, news coverage on citizen journalism within the journalism topic reported on the roles of professional and citizen journalism, journalistic practices of citizen news participants, professional journalism's ethics and standards, traditional media's change, and media industry's financial risk. A news article (Magid, 2007, July 30) from the *San Jose Mercury* (2007, July 30) introduced a new citizen journalism project funded by a traditional media company and mentioned the roles of traditional media and citizen participatory content.

> As now we have amateur video making it on the air. CNN enlists civilians through its "I-report" program to send in videos, and Anderson Cooper had some amateur help last week when CNN and YouTube teamed up to let ordinary citizens drill candidates via video. Personally, I found that refreshing because it added perspective and diversity that's so often missing form TV newsrooms (Jack of all journalism tools, master of some, *San Jose Mercury*, 2007, July 30).

(2) Politics

In this topic, news articles covered citizen journalism as a new actor in significant political events during the time frame studied. Presidential Elections in 2004 and 2008 and national political conventions were events frequently mentioned in the political topic. A news article titled "Storming the news gatekeepers: On the internet, citizen journalists raises their voices up" (Vargas, 2007, November 27) from The *Washington Post* showed how mainstream journalism has been working with politicians and political campaigns

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and implied that citizen journalists generated a distinct effect as a new actors within the

realm of political journalism.

> Journalism, as political mainstream media in Washington practice it, is too inside-the-Beltway, too beholden to sources, citizen journalism says, all about the horse race, the money haul, the strategists, the pollsters, all about ensuring that official Washington and its political class stay employed (Storming the news gatekeepers: On the internet, citizen journalists raises their voices up, The *Washington Post,* 2007, November 27).

Another news article titled "Expect a lot of convention coverage by new media"

(Magid, 2008, August 25) from the *San Jose Mercury News* covered how the status of

citizen journalists and bloggers has grown in the political area.

> At the Democratic convention, Google will also be one of the sponsors of "The Big Tent," an 8,000-square-foot, two story structure where bloggers and other new media journalists can watch and cover the convention and question party dignitaries who will speak from the "Digg Stage." The tent will accommodate citizen journalists who might not be able to get credentialed by the party to work out of the nearby Pepsi Center, where the convention is taking place (Expect A Lot of Convention Coverage by New Media, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2008, August 25).

(3) Activism

In this study, 12.7% of news articles covering citizen journalism related to

protests, uprisings, and activists. In particular, a news article titled "New vehicle for

dissent is a fast track to prison" (Williams, 2006, May 31) from The *Washington Post*

emphasized the importance of bloggers as citizen journalists in the Egyptian protests.

> Most political demonstrations in Egypt take place in front of government buildings or those that house lawyers' and journalists' unions. Bit Bucket has also reported on events not covered by Egypt's independent newspapers. During riots in Alexandria that followed the recent stabbing by Muslim man of several Coptic Christians during worship, Seif al-Islam traveled to city and provided a blow-by-blow description of the sectarian violence. They view it as citizen journalism and

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we have to keep it alive (New vehicle for dissent is a fast track to prison, The *Washington Post*, 2006, May 31).

(4) Disaster/ Tragedy

The perspective of disaster and tragedy accounted for 8.6% of news articles discussing citizen journalism. Significant disasters such as London bombing (2005) and Asian Tsunami (2007) have revisited and attempted to define the role of citizen journalism. A news article titled "High-tech citizen journalists provide glimpses that transcend the news cycle" (Stelter & Cohen, 2008, November 30) from The *New York Times* explained the role of citizen journalists as witnesses in the Mumbai bombing attack that occurred in 2008.

> Much of this activity (of citizen journalists) flourished early in the crisis; while there was a vacuum of official information either from government sources or from mainstream media outlets still struggling to understand the extent of the attacks (High-tech citizen journalists provide glimpses that transcend the news cycle, The *New York Times*, 2008, November 30).

(5) Technology

Technology innovation that allows citizens to take an active role as news generators and deliverers was considered as a narrative in 11.0% of news stories. New media platforms and networked society were discussed as a background component of the rise of citizen journalism.

A news article titled "Do-it-yourself journalism spreads: Web sites let people take news into their own hands" (Cha, 2005, July 17) from The *Washington Post* explored the importance of technological development in the growth of citizen participatory news in its introduction of the YourMom site – an experiment in citizen journalism: "The

explosion of the Internet over the past decade has allowed anyone with an Internet

connection to instantaneously publish whatever he or she wants, fueling the growth of

citizen reporters (emphasis in original)".

(6) Community

Of the articles examined, 33 (7.9 %) related to the topic of community. These

articles largely reported on alternative roles of citizen journalism in local communities

and considered how citizen journalism functioned with respect to local citizens. A news

article cited above (Cha, 2005, July 17) also mentioned "citizen news media and citizen-

generated news play a role of alternative voices for local and minor community." In

another news article titled "On local sites, everyone's a journalist" (Walker, 2004,

December 9) from The *Washington Post*, iBrattleboro.com was introduced as "do-it-

yourself web news" and the site was discussed in terms of how aimed to work with local

residents in Brattleboro.

> When fire destroyed a historic building in Brattleboro, Vt., in the wee hours of
> Saturday, the local daily newspaper had already been put to bed. But by dawn,
> local residents had posted photos and their own stories about the blaze on
> iBrattleboro.com, a local Web site where anyone can write the news. Residents in
> the town of 12,000 spent the weekend using the site to publicly discuss ways to
> help the 11 people who had been hurt or displaced – and even look for lost cats.
> One-year-old iBrattleboro.com is at the vanguard of the latest wave of Web
> publishers trying to build audiences by delivering local news. What's different
> about their efforts from those in the past is that they are relying on a new ally:
> local residents (On local sites, everyone's a journalist, The *Washington Post*,
> 2004, December 9).

Value Frame – The *Valuable*, *Dangerous*, and *Useless* frame

In order to understand the perspective of professional journalists on the citizen journalism phenomenon, three value frames – the *Valuable*, *Dangerous*, and *Useless* frame—were explored in mainstream news coverage. Since a single news article could include multiple assessments on citizen journalism phenomenon, 353 value frames have been counted. In total, 98 out of 308 news articles had more than two frames. Also, 34 news articles did not include any value perspective regarding citizen journalism phenomenon.

Table 6 - 8 Numbers of three frames by years

	Total	*Valuable* frame	*Dangerous* frame	*Useless* frame
All time	353	211 (59.8%)	100 (28.3%)	42 (11.9%)
1999-2004	16	7 (43.8%)	8 (50.0%)	1 (6.2%)
2005	57	36 (63.2%)	13 (22.8%)	8 (14.0%)
2006	36	25 (69.5%)	8(22.2%)	3 (8.3%)
2007	59	42(71.2%)	12(20.3%)	5(8.5%)
2008	46	22(47.8%)	13(28.3%)	11(23.9%)
2009	38	15(39.5%)	13(34.2%)	10 (26.3%)
2010	18	11(61.1%)	6 (33.3%)	1 (5.6%)
2011	18	12(66.7%)	5 (27.8%)	1(5.5%)
2012	65	41(63.1%)	22(33.8%)	2 (3.1%)

On the whole, nearly 60 percent of news frames represented citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon; the rest of frames seen in news coverage fell into the *Dangerous* frame and the *Useless* frame (28.3% and 11.9%, respectively). Even though there were some slight variations existed, the ratios of news frames falling into the above three framing categories were consistent across time. Except during the early period (1999-

2004), the leading frame was the *Valuable* frame. The *Dangerous* frame accounted for the second largest amount of stories, and the *Useless* frame made up the smallest percentage.

Figure 6 - 2 Citizen journalism as the *Valuable, Useless, Dangerous* (%)
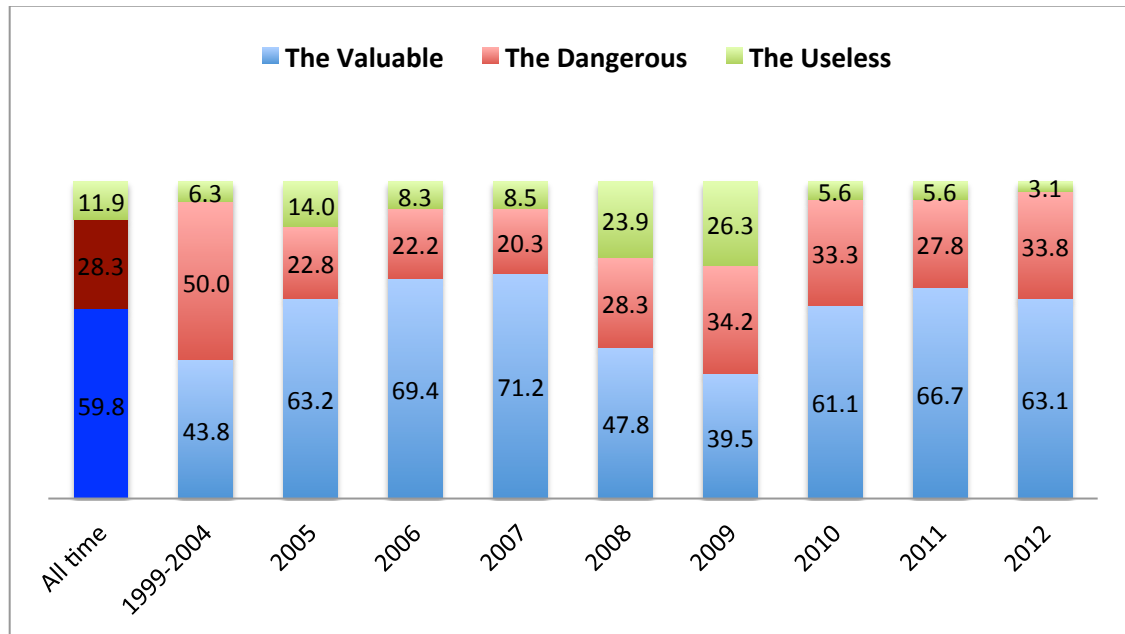
Even though the *Valuable* frame was always the leading frame across all time intervals, the percentage of framings containing the *Dangerous* frame and the *Useless* frame have increased since 2008. In particular, the number of framings containing the *Useless* frame increased drastically in 2008 and 2009. On average only 9.25% of framings exhibited characteristics of the *Useless* frame between 1999 and 2007; however, in 2008 and 2009, 23.9% and 26.3% of framings respectively, described citizen

journalism as a useless phenomenon. Occurrences of the *Dangerous* frame have also

slightly increased since 2008, though not as much as the *Useless* frame.

Specifically, three of ten news frames described citizen journalism as a dangerous

phenomenon in 2009 and 2010. Due to the increase of the *Dangerous* frame and *Useless*

frame in 2008 and 2009 news coverage, the total percentage of those two frames

surpassed the amount of the *Valuable* frame in those years with totals of 52.2% and

60.5%, respectively.

13% of news articles (n=28) including the *Valuable* frame also had the

Dangerous frame together. Similarly, only 10% of news pieces having the *Dangerous*

frames appearing in this analysis (n=10) also contained the *Useless* frame. It means there

were only few cases having more than one value frame.

(1) The *Valuable* frame

The majority of frames in mainstream news articles described citizen journalism

as a valuable phenomenon (61.1%, n=211). The framings were determined to be

"*Valuable*" if news stories discussed any valuable gain or desirable outcome from citizen

journalism in various fields and levels. The number of the *Valuable* frames consistently

outnumbered the *Dangerous* and *Useless* frames during all years studied. With the

exception of the initial period covering 1999-2004 and 2008-2009, the percentage of the

Valuable frame accounted for over 60% of all three types of frame.

Many of the *Valuable* frames were associated with journalistic role of citizen

journalism and journalistic innovation. A news article (Farhi, 2012, July 16) from The

Washington Post emphasized how YouTube and its audience were driving a new way of

delivering news:

> YouTube has grown into an important source of news, drawing audiences that
> rival those of traditional TV news networks and creating a new kind of visual
> journalism. […] This is a new kind of interaction and a new way of absorbing and
> learning about events from around the world (This just in: YouTube's now a
> video news giant, The *Washington Post*, 2012, July 16).

Another news article titled "Reporting's mass appeal" (Saar, 2006, December 26)

from the *Los Angeles Times* also highlighted a new wave of journalism led by amateurs.

> Across the country, citizen newspapers are springing up, full of promise, energy
> and atrocious spelling errors. They are largely written by unpaid, untrained and
> unedited citizen reporters, who say they commit acts of journalism more for kicks
> than out of a sense of civic calling. Amateurs working as journalists are giving
> rise to a new wave of citizen newspapers (Reporting's mass appeal, *Los Angeles
> Times*, 2006, December 26).

Individual gratification comprised one sub theme within the *Valuable* frame

because on an individual level, citizen journalism could be considered as a valuable

phenomenon. Recently, ordinary people have taken on the habit of collecting information

and sharing news with others on the Web. This process of posting news gives ordinary

people a sense that they are making a personal contribution to the online public sphere

and therefore, have a reputation to uphold. A news article titled "Embracing the new

journalism" (Winter, 2011, April 16) from the *Denver Post* discussed why citizens play

the role of reporters.

> These citizen journalists –untrained, unpaid writers, bloggers, reporters and
> videographers – gather information on the street, or share their thoughts in a blog,

and disseminate it around the world. They do it without compensation for a number of reasons – because it gives them an audience, because it can lead to a job or promote an idea, or because in some places, governments lie and repress the news, and citizen journalists are the only voices of truth. Most citizen journalists who blog or write for free do it for the public exposure it gives them (Embracing the new journalism, The *Denver Post*, 2011, April 16).

Another news article titled "Reply all: The Good, the Bad, and the 'Web 2.0'" (Brophy-Warren, 2007, July 17) from the *Wall Street Journal* also considered why amateurs keep working as citizen reporters and found the reasons stem from individual satisfaction, such as "We're doing it by-and-large for free, for the love of it, and for the joy of creating with others. That makes us amateurs. And that's also what makes the Web our culture's hope."

Citizen journalism has been also regarded as a valuable phenomenon because it encourages ordinary people who do not often share their voice in public to participate in gathering and sharing information within a democracy. A staff writer in The *Washington Post*, Jose Antonio Vargas (2007, November 27) mentioned the valuable impact of citizen journalism on often-neglected voices. In this article, citizen journalism is bringing folks, young and old, into the public square, giving voice to those who, in the pre-Internet era, may have felt voiceless.

Another news article (Cha, 2005, July 17) from The *Washington Post* about an experiment in citizen media also characterized how citizen journalism tries to embrace people with diverse or alternative opinions and allow them to participate in news production.

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Over the past year or so, media companies have been backing citizen journalism efforts like YourMom in various shapes and sizes across the country. They are creating what some believe to be a more democratic press, but throwing into question what it means to be a journalist and adding a new dimension to debates over fairness, libel, protection of confidential sources and trust in the media. The most interesting thing is diversity of voices because everyone gets a chance to say what they believe in. Citizen reporting is still in its infancy, but it's already changing notions of news and news-gathering. This is interesting appetite among ordinary people to participate in the news (Do-it-yourself journalism spreads: Web sites let people take news into their own hands, The *Washington Post*, 2005, July 17).

(2) The *Dangerous* frame

Nearly one third (28.3%) of news frames described citizen journalism as a dangerous phenomenon (n=100). Frames were considered *Dangerous* if news stories discussed unsafe outcomes and unexpected problems of citizen journalism. The *Dangerous* frames can be largely divided into three sub areas: dangerous to citizen journalists, dangerous to news audiences, and dangerous to professional journalists.

Some news articles including the *Dangerous* frame warned readers about unsafe and risky conditions and consequences for citizen journalists themselves. Since citizen journalists are not officially affiliated with the news industry or a supporting news outlet in the same way professional journalists are, covering wars and conflict areas can be especially dangerous and uncertain. In news coverage dealing wars and protests, stories noted that citizen journalists could face risky and unsettled environments while gathering information, and also discussed that journalists in these situations could not be protected under the law. A news article titled "For novice journalists, rising risks in conflict zones" (Austen, 2009, November 30) from The *New York Times* discussed potential pitfalls for citizen journalists reporting in conflict zones.

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Several analysts say, reporting has never been more dangerous, for everyone. "This business of inexperienced people going into conflict zones without proper preparation or training is increasingly worrying." Said Rodney Pinder, the former global editor of Reuters Television who is now the director of the International News Safety Institute, a charity financed largely by news organizations and based in Brussels. "There's a lot of ignorance behind some of this behavior, because people don't realize how dangerous it's become for journalists in the world today," he said. Given the increasing danger, Mr. Pinder said he hoped that novice journalists would invest in war zone safety training before leaving home and make their first forays into dangerous areas with experienced reporters rather than on their own (For novice journalists, rising risks in conflict zones, The *New York Times*, 2009, November 30).

As well as being a dangerous environment for working as a citizen journalist, inappropriate benefit/salary was also considered as a "dangerous situation". A news article (Argestsinger & Roberts, 2010, September 28) from The *Washington Post*, reported that in the case of Ms. Mayhill Fowler, *Huffington Post* and other media hiring citizen news participants had a chance to think about social status and payment of bloggers that had never been considered before.

On Monday, she announced she's quitting the Huffington Post: "I have this last year gone out and done actual reportage. I'm no longer going to do that for free. I've paid my dues in the citizen journalism department; I'm a journalist now" (She also thinks herself journalist now). Over time, Fowler went from thinking of herself as one of the site's 6,000 "opinionators" to seeing herself as a professional worthy of being paid for reported articles -- just like staff reporters. She was turned down repeatedly, and finally had enough: "In the end, you know, it's not so much about the money itself as the dignity it confers" (OffTheBus to OnHerOwn, The *Washington Post*, 2010, September 28).

News articles incorporating *Dangerous* frames also cautioned against potential hazardous effects on news audiences. Since news reporting from citizen journalists often

generates inaccurate, misinformed, or fake stories due to lack of supervision by professional journalists and the routines they utilize, news stories could have a negative impact on news audiences and public opinion. Social consequences, such as identity fraud, overloaded information, and privacy problems are also considered dangerous effects of citizen journalism. For example, during Hurricane Sandy, citizen journalism provided problematic misinformation and fueled damaging rumors because the stories were not appropriately check and researched (Weingarten, 2010, July 18).

Stories incorporated within the *Dangerous* frames also discussed professional journalism norms and traditional media industry. Because citizen journalism does not have professional norms and ethics like professional journalism, this new phenomenon has the potential to seriously challenge journalism culture and professions. News articles analyzed in this study focused on non-trained citizen journalists' relationship with professional ethics. By mentioning that "there is no ethical cannon or tradition that would excuse such deception on the part of a professional journalist," a news article (Gersen, 2011, March 18) expressed the concerns of professional journalists about the advent of citizen journalism.

Another news article (Farhi, 2012, July 16) also mentioned possible dangers initiated by the use of user-generated content.

> There are no clear ethical standards about how to identify the sources of material in YouTube Videos, leaving viewers in the dark about who posted a video or where the uploader got the footage in a clip. All this creates the potential for news to be manufactured, or even falsified, without giving audiences much ability to know who produced a video (This just in: YouTube's now a video news giant, The *Washington Post*, 2012, July 16)

Citizen journalism was also seen as a competitor to mainstream journalism and, therefore, characterized in a negative way. Since the news industry has recently faced a variety of pressing economic, structural, and professional problems, citizen journalism is positioned to threaten the mainstream news industry by luring away its readers. For example, a news article (Bornstein, 2011, December 20) from The *New York Times* suggested that "potentially and gradually, citizen journalism will take over the news industry."

(3) The *Useless* frame

Only 39 news articles described citizen journalism as a useless phenomenon (n=39). This means that 11.1% of news frames were associated with the insignificant and impracticable aspects of citizen journalism. Most news articles within these frames discussed two main problems—content quality and news value—in determining the usefulness of citizen journalism.

In the *Useless* frame, news articles indicated that citizen-provided content does not meet the standard of professional news values. Usually, news articles from these frames suggested that citizen-generated content was trivial, private, and boring compared to professional written news. In particular, news articles dealing with the citizen journalism phenomenon in a social media environment often described citizen content as non-newsworthy. A news article titled "Videos on web widen the lens on the conflict; YouTube users explore Israel-Hezbollah violence" (Goo, 2006, July 25) from The *Washington Post* bluntly called *YouTube* "a video Dumpster." This article continues:

It is called 'see, snap, post' reporting or simply a 'public status update's because essentially it is when anyone with a phone sees something, tweets it or takes a picture of it, and posts it. That's basically a status update that we are now calling news (Videos on web widen the lens on the conflict; YouTube users explore Israel-Hezbollah violence, 2006, July 25).

News articles embodying the *Useless* frame also indicated low quality of news content as the reason why citizen journalism is useless. This means that mainstream journalists considered citizen participatory content below journalistic standards. A news article of Steven Pearlstein (2011, February 9) from The *Washington Post* emphasized the unprofessional nature of citizen reporters:

Quality is the operative word here. While any number of news Web sites got their start posting reams of content from "citizen journalists," college interns, pajama-clad bloggers and low-cost freelancers commissioned online, much of what they produced could not replace the reporting and writing of knowledgeable, experienced reporters and editors (Timing could be right for even more media mergers, The *Washington Post*, 2011, February 9)

The *New/ Common* frame

Mainstream news articles also framed citizen journalism phenomenon as a "new" or "common phenomenon". Since citizen journalism is a technology-sensitive field and the content of citizen journalists is embedded in a variety of media platforms, it is important to investigate whether mainstream journalists consider citizen journalism a new or common phenomenon.

This study's results show that despite some variations by year, on the whole, citizen journalism was described as a new phenomenon in 80.2% of framings. In 2006,

29 out of 30 news articles collected framed citizen journalism as a new phenomenon marking the biggest percentage of any year studied. Descriptions of citizen journalism as a common phenomenon accounted for 19.8% of framings. It is important why citizen journalism is not a new technology and media all time through. Twitter, blog, social media, and Internet use that motivate citizen participation on news production were regarded as innovation of media or technology.

Figure 6 - 3 Citizen journalism as the *New* or *Common* (%)
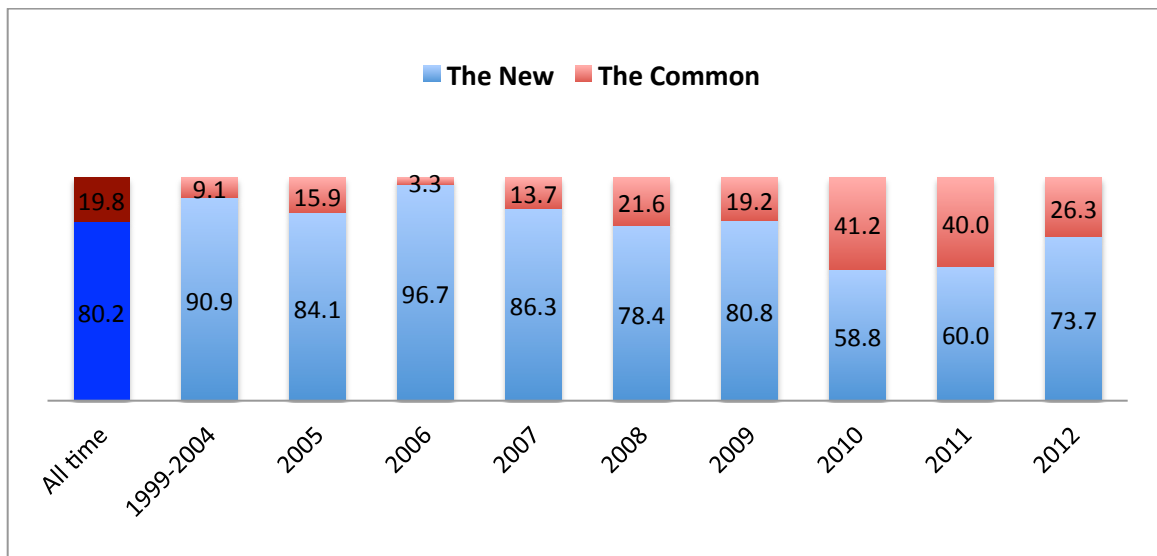
From 1999, the earliest year through 2007 the percentage of framings falling under the *New* frame was more than 80%—far higher than the percentage of *Common* framings during the same period. Since 2008, the percentage of the *New* frame has decreased in comparison to earlier years. The average of framings characterized as *New* was 67.9% between 2008 and 2012 down from an average of 89.5% from 1999 to 2007.

During the three most recent years, 2010 to 2012, even though the percentage of stories falling under the *New* frame remains larger than those falling under the *Common* frame, fewer news articles are describing citizen journalism as "new" phenomenon (58.8%, 60.0%, 61.4%, respectively.) Approximately four out of ten news articles for those years framed citizen journalism as a common phenomenon. Additionally, 20 news articles included neither the *New* frame nor the *Common* frame.

(1) The *New* Frame

The *New* phenomenon has been defined as a brand-new phenomenon or a little-known phenomenon. In particular, words like new, fresh, trend, emerging, changing, first-hand, recent, current, hot, latest, innovative, pioneering, novice, brand-new, newly started, were good indicators in determining whether citizen journalism was described new phenomenon. In this narrative, news articles provided the reason why citizen journalism is a new phenomenon in relation to technological innovation. Otherwise, the application of citizen journalism in different events and places were considered as a new one.

For example, a news article titled "Community web sites explore how to sustain themselves financially," (Lee, 2006, February 1) from The *Wall Street Journal* introduced some of the community news sites listed at cyberjournalist.net and their contributions on "this emerging new world - citizen journalism". Another news article titled "The newspaper's problems are being watched closely in the battle one and new world," (Menn, 2005, December 11) from the *Los Angeles Times* also highlighted a

rapidly increasing number of new experiments related to citizen journalism in news agencies.

(2) The *Common* frame

In this study, the common phenomenon was defined as a "well-known" phenomenon—one that everyone would easily recognize what it is and how it works. The following words and terms with similar meanings were considered important signals in determining if citizen journalism was characterized as a common phenomenon: meaning long-standing, general, prevalent, dominant, pervasive, widespread, enduring, established, conventional, unadventurous, and experienced.

News articles presenting a *Common* narrative emphasized that citizen journalism is a recent addition to the media landscape and stressed that tools and technologies supporting citizen participatory culture already enjoy widespread use among the public. A news article titled "Digital media: websites scour to find, sell video scoops" (Max, 2011, March 18) from The *Wall Street Journal* introduced a new citizen news site, *CitizenSide,* and mentioned that "over the last decade the broadcasting of amateur videos captured on people's cellphones and other gadgets has boomed." This sentiment indicates that mainstream journalists believe that people have been familiar with citizen participatory news sites for at least ten years.

Another news article (Wang, 2006, September 19) mainly covered a video-board meeting via YouTube. However, it also mentioned that while citizen journalism and blogs have been growing the need for people to gather and analyze news still exists.

Now, with a camcorder, free editing software and an Internet connection, a local citizens group has given the board a potential audience of billions. Video of board meetings share a corner of cyberspace with about 100 million other pieces of homemade digital flotsam – the video-sharing Web site YouTube. Experts said school board using video-sharing is a new phenomenon, though not a surprising one, considering the recent growth of blogs and other forms of citizen journalism. The need for ordinary people to gather and analyze the news of their communities is growing (Waukegan watchdogs focusing on District 60, *Chicago Tribune*, 2006, September 19).

Portrayals of Citizen Participants

This section analyzed how citizen news participants themselves were portrayed in news coverage about citizen journalism. It is important to understand the portrayals of citizen news participants because this characterization directly unveils how the subjects of citizen journalism were considered in mainstream news coverage. Some specific expressions used to describe citizen news participants in news articles include: online commentator, non-journalist, volunteer, pro-am Journalism, alternative journalists, anonymous release, information provider, undercover journalists, cell-journalists, political diary, coffee shop journalists, one-man band, and rumor producers (Achenbach, 2007, August 19; Ahrens, 2006, November 7; Ahrens, 2007, July 16; Farhi, 2012, July 16; Gerson, 2011, March 18; Kurtz, 2006, September 18; Leonnig, 2010, January 28; Penenberg, 2011, January 30; Sullivan, 2006, December 18; Tucker, 2010, May 17; Tunison, 2007, September 6). Citizen journalism as more abstract term, does not specifically indicate who citizen reporters are and what they do, but when taken comprehensively the term encompasses all social media protesters and social media users.

As I described in the methods chapter, I coded articles for the appearance of portrayals of citizen participants as journalists, collaborators, eyewitnesses, ordinary people, activists, media users, and others. As a result, one-fourth of news articles (25.2%) portrayed citizen participants as journalistic professions or people who play the role of journalists. One-fifth of the news articles (21.5%) described citizen news participants as collaborators with professional journalists. Here, collaborator meant that citizen news participants helped and cooperated with established news outlets or professional journalists by providing news content or news sources; however, despite their integral role in creating content, collaborators could not be considered journalists.

Figure 6 - 4 Portrayals of citizen participants
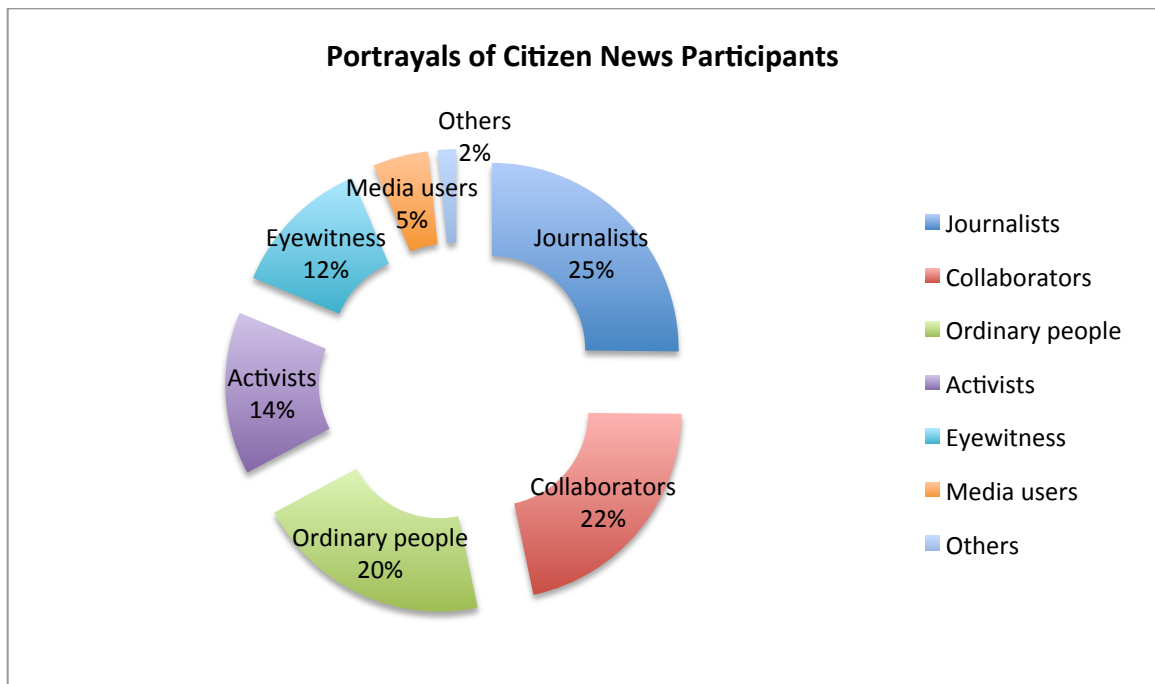
(1) Journalists

A fourth of the news articles studied (25.2%) used the term "journalists" or the meaning of the term "journalists" to refer to citizen news participants or their performance. In these articles, reporters conferred the title of "journalists" because citizen news participants had provided original news articles and disseminated them to public, thus playing the same role as professional journalists.

For example, in a news article reporting on the performance of Ms. Fowler, a contributor to Huffington Post's citizen news site (Argetsinger & Roberts, 2010, September 28), Ms. Fowler was named a journalist based on the fact that she provides original news articles by using technology-geared tools. Another news piece (Penenberg, January 30, 2011) emphasized that "journalists need to regularly engage in *legitimate newsgathering activities* (emphasis in original)" in order to be considered "journalists".

(2) Collaborators

A fifth of the news articles described citizen news participants as collaborators (21.5%). Within these descriptions, collaborator meant that citizen news participants helped and cooperated with established news outlets or professional journalists by providing news content or news sources. In this category, citizen participants did not play the same role of professional journalists; however their work is closely related to what is considered professional journalism.

A news article titled "Camera phones report attacks" from the *San Jose Mercury News* (2005, July 8) emphasized a complementary relationship between professional journalists and citizen news participants in disasters.

Though news outlets have increasingly used images from non-professional journalists, most notably during the coverage of the Asian tsunami, this was the first news event in which there was concerted and broad-based effort by news organizations to solicit, collect and disseminate images from men and women on the street. This complementary relationship represents the future of newsgathering, particularly live news events (Camera phones report attacks, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2005, July 8).

Another article (Miller, 2005, May 23) highlighted that blog could not replace traditional newspapers: "Blogs are a refreshing complement to the information spectrum, but they are not going to replace newspapers, and other media." Citizen news participants were portrayed as either journalists or collaborators in 46.5% of stories analyzed, which means that nearly half of all citizen news participants studied have been depicted as journalists-related actors.

(3) Ordinary people

Citizen news participants were also described as ordinary people who happened to be close to or able to contribute images or opinions for a story. One-fifth (20%) of news articles emphasized that citizen news participants are neither professionals nor celebrities. A news article titled "Traditional media experiment with citizens as producers," from the *San Jose Mercury* (2005, October 7) introduced a newspaper site in Greensboro, N.C. In its explanation of how the site functioned, the paper made specifically mentioned the non-professional nature of the site's contributors.

Newspapers in Greensboro, N.C. and Boulder, Colo., are even letting citizens write their own news stories – on weddings, awards, even a missing cat named Banjo. Most go on the Web, but the best of the "hyper-local" news stories get printed (Traditional media experiment with citizens as producers, *San Jose* Mercury, 2005, October 7).

Another news article titled (Kurtz, 2005, May 30) from The *Washington Post* also

indicated bloggers were ordinary people gathering information in a new way because of

big media.

> Any citizen can be a Wolf Blitzer in sheep's clothing. […] A frontier of citizen
> media, Jeff Jarvis describes himself these days as "an obnoxious evangelist for the
> idea that what people to say has value." In his most grandiloquent formulation, he
> sees blogs as the rise of a new citizen's media, in which ordinary folks cannot
> only sound off but report, put up video and otherwise gather information without
> the imprimatur of big media companies (Jeff Jarvis, On the inside blogging out,
> The *Washington Post*, 2005, May 30).

(4) Eyewitness

Citizen news participants were considered eyewitnesses, spectators, or bystanders

of special events and incidents in 12.3% of stories examined. The news article (Story,

2005, July 8) from *The New York Times* mentioned Cian O'Donovan, a citizen news

participant in the London bombings, and the role of eyewitness in a live news event.

> Cian O'Donovan is not a photojournalist, but when he heard about the subway
> bombings not far from his home in London, he decided to try to photograph them.
> By the end of the day, Mr. O'Donovan had taken about 40 photos, most with his
> Nokia cellphone. Not only has the technology for taking the photographs become
> more widespread in the last few years, the experts said, but posting photographs
> has also become easier. Flickr.com, a site owned by Yahoo that lets people post
> photographs free, had more than 300 bombing photos posted within eight hours
> after the attacks (Witnesses post instant photos on the web to capture drama, The
> *New York Times*, 2005, July 8).

Additionally, 5% of citizen news participant were portrayed as media users. When

the categories of "media users" and "eyewitnesses" are combined with the category of

"ordinary people," 37% of citizen news participants can be described as non-journalists.

This total outweighs the total for the category of "journalists" by a significantly large margin of 12%.

Argumentative Tones

The argumentative tone of news articles was analyzed if the news story expressed positive tone or negative tone. Tonality of news articles could refer to the value frames; however, unlike allowing multiple choices in coding of the value frames, a single option of tonality was chosen per news story.

"More positive than negative" and "more negative than positive" are middle categories that require the coder's judgment. If a news story simultaneously expressed multiple items and argumentative positions, the coder judged whether the total tone of the news story was more positive than negative or more negative than positive.

Table 6 - 9 Argumentative tones of news articles

Argumentative tone	Number	Percentage
Only positive	107	35.1%
More positive	104	34.1%
Positive total	**211**	**69.2%**
More negative	53	17.4%
Negative	36	11.9%
Negative total	**89**	**29.3%**
N/A	8	1.6%
Total	**308**	**100%**

Approximately 70 percent of news articles contained a positive argumentative tone. News articles regarding advances in technology, information dissemination, and new media frequently included either only positive or more positive (than negative) tones. News articles concerned with information quality and content tended to have either

negative or more negative (than positive) tones. However, since articles with more negative tones mean that they also have a positive tone within the news articles, only 11.9% news articles have solely negative argumentative tone.

The amount of stories falling into the middle categories also indicates some conflicting information and tension with respect to argumentative tones on citizen journalism. Professional journalists have a complex idea and impression of the phenomenon of citizen journalism. Therefore, it is not surprising that they include multiple/ various perspectives and tones on citizen journalism in their news articles. Half of news articles studied (n=157) included both positive and negative tones. Eight news articles were determined to not contain either positive or negative tone.

Journalistic characteristics

To being the open coding section of this dissertation, I identified journalistic characteristics, including roles, responsibilities, duties, value, and norms in news articles reporting citizen journalism.

Table 6 - 10 What aspects of journalism have been identified when reporting citizen journalism phenomenon?

Aspects	Number	Percentages
Information delivery	255	46.2%
Accuracy	95	17.9%
Watchdog	66	12.5%
Ethics	59	11.2%
Objectivity	36	5.8%
Democracy	21	4.1%
Other	12	2.5%
Total	**534**	**100%**

This study's results show that information delivery (n=255, 46.2%) was the most frequently mentioned aspect of journalism within discussions of citizen journalism. Information delivery to the public constitutes one professional duty of journalism. Therefore, it is noteworthy that citizen generated news content can be regarded as worthy journalistic work.

Accuracy (n=95, 17.9%) has also been considered importantly in reporting on the citizen journalism phenomenon. If citizen journalism is to be a useful source of information for public, maintaining standards of accuracy problem represents a major concern. The watchdog function (n=66) and ethics (n=59) were also mentioned as journalistic characteristics in news coverage on citizen journalism. In comparison to other aspects, objectivity and democratic value were mentioned less often in the news coverage studied. A relatively a small portion of the total, only 36 and 21 news articles respectively, mentioned objectivity and impartiality issues or identified a democratic value as an aspect of citizen journalism.

DISCUSSION

Mainstream journalists have conflicting professional duties when covering the emerging phenomenon of citizen journalism. As a legitimate information deliverer in society, traditional journalists have a professional responsibility to distribute factual, balanced information about public issues; thus, the virtues and benefits of citizen participatory news to the public, society, and the field of journalism need to be seriously considered. At the same time, mainstream journalists also have a duty to protect their

occupational boundaries from non-professionals. The growing number of citizen news participants combined with the ability of citizens to share news instantly with a large audience may be threat to professional journalists. Thus, professional journalists try to distinguish themselves from citizen news participants on the basis of professional norms, values, and roles.

Since journalists could construct and represent social reality in their news coverage, this conflicting position on citizen journalism may influence news frames on the issue. Therefore, this study examined how mainstream news stories framed the citizen journalism phenomenon over the past decade and explored implicit meanings about why professional journalists cover citizen journalism in specific frames.

Numerical data from the quantitative content analysis illustrated when and where news articles reporting on citizen journalism phenomenon have been published, and outlined what frames and topics those news articles have been related to. This analysis dealt with dominant news frames and perspectives in news articles; however, the percentage of codes could not contain all possible interpretations behind the results. In this section, I summarize significant results from the analysis and discuss what those results mean in relation to the first set of research questions.

According to the data, news articles reporting citizen journalism have drastically increased since 2005. A majority of news articles (296 out of 308) were collected during the years from 2005 to 2012. This increase might reflect both technological advances that have made public contribution to reporting easier, and news events that encouraged more people to utilize those tools to share news content. Additionally, 60% of news articles

studied were published in national newspapers. Consequently, two-thirds of news articles

dealt with either domestic or international news and the portion of local news stories is

low. For types of news articles, one half of news articles are long-form features, far more

than hard-straight news (25.9%), Op-ed or commentary (14.6%), and editorial (3.9%).

Since long-form features often contain discussion of various aspects of an issue, it is

possible that plural frames and complex tonality may exist within a single news story of

this type.

The first research question was aimed at exploring topical perspectives of news

coverage on citizen journalism. The result clearly revealed that citizen journalism has

been covered and discussed in a variety of areas, such as journalism, politics, technology,

natural/ social events. In total, 40% of news articles considered citizen journalism within

the topic of journalism. Those articles focused largely on journalistic practices of citizen

news participants and the impact of citizen news in traditional media industry. This

suggests that whether citizen journalism was framed as a benefit or threat, or citizen news

participants was identified as journalists or not, mainstream journalists discuss citizen

journalism phenomenon in relation to the journalistic field. Also, citizen journalism has

been covered frequently in a political manner, including the topics of politics and

activism. In this study, 25% of topical framings viewed have citizen journalism from the

political perspective. News articles in the category of political topics focused on domestic

elections as well as political protests and uprising in countries in the Middle East Asia

and Africa. One of ten topics in news articles was related to innovations in

communication technology. Additionally, 8.6% of news topics were related to disasters and tragedies.

One-fourth of news coverage described citizen news participants as "journalists" in terms of their journalistic performance. However, professional journalists also portrayed citizen news participants as collaborators in 21.5% of framings. This indicates that professional journalists did not regard citizen news participants as journalism professionals, but accepted the fact that citizen news participants helped them in the news production process. Within the category of collaborators, however, professional journalists made a clear distinction between professional journalists and non-professional collaborators. Consequently, citizen news participants have been portrayed as journalists-related performers (journalists and collaborators) in a half of news articles, which is closely linked to the result of topical perspective. In this study's sample, 20% of news articles described citizen news participants as ordinary people. When the eyewitness and media users categories are combined with the category of ordinary people, approximately 37% of citizen news participants were described as "lay" people—12% more than the category of journalists.

The results of this study show that mainstream journalists consider citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon rather than dangerous or useless one. Over the past fourteen years, with the exception of the earliest period studied, nearly 60% of news frames represented citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon. Even though the *Valuable* frame was the leading frame across all time periods, the percentage of the *Dangerous* frame and the *Useless* frame have increased since 2008. The *Valuabl*e frame

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was associated with the journalistic role of citizen journalism, individual gratification, democracy and diversity; the *Dangerous* frame was discussed in terms of unsafe and risky work condition as well as dangerous effects on the audience and professional journalism; finally, the *Useless* frame included discussions about problems of content quality and news value.

Since citizen journalism is a technology-sensitive phenomenon, it is significant to understand if news narratives characterized citizen journalism as new or common phenomenon. As other studies have shown, blogs and Twitter have been presented as new during their formative periods, but in later years are characterized as a common phenomenon more frequently. This is because they are forms of media platform or communication technology. However, in this case, the phenomenon of citizen journalism has been embedded in a variety of media platforms and its characteristics and features have been changed, this phenomenon has been regarded as a "new" phenomenon all time, in accordance with the development of media.

Argumentative tone of news articles was analyzed if the news story expressed positive tone or negative tone. Out of 308 articles, 70% of news articles covered citizen journalism in a positive tonality, either entirely or partially. However, a half of news articles had both positive and negative tones, which means that a single news story dealt with multiple aspects of citizen journalism. The result of argumentative tonality would be used to guide the qualitative textual analysis.

Regarding journalistic characteristics, the results showed that the information delivery function of citizen journalism was the most frequently mentioned characteristic.

In this study, 46.2% of news articles mentioned the information delivery function with respect to the activity of citizen journalism in relation to professional journalism. This means that, rather than other professional norms and ethics (reinforcing the professionalism and boundary – by ideological construction), mainstream news practitioners emphasized practical functions, especially those supported by technology, as representative role of citizen journalism. How professional journalists defend their professional boundaries against the threat of citizen journalism will be analyzed more deeply in the next chapter.

In sum, the outcome of content analysis concludes that mainstream journalists have a generally favorable perspective on the citizen journalism phenomenon. There were more news articles having the *Valuable* frame than *Dangerous* and *Useless* frame and more news articles having a positive tonality than negative tonality. Focusing on the benefits of citizen journalism to audiences, the journalism field, and democracy, mainstream journalists have acknowledged a positive role of citizen journalism and represented it in that way in news coverage. This may be because, as a legitimate information deliverer in society, professional journalists have a professional duty to distribute a balanced message for the "informed citizenry."

It is interesting to note that citizen journalism has largely been framed as a new phenomenon. It is because citizen journalism is not in and of itself a certain technology or media platform, but a social phenomenon evolving with the innovation of various technologies. The *New* frame positively indicates the innovative and pioneering aspects of citizen journalism; however, framing citizen journalism as *New* also connotes that the

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phenomenon is "strange," "nascent," and "non-traditional" (Meeks, 2013). Therefore, naming citizen journalism always as a new or novel could also marginalize citizen journalism phenomenon in society and negatively differentiate it from well-established professional journalism. This could be an effort of professional journalists to protect their professional boundary from non-professional, citizen news participants and their news products.

Even though citizen journalism as a social phenomenon has multiple aspects, mainstream news articles dealt with it largely under the topic of "journalism" and questions surrounding whether or not citizen news participants were similar to traditional journalists. This means that professional journalists could not ignore the journalistic implications of citizen journalism and journalistic performance of citizen news participants.

CHAPTER 7. LEGITIMIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

Citizen news participants, sometimes called bloggers or citizen journalists, play substantial, yet evolving role as information disseminators in society. News content they provide is quick, instant, and ubiquitous enough to have an impact on the news audience. In his book, *Against The Machine: Being Human in the Age of the Electronic Mob* (2008), Sigel comments that traditional newspapers have been concerned about their social status and professional reporters' fate since the advent of citizen journalism. As a professional journalist, Sigel expressed major concerns about how the stature of professional journalists has been diminishing as the citizen journalism phenomenon becomes more prevalent (Sigel, 2008). In light of these concerns, professional journalists may strive to maintain their role as the most legitimate information providers, and to protect their professional role from citizen-generated news. As shown in this study, news coverage of so-called citizen journalism has reflected these competing interests.

Based on the results of content analysis in the previous chapter, I present here how mainstream news coverage has depicted the citizen journalism phenomenon in relation to professional journalism, and how mainstream journalists have legitimized themselves in terms of the identity of citizen news participants and the role of citizen journalism. More specifically, I provide some evidence of how mainstream news coverage has discounted the importance of citizen participatory news in society and media industry, and how mainstream news outlets have emphasized the occupational authority of professional journalists. In light of this evidence, occupational norms and

duties in the professional journalism field could also be reasons why mainstream news have made an effort to legitimate professional journalism and consider the new breed of journalism – citizen journalism – as an illegitimate replacement.

This chapter, therefore, consists of two sections: portraying citizen news participants and legitimizing professional journalism. In the first section, I apply a qualitative textual analysis, to analyze how professional journalists identify citizen news participants. Using the results the of argumentative tones section from last chapter's content analysis, in the second section, I analyzed how professional journalists legitimize their professional authority and how they undermine the role of citizen journalism in news articles. In the process of portraying citizen news participants and finding legitimacy themes, the following questions were asked and answered: "Who are citizen journalists?," "what causes citizen journalism?," what is the role of citizen journalism?," and "what is the outcome of citizen journalism?." The results of this analysis help provide an answer to the main question of this study – how did mainstream news coverage work to legitimize professional journalism in relation to citizen journalism?

News articles that reinforce professional journalists' legitimacy were analyzed to discern two argumentative tones: negative tone and positive tone. In light of each tone, I present how mainstream news coverage named citizen news participants and how they assessed the role of citizen journalism in relation to professional journalism. These results helps answer the primary research question – how did mainstream news coverage work to legitimize professional journalism in relation to citizen journalism?

IDENTIFYING CITIZEN NEWS PARTICIPANTS

According to the results of the content analysis, mainstream news coverage has portrayed citizen news participants in various ways, such as journalists, collaborators, ordinary people, eyewitness, activists, and media users. While one fourth of the news coverage studied described citizen news participants as journalists in terms of journalistic performance, one in five citizen participants was identified as a collaborator with professional journalists. Both categories largely accepted the journalistic activities of citizen news participants; however, professional journalists did not regard collaborators as journalism professionals on the same level as themselves. Combining eyewitness, media users, and ordinary people into non-journalists, approximately 37% of citizens were described as lay people, which is 12% more than the category of journalists.

A closer reading unveiled patterns in legitimacy narratives across descriptive categories. Mainstream news articles used similar tropes despite identifying citizen journalists as journalists, collaborators, or non-journalists. When news articles identified citizen participants as non-journalists, differences between citizen participants and professional journalists were made explicit. Those differences were deployed to elevate the role of professional journalists and legitimized journalism professionals. By defining citizen participants as ordinary media users, or bystanders without professional training, mainstream news articles tended to reinforce the professional authority of journalism and downplay the legitimacy of new citizen and user-generated content.

Although the quantitative results showed citizen news participants were frequently described as "journalists," the qualitative analysis revealed that the term

"journalists" was used in a limited manner that did not necessarily put citizen journalists on par with professionals. While mainstream news acknowledged the value of a citizen's contribution, citizen participants were not portrayed as sharing authority with professional journalists or significantly influencing changes to the roles and routines of professional journalism. These portrayals of citizen news participants as journalists or non-journalists illustrate how professional journalists exclude citizens from the boundary of journalism and how they make distinctions between citizen and themselves. This section focuses on three types of portrayals of citizen news participants – journalists, collaborators, and non-journalists. Below, I present and discuss how professional journalists considered citizen news participants in news coverage and how they protected professional legitimacy in this process.

Citizens as Non-journalists

In mainstream news coverage, citizen participants were not considered representatives of journalistic performance. In most cases, mainstream journalists did not define citizen news participants as journalists who had been trained and rewarded for their professionalism. Instead, mainstream news articles emphasized non-professional features of citizen news participants by calling them amateur, ordinary people, eyewitness, and media users. Even though each portrayal has a slightly different connotation, all of those portrayals imply that citizen journalists are non-professional.

In order to emphasize ordinary people's amateurism, news coverage tended to use nicknames such as "ID: A-stay-at-home-mom" when labeling citizen journalists (Cassidy, 2009, July 2). By quoting titles of citizen-generated content such as "Miss cat named

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Banjo," mainstream news articles also suggested that citizen generated-news was too mundane and trivial to be considered relevant. In using this tactic, mainstream news coverage overtly disrespected the value and standard of news that citizen participants generated.

Additionally, through the use of terms such as amateur, net-roots, and bloggers, news coverage identified citizen journalists as lacking the skills and rights of professional reporters (Plunkett, 2009, March 15). A news article titled "Embracing the new journalism" (Winter, 2011, April 16) from the *Denver Post* mentioned why citizen journalists could not be considered as news professionals.

> But critics complain citizen journalists lack the training, experience and pay incentive of news professionals. The price is poorly or misinformed democracy, they argue, and the dangerous loss of a government watchdog. In addition, by writing without pay, citizen journalists have devalued the work of professionals, critics say (Embracing the new journalism, *Denver* Post, 2011, April 16).

In another news article titled "Shovelware" (Safire, 2008, June 1) from The *New York Times*, the author implied that the amateur status of citizen journalists created some problems within in journalism industry.

> Citizen journalism is reporting by omnipresent amateurs, which is often more timely than information posted by professionals but is usually less accurate or perceptive. The phrase's synonym is grass-roots journalism; this is derogated by laid-off professional reporters as typified by photos taken by invasive cellphones or by recordings made by eavesdropping snoops; at the same time, it is hailed by bloggers as crowdsourcing. When used by phony Web-site operators posing as grass-roots journalists, the misleading posters are called astroturfers – on artificial grass (Shovelware, The *New York Times*, 2008, June 1).

In a news article titled "Teen beats back thin-skinned minds" (Pitts, 2011, December 2) from the *Chicago Tribune*, the author pointed to why the occupational skills and news quality of citizen news participants could not be compared to professional journalists:

> This is journalism? No. Journalism is hours on the phone nailing down the facts or pleading for the interview. Journalism is obsessing over nit-picky questions of fairness and context. Journalism is trying to get the story and get it right (Teen beats back thin-skinned minds, *Chicago Tribune*, 2011, December 2).

Here, the writer assumes citizen journalists do not work hard to gather sources or follow other routines deemed "professional." In another *Tribune* piece (Pitts, 2010, October 7), non-professional citizen participants were portrayed as dangerous as a citizen doctor without a medical license:

> "Citizen journalism," we are told, is supposed to democratize all that, the tools of new technology making each of us a journalist unto him or herself. It is a mark of the low regard in which journalism is held that that load of bull picky ever passes as wisdom. If some guy had a wrench, would that make him a citizen mechanic? If some woman flashed a toy badge, would you call her a citizen police officer? Would you trust your health to a citizen doctor just because he produced a syringe? Of course not. But every Tom, Dick and Harriet with a blog is a "citizen journalists." Worse, they are spreading like the common cold. (Citizen journalism's fad is not journalism, *Chicago Tribune*, 2010, October 7).

Similarly, in "Jack of all journalism tools, master of some" (Magid, 2007, July 30) from the *San Jose Mercury*, the author Larry Magid specifically targeted non-professional video journalists calling them "one-man bands, often without the considerable skill that it takes to record and edit video." In this article, the author did concede that ordinary reporters had some role, but maintained that they could not replace

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to professional journalists saying "whether with video or blogs, citizen journalism adds a lot. But a cross-section of people with video cameras or blogging tools is not a replacement for competent professionals."

Citizen news participants, especially those utilizing digital and mobile media to produce and deliver information, were also called media users. In many news articles, citizen news participants were called Internet users, social media users or Twitter users. Thus, professional news reports indicated that these citizen media participants were merely using technology to report; they did not have the skills or judgment to make decisions about how to report (Vargas, 2007, November 27).

Citizens as Collaborators

In identifying citizen participants as collaborators, not as journalists, professional journalists set a complicated, nuanced standard for the role of citizen media participants. Mainstream news articles acknowledged the role of citizen news participants within the journalism industry; however, professional journalists did not regard citizen participants as main players in news production. Professional journalists accepted only a limited contribution from citizen participants, namely, news sources including user-submitted photos and videos. Mainstream news articles emphasized that the information ordinary people provide is only a small part of the entire news production process, and underscored that collaboration with citizen news participants does not mean replacement of professional journalism.

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A news article from The *Washington Post* (Ahrens, 2006, November 7) explained

why citizen news participants are necessary and how their performances are important

even though they are not journalists.

> The nation's largest newspaper chain, is radically changing the way its papers
> gather and present news by incorporating elements of reader-created "citizen
> journalism," mining online community discussions for stories and creating
> Internet databases of calendar listings and other non-news utilities. It's a fairly
> fundamental restructuring of how we go about news and information on a daily
> basis. The most intriguing aspect of Gannett's plan is the inclusion of non-
> journalists in the process, drawing on specific expertise that many journalists do
> not have (Gannett to change its papers' approach, The *Washington Post*, 2006,
> November 7).

The above article suggests that citizen journalists are part of a necessary

transformation in the news product, but that this inclusion does not undermine the

authority of journalists. This news article also highlighted the importance of professional-

amateur collaboration by quoting Gannett executives:

> More frightening is the prescription for the media of tomorrow [… concocted by a
> conclave of Gannett executives at a March powwow reported in the latest issue of
> Wired magazine…] "We must mix our content with professional journalism and
> amateur contributions," read one of the PowerPoint slides prepared by Gannett
> execs. "The future is pro-am." Perhaps we're moving into a time when "amateur"
> is the compliment and "professional" is the pejorative, when illusions are even
> more illusory for being passed off as truth.

Despite collaboration being seen as inevitable, the union of citizen and

professional journalists was also framed as potentially dangerous to conveying facts. A

news article titled "Teaching a old blog some new tricks" (Plunkett, 2007, August 5)

from the *Denver Post* covered a new trend where bloggers join with journalists to focus

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on hard-hitting local coverage in an environment where big media firms struggle to make ends meet.

> One of the 'next big thing' attracting attention in the heady excitement of the blogosphere is an experiment that joins activist bloggers with traditional journalists to build virtual newsrooms charged with covering that most ordinary of beats: small-town news. Far from the frenzied posts of national and international politics, the experiment – much touted here at the 2007 YearlyKos Convention of left-beaning bloggers – seeks to break news in areas outside the primary focus of big media coverage – areas the blogger. That is the way of the future for blogging – the state and local (Teaching a old blog some new tricks, *Denver Post*, 2007, August 5).

The following news article (Sarr, 2006, December 20) deemed a new wave of citizen newspapers "amateurish," claiming that amateurs working as journalists are giving rise to a new wave of 'citizen newspapers'.

> New generation of journalism. The open-source journalism site, Examiner, -- there is still a lot of work to control and increase the quality of everything that is submitted. But, I think it has a high potential," he said. "What you're seeing is a radical new way of doing journalism. Said Philip Meyer, Knight Chair in Journalism professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Meyer doubts sites like Broowaha will replace traditional media, but with advances in technology, the nature of "the media" is in play at the moment. What you're seeing right now isn't the end product; it's in development," he said. "We old-timers look at this and say, 'This is terrible. This isn't journalism.' But, in fact, this is something that has value and needs to be developed (Reporting's mass appeal", *Los Angeles Times,* 2006, December 20).

As this article indicates, it is doubtful that the new trend toward citizen participation in media can replace traditional journalism. Some of news article strongly insisted citizen journalism and professional journalism could not be interchangeable. For example, John Kelly, a *Washington Post* staff writer directly tackled the impact of citizen journalism on professional journalists like him: "I'm going to be exploring something

called citizen journalism, which one white paper described as non-journalists 'collecting, reporting, analyzing and disseminating news and information.' It's a movement that aims to put me out of my job, or at the very least change the way I do it" (2007, July 19, 2007).

Other news pieces underscored the need for citizen journalism and professional journalism to supplement one another. A news article (Gaither & Gold, 2005, September 10) from the *Los Angeles Times*, mentioned the necessity incorporating points of view from citizen news participants while professional journalists painted a full picture of the events. They assumed citizen news participants could provide an inside perspective on events in a way distinct from professional journalists:

> "Traditional journalism provides the view from the outside looking in, and citizen journalism provides the view from the inside looking out." said Mitch Gelman, senior vice president and executive producer of CNN.com. "In order to tell the complete story, you need both points of view"(Katrina's aftermath: Web proves its capacity to help in time of need, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, September 10).

A commentary of Dale Bryant from the *San Jose Mercury* described the partnership between citizen journalism and professional journalism being an effective model for the journalism industry.

> The beauty of this partnership is that it brings together the local depth of the Weekly-Times, which traces its history in the community back more than 120 years, and the online expertise of the Mercury News. We are venturing into new journalistic territory by bringing together traditional journalism and what's become known as citizen journalism – contributions from you, our readers. (Los Gatos Weekly-Times, Mercury News teaming up on the web, *San Jose Mercury*, 2007, June 26).

According to the analysis of above news articles, mainstream news coverage legitimized professional journalists' authority by calling citizen news participants or

collaborators, not journalists. By naming them non-professional people who do not have professional training and skills, mainstream news coverage emphasized the value of professional standards for news production and reporting not present in news content crafted by non-journalists.

Citizens as Journalists

Some news coverage frequently used the word - journalist to indicate citizen news participants. It seemed that some news professionals honestly acknowledged the journalistic contribution of citizen participants and even grouped citizens within the occupation of professional journalist. A close reading of news articles, however, uncovered that authors using the word "journalism" or "journalist" were not professional journalists or members of legacy media, but citizen news participants themselves or citizen journalism experts.

In news coverage, the use of the term "journalist" whether implicitly or explicitly stated, was mostly self-proclaimed. Thus, the term – journalist was quoted directly or indirectly from the voices of citizen participants or media experts. By taking this approach, professional journalists did not take any risk and responsibility for using the term in their news coverage.

The fact that mainstream news articles used the term "journalist" as citizen participants' self-proclaimed term also implies that this occupational title was not granted and acknowledged by mainstream media professionals. Rather than using the term "journalists," professional journalists described citizen news participants as media users, amateur, eyewitness, or collaborators without any occupational authority.

A news article titled "Mat Drudge's magnum oopus?" (Kurtz, 1999, September 13) from The *Washington Post* was one of articles collected in early period. This article discussed the *Drudge Report*, the prominent online publication. In this article, the author tried to name Matt Drudge as either a troublemaker or the vanguard of a new era of citizen journalists on the Net. The author emphasized that Drudge is only interested in the personal benefits--e.g. the book deal--of naming himself a journalist.

> Drudge has just signed a deal, in the neighborhood of a half-million bucks, with Penguin Putnam to write a book about his brief career as journalism's digital-age troublemaker. Drudge once trumpeted himself as the vanguard of a new era of citizen journalist on the Net (Mat Drudge's magnum oopus?, The *Washington Post*, 1999, September 13).

Another news article (Gomez, 2011, February 25) from the *USA Today* also introduced a critical perspective on what citizen news participants called themselves.

> Tea Party activists: Shelby Blakely, a stay-at-home mom from eastern Washington state who is organized the project, said she has little doubt they will be able to round up enough people to tackle a job that she describes as "citizen journalism meets adopt-a-congressman" (Tea party group taps bloggers to keep tabs on lawmakers; 'Citizen journalists' to report on congress members' performance, 2011, February 25, *USA Today*).

A news article (Maher, 2012, January 8) from the *San Jose Mercury News* also mentioned that a members of Occupy Oakland acted as citizen journalists and self-identified as such: "Spencer Mills, a member of Occupy Oakland who also acts as a self-described citizen journalist during marches and release live, streaming video under the Twitter handle @OakFoSho, said he was disappointed with both sides of the conflict."

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More aggressively, some news articles quoted citizen news participants about the way they describe themselves. A news article from The *Washington Post* (Leonnig, 2010, January 28) mentioned the case of a man named O'Keefe. In the article below, the author repeatedly emphasized how O'Keefe called himself a journalist further indicating that "journalist" was used only by citizen participants themselves, not by others – especially professional journalists.

> O'Keefe considers himself a journalist with creative approaches to exposing wrongdoing. He told conservative talk show host Glenn Beck that he was not afraid to go to prison if necessary to do his work. In late December, he again tweeted about the power of undercover citizen-journalists." O'Keefe says "I am a journalist. The truth shall set me free." (Suspect in senate office sting tweeted about upcoming action, The *Washington Post*, 2010, January 28)

Some news articles dealt with the fact that bloggers prefer the name "citizen journalists" to "bloggers". The following news article titled "Blogs: All the Noise That Fits" (Skube, 2007, August 19) from the *Los Angeles Times* again brought up why bloggers prefer the term "citizen journalists" to "journalists."

> Some bloggers reject the label 'journalist,' associating it with what they contemptuously call MSM; just as many, if not more, consider themselves a new kind of 'citizen journalist' dedicated to broader democratization. One gets the uneasy sense that the blogosphere is a potpourri of opinion and little more. The opinions are occasionally informed, often tiresomely cranky and never in doubt. Skepticism, restraint, a willingness to suspect judgment and to put oneself in the background – these would not seem to be a blogger's trademarks. But, they are, more often than not, trademarks of the kind of journalism that makes a difference (Blogs: All the noise that fits, *Los Angeles Times*, 2007, August 19).

LEGITIMIZING PROFESSIONAL JOURNALSIM

As mentioned in the previous chapter, mainstream news coverage had an optimistic view of citizen journalism. Citizen journalism was framed as valuable phenomenon more often than a dangerous or useless phenomenon in news coverage. In this study's sample, 80% of news articles covered the citizen journalism phenomenon in a positive tone. Therefore, it could be concluded that professional journalists have accepted the role and impact of citizen journalism on the field of journalism and society and that professional journalists strive to provide balanced information to public.

A close reading, however, reveals that mainstream news coverage tended to undermine citizen journalism in comparison to professional journalism regardless of the frame and tonality. Even in news articles having the *Valuable* frame, the causes, roles, and outcomes of citizen journalism were considered as illegitimate by mainstream news reporters. This treatment works to legitimate and reinforce the roles and prestigious status of professional journalism.

Therefore, in this section, I present and discuss legitimacy themes of professional journalism in mainstream news articles that cover citizen journalism. More specifically, this section examines what roles or impacts of citizen journalism have been exaggerated or omitted in news articles and how those roles and impacts were articulated in legitimacy themes. Since legitimacy themes were explored based on the argumentative tonality, the following section presents legitimacy themes from news articles that had both negative and positive tones. Though not always the case, news articles having

negative tones could include the *Dangerous* and *Useless* frame, and news articles having positive tones could contain the *Valuable* frame.

Legitimacy themes in a negative tone

Some legitimacy themes were found in news articles that had a negative tone. By emphasizing the illegal and unsafe job environment of citizen news participants or indicating significant threats to professional norms and values, professional journalists tended to justify why citizen journalism was inferior to professional journalism.

(1) Unprotected work environment

One of the ways that professional journalists acquire legitimacy is through their work environment. The fact that citizen news participants are not protected in the same ways as professional journalists in situations of war, disaster, protest, or in areas with authoritarian governments was highly emphasized in mainstream news articles in order to illustrate the harsh reality of citizen journalism. At the same time, discussions of the lawful protections from outside threats available to professional journalists helped to reinforce the job authority of professional journalism and further differentiate the two types of news producers. Unsurprisingly, a large amount of the news articles about war and disaster outlined the dangers surrounding citizen news participants in those situations.

News articles on wars and protests contended that citizen journalists were subject to risky and unsettled environments where they could not be protected from the law. For

the most part, citizen journalists are not affiliated with any news companies and therefore, lack the protection and resources of governments and media companies when confronting hazardous situations in conflict zones. Even though traditional journalists also confront a variety of dangers, professional journalists enjoy broader recognition from law enforcement and their parent companies provide protection packages in emergency situations. Therefore, protection under the law and access to resources in emergency situations are important privileges of being recognized as a professional journalist.

A news article (Williams, 2006, May 31) from The *Washington Post* reported a story of an Egyptian blogger, Alaa Seif al-Islam and mentioned that his blog turned toward politics after he uploaded video and images of democratic protests. This article presented the risk bloggers took during an Egyptian protest in 2006 as follows:

> At least six bloggers are among about 300 protesters jailed during the past month's suppression of demonstrations. […] The legal status of the jailed bloggers and other detainees distresses their relatives and friends: Under Egypt's emergency laws, which have been in place for 25 years, the bloggers can be jailed indefinitely. […] One of bloggers most recently arrested, Moahmmed al-Sharqawi, said that police sexually assaulted him (New vehicle for dissent is a fast track to prison, The *Washington Post*, 2006, May 31).

This article stated that some Egyptian bloggers have been jailed and dealt with inappropriately by the authoritarian government. Also, the piece emphasized there were no provisions in Egypt's emergency law to help jailed bloggers and mentioned that in comparison to professional journalists, the speech of Egyptian bloggers had been severely restricted because of their ability to stimulate a large range of democratic protests.

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Another news article titled "For novice journalists, rising risks in conflict zones"

(Austen, 2009, November 30) from The *New York Times* discussed the risks citizen news

participants face in conflict zones:

> Several analysts say, reporting has never been more dangerous, for everyone.
> "This business of inexperienced people going into conflict zones without proper
> preparation or training is increasingly worrying." Said Rodney Pinder, the former
> global editor of Reuters Television who is now the director of the International
> News Safety Institute, a charity financed largely by news organizations and based
> in Brussels. "There's a lot of ignorance behind some of this behavior, because
> people don't realize how dangerous it's become for journalists in the world
> today," he said. Given the increasing danger, Mr. Pinder said he hoped that novice
> journalists would invest in war zone safety training before leaving home and
> make their first forays into dangerous areas with experienced reporters rather than
> on their own. Whatever the risks, Mr. Pinder said it was unlikely that aspiring
> reporters would end their efforts to learn on the job in war zone (For novice
> journalists, rising risks in conflict zones, The *New York Times*, 2009, November
> 30).

Along with a risky environment, appropriate salary, benefits, and lawful

protections were also considered a dangerous situation for citizen journalists. A news

article titled "The other beating" (Goldstein, 2006, February 13) from the *Los Angeles*

Times dealing with George Holliday's story on Rodney King, mentioned the following:

> He may have pioneered "citizen journalism," but he feels that he was swallowed
> up and spit out by CNN and the like, which, he said, gave him little credit and no
> compensation for his contribution to history. "I don't watch the news or read the
> papers anymore." The other beating, *The Los Angeles* Times, 2006, February 13)

This news article emphasized the need to improve citizen journalists' benefits and

compensation. It also touched on the fact that CNN and other major news outlets often

feature citizen-generated content while downplaying the role of the actual citizen

journalist. An article (Plunkett, 2009, March 15) from the *Denver Post* titled also

expressed concern about citizen journalists serving as temporary workers without any job

security.

> Blogs are orphaned at a fantastic rate. You see every day that someone puts up a
> political blogs and then realizes, 'Jeez, I'm spending three to four hours a day on
> something … that is not returning anything." The amateur reporting phenomenon
> remains somewhat in the position of journalism students finishing their last year
> of college … So, will the citizen journalists last? Or will citizen journalism exist
> as a formless void that quickly exhausts its constantly replenishing flood of
> newcomer advocates and remains stuck in college-paper infancy? (The rise of the
> citizen journalist. *Denver Post*, 2009, March 15)

A news article titled "YouTube tries to help media find free 'citizen journalism'

videos" (Liedtke, 2009, November 17) from the *San Jose Mercury News* highlighted the

problem of mainstream news organizations generating profit from citizen reporters

without rewarding any of the citizens providing the content.

> More media outlets have been accepting contributions from freelancers and
> amateurs as technology as made it easier for anyone with a video camera to
> document an event. Newsrooms are adjusting to smaller staffs after laying off
> workers to cope with a sharp decline in revenue during the recession. The critics
> content that Google derive some of its popularity and profits from content
> produced by newspapers and broadcasters that haven't been properly paid for
> their work. Google maintains it has helped news organizations by driving more
> readers to their Web sites (YouTube tries to help media find free 'citizen
> journalism' videos, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2009, November 17).

(2) Interruption of professional norms and values

Along with commentary about the working conditions of citizen journalists,

professional news coverage also framed citizen journalism as a dangerous phenomenon

in and of itself. Citizen journalism was characterized as dangerous because it could

threaten professional norms and values. Mainstream news articles argued that citizen-generated news did not uphold the traditional journalistic standards of accuracy, ethics, and objectivity, therefore violating established news production norms. Since professional journalists maintain their occupational authority by abiding by occupational norms and ethics, mainstream news outlets tried to degrade behaviors of citizen journalists who did not employ a traditional approach to news production. News articles mentioned specific mistakes and issues stemming from citizen journalist reports and emphasized that citizen news participants did not have the same professional skill and quality professional journalists had.

Accuracy

According to the results of content analysis, the issues of accuracy and credibility were mentioned in 95 news stories dealing with citizen journalism. In comparison to other characteristics, such as privacy, objectivity, and the watchdog role, mainstream news coverage frequently considered the issue of accuracy as a problem faced by citizen journalists that could have dangerous impacts on news readers and society.

A news article "As seen on YouTube: Lonelygirl dumps middleman" (Kurtz, 2006, September 18) from The *Washington Post* expressed concerns about the lack of credibility of information produced by citizen participatory media and how that misinformation could affect society. By citing comments of a blogger, this article emphasized the accuracy problem has not only been a concern of media experts, but also of bloggers who took the approach of *Lonelygirl15*. This quotation can be read as claiming that citizen journalists such as *Lonelygirl15* do possess the skills necessary to

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collect and share information; however, large-scale societal problems could erupt if these bloggers intentionally spread inaccurate information.

> Tom Foremski, a blogger revealing who a Lonelygirl15 is, write that scrutiny offers a "media model for the future: a media sphere that uses the best qualities of professional media combined with relentless pursuit of information by citizen journalists. That's a potent formula that bodes well for our society, IMHO." The lesson here is not just that skillful flimflam artists can fool the world, at least for a time. It's that things online are not always what they seem, as creeping commercialization changes the culture (As seen on YouTube: Lonelygirl dumps middleman, The *Washington Post*, 2006, September 18).

Another article from the *USA Today* (Gomez, 2011, February 25) distinguished citizen journalism activities from journalism by mentioning that "[Journalism is] not just *gathering and posting*, but pushing for truth and transparency and having an overarching public interest (emphasis in original)." This implies that when the content of citizen journalists is not routed through legitimate gatekeepers, violations of ethics, the spreading of unchecked information, and other failures to meet journalistic standards can and do occur. This article was also concerned with the frequency of information distortion on the Web:

> Distortions are all too easy to pull off. – A case of distortion: CBS News asked YouTube last week to remove a video that changed correspondent Byron Pitts's report on attitudes toward the Iraq war by adding a 90-second interview with a retired colonel that was posted on the network's Web site, even though only a snippet of the interview had actually aired. Post-it-yourself video sites feature the good, bad and breathtakingly ugly.

Along with a lack of credibility and accuracy, distortion and deception have also been named in mainstream news coverage as issues tied to citizen journalism. In a news

article titled "The YouTube effect" (Naim, 2006, December 20) from *Los Angeles Times*, the author expressed concerns about information manipulation.

> How do we know that what we see in a video clip posted by a "citizen journalist" is not a manipulated montage? How do we know, for example, that the YouTube video of terrorized American soldiers crying and praying while under fire was filmed in Iraq and not staged somewhere else to manipulate public opinion? (The YouTube effect, *Los Angeles Times*, 2006, December 20).

A news article from *The New York Times* also concerned about unauthorized materials provided by citizen journalists cautioned that "many news agencies are leery of unsolicited photos that could have been altered or staged." The piece also warned media expert who frequently used citizen participatory materials that "verifying photos' authenticity is always a concern."

Similarly, a news article titled "After blogs got hits, CBS got a black eye" (Kurtz, 2004, September) from the *Washington Post* pointed out the lack of a review system for online citizen generated materials including blogs:

> These bloggers have no checks and balances. […] You couldn't have a starker contrast between the multiple layers of checks and balances and a guy sitting in his living room in his pajama writing (After blogs got hits, CBS got a black eye, The *Washington Post*, 2004, September).

The article contends the lack of system could be a reason why unchecked images and video generated by bloggers have been misleading the public. Therefore, traditional journalists emphasized a need for an institutionalized review system for citizen participatory content. This kind of review system could be subject to conditions set forth by an organized professional society.

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The spread of an inaccurate rumor about Steve Jobs led mainstream news

reporters to comment directly on the issue of accuracy within citizen journalism. Several

news articles dealing with this incident expressed concerns about the failure of citizen

media participants to adhere to the journalistic ethic of accuracy. A news article

(Wolverton, 2008, October 3) from the *San Jose Mercury News* indicated the danger

presented by inaccurate information generated in an unfiltered and unedited news system:

> The problem was that the report wasn't true. Apple flatly denied the story soon
> after it was posted on iReport, a citizen journalism site where anyone can post a
> story and whose motto is "Unedited. Unfiltered. News." CNN later removed the
> report and said that it had disabled the account of the anonymous reporter. […] As
> for the rumor, the Securities and Exchange Commission has already called
> iReport seeking details about the report and the person who submitted it, a CNN
> representative said. But such investigations often lead nowhere, because the
> source of rumors can be hard to track down and wrongdoing can be difficult to
> prove, a former SEC prosecutor said. (Apple stock plungers on false rumors that
> Jobs had hear attack, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2008, October 3)

Another article titled "Yahoo adds blogs to its news section," (2005, October 11)

from the *San Jose Mercury News* stated that Yahoo was so concerned about a

blogosphere "filled with rumors and inaccuracies," that they decided to distinguish

between blog results and professional news content despite adding blogs to their news

section:

> That distinction is one of the reasons Yahoo is listing its blog results in a box
> separated from the roughly 6,500 *trusted* news sources tracked by its search
> engine. […] Yahoo wants to distinguish two sources of news and define
> mainstream news TRUSTED news sources (emphases in original) (Yahoo adds
> blogs to its news section, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2005, October 11).

This article also suggested that professional newsrooms ostensibly have more checks and balances to guard against incorrect or unsubstantiated information being published. By expressing these sentiments, this news piece consequently approved of the authority and standards of professional newsrooms controlling citizen-generated content.

In addition, mainstream news coverage expressed concerns about journalism rules and ethics in all varieties of citizen-generated content and in regard to international news. A news article titled "Journalism rules are bent in news coverage from Iran," (Stelter, 2009, June 29) from the *New York Times* discussed unverified information posted on blogs, Twitter, and Flickr and also described how citizen-generated information has been regarded by other journalistic professions.

> "Check the source" may by the first rule of journalism. But in the coverage of the protests in Iran this month, some news organizations have adopted a different stance: publish first, ask questions later. […] The Web sites of the New York Times, The Huffington Post, The Guardian newspaper in London and others published minute-by-minute blogs with a mix of unverified videos, anonymous Twitter messages and traditional accounts from Tehran. […] Cases like this who why the publication of tweets and Flickers photos can be awkward. Echoing others, Mr. Weaver of The Guardian's blog said his manner of reporting had made some of his colleagues uncomfortable; he recalled one colleague who remarked. "Twitter? I won't touch it. It's all garbage." (Journalism rules are bent in news coverage from Iran, The *New York Times*, 2009, June 29).

Similarly, a news piece (Miller, 2005, May 23) expressed professional journalists' concerns about the use of the blog format as a platform for citizen generated content. This article specifically targeted the areas of professional values, such as trust, integrity, and authenticity.

> Blogs are an imaginative, democratic information tool, but like other forms of citizen journalism they have severe limitations. Too many blogs become tools of special interests, and too many value shrill argumentation over trust, integrity and

authenticity (Paper's Aim: Building Blog For Success, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, May 23).

Privacy

Because technology allows people to post self-generated content on the web and share that content with other people without any limitation, the privacy of the public and of citizen journalist themselves is represents another important issue within the realm of citizen journalism. Technological innovations such as camera-equipped cell phones and other mobile digital devices make it increasingly easy to capture an image and in turn share it with the world. While this technology allows citizens to produce a wide spectrum of information, it also means that the world around us is constantly watched and monitored. A news article "Hello to less privacy; Camera phones lead to 'personal invasion'" (Puente, 2007, February 28) from the *USA Today* called the citizen journalism phenomenon "Little Brother" which was used in comparison to "Big Brother".

> Oh, for the good old days, when all we worried about was Big Brother watching us. Too late: Now we have Little Brother to contend with, too – and he has a camera phone. Little Brother could be a fed-up straphanger on a subway, a sneaky student in class, maybe a ticked-off guy in the audience. Or a vengeful ex-lover or jealous friend is looking to embarrass an American Idol contestant. Here in YouTube world, whether you're a celebrity or nobody privacy can be a disappearing luxury, thanks to the technology in every pocket. While you're fretting about whether the government is listening to your phone calls, your neighbor is sneaking pictures of you on his cellphone or his digital camera – and sharing them with the world (Hello to less privacy; Camera phones lead to 'personal invasion', *USA Today*, 2007, February 28).

In this article, "Little Brother" has been used in a negative manner to warn people about their shrinking expectation of privacy. Using the sentences such as "your privacy is

over" and "it's an invasion of privacy," this article continued to warn about privacy attacks by Little Brother.

Another news article titled "But that's big brother's job" (Krim, 2005, July 17) from the *Los Angeles Times* examined ramifications of the Korean "Dog Poop Girl" incident. Although this case incorporates issues that are not directly related to journalism, such as social justice, it also illustrates the fragility of expectations of privacy in society today.

> Increasingly, the Internet is a venue of so-called citizen journalism, in which swarms of surfers mobilize to gather information on what traditional media aren't covering, or are covering in a way that dissatisfies some people. But what happens when the two converge, and the International populace is stirred to action against individuals? The Dog Poop Girl case "involves a norm that most people would seemingly agree to – clean up after your dog," wrote Daniel Solove, a George Washington University law professor who specializes in privacy issues on one blog. "But having a permanent record of one's norm violations is upping the sanction to a whole new level … allowing bloggers to act as a cyber-posses, tracking down norm violators and rending them with digital scarlet letters." (But That's big brother's job, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, July 17).

This article went to quote Howard Rheingold, a media scholar, who argued that "the shadow side of empowerment that comes with a billion and a half people being online is the surveillance aspect and we used to worry about Big Brother – the state – but now, of course, it's our neighbors or people on the subway."

An incident involving flashers in New York's subway also raised ethical questions about citizen-generated news even though in some senses, the contributions of citizen journalists allowed ordinary people to contribute to the public good. In a news article titled "Camera phones give flashers unexpected exposure" (Hotz, 2005, September

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6) from the *Los Angeles Times*, the author acknowledged the positive impact of citizen journalism on social justice claiming that "the subway incident is an empowering example of how people could take technology – and justice – into their own hands in an act of citizen journalism. Digital cameras and websites have given people an ability to distribute images widely that not so long ago was the province of professional news organizations." However, this article also highlighted "the creeping PAPARAZZIATION of society (emphasis in original)" that deprives the public of privacy.

> However, some scholars were troubled by the unintended consequences of a world in which almost no action seems to go unrecorded by cellphone cameras, spy cams and security monitors --- the creeping PAPARAZZIATION of society. That will make it possible for subway riders – be they amateur crime fighters or voyeurs – to take and instantly distribute cellphone photos without leaving the underground trains. In the fluid medium of Web's 8 billion electronic pages, however, where digital photos are easily altered and deception is sometimes a form of entertainment, several analysts worried about the risks posed by online vigilantes. Several hundred posted messages about it. Most of them took the image at face value without much assurance the image had not been faked or its meaning altered (camera phones give flashers unexpected exposure, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, September 6).

The article also cautioned that citizen participatory photos and postings have the potential to disrupt current societal and legal structures: "In effect, in the so-called court of public opinion, the flasher was tried, found guilty, denounced and shamed, all without the normal mechanisms of the law having any substantial involvement."

Objectivity

Even though objectivity could be considered as a significant issue within the paradigm of professional values (Schudson, 1995; Deuze, 2005), only 36 news articles mentioned objectivity when reporting on citizen journalism.

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A news article titled "Teaching an old blog some new tricks" (Punkett, 2007,

August 5) from the *Denver Post* argued that bloggers' progressive perspective could not

make their news objective and expressed concerns about the consequence of publishing

opinionated news pieces. However, it also mentioned how traditional journalistic norm of

objectivity may be outdated:

> Blogger's activist instinct – biased and not objective reporting "we have progressive values." Traditional media's obsession with objectivity a thing of the past. The model of mainstream journalists is and should be dead. There is a right and there is a wrong, and the new journalism needs to address that. Should we be obsessed with objectivity? We should be obsessed with fairness. Credibility questions but reporting from an activist perspective, particularly when the reporter also engages in political activity, can bring credibility problems, said journalism ethics expert Robert Steele of the Poynter Institute, and educational organization revered by mainstream media. Journalists who report with a clear bias 'undermine the principle of independence,' Steele said in a phone interview (Teaching an old blog some new tricks, *Denver Post*, 2007, August 5).

A staff columnist of *Denver Post*, Dick Kreck (2007, April 24) emphasized the

importance of accuracy, but did not consider objectivity the ultimate pursuit: "Citizen

journalists, while they also strive to be factual and fair, are not usually neutral on the

subjects they write about, and they don't try to be." A *Los Angeles Times* piece published

in 2005 (Miller, 2005, May 23) about the Greensboro experiment addressed the issue of

online commenting in the following manner:

> One some of our blogs, we've seen some comments border on the obscene and the abusive. Some people have gotten angry with us for permitting them. Others have said they stopped coming because of them. But the offending comments have been in the minority, and we've let them run. The star problem highlights what many critics contend are the limits of blogs: "they are aggressively opinionated, self-absorbed, self-promoting and only occasionally enlightening. It would be a mistake, critics argue, to over-rely upon them to stave off the decline

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of print journalism because they are vulnerable to self-serving interests of advertisers and the marketplace, not to mention libel considerations (Paper's aim: Building blog for success, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, May 23).

The author also noted that the lack of objectivity found in blog content may be one reason citizen journalism will never eclipse more traditional forms:

> Blogs are refreshing complement to the information spectrum, but they are not going to replace newspapers, and other media. Blogs are an imaginative, democratic information tool, but like other forms of citizen journalism they have severe limitations. Too many blogs become tools of special interests, and too many value shrill argumentations over trust, integrity and authenticity.

The article titled "Now on YouTube, local news" (Stelter, 2009, August 3) from the *New York Times* recognized citizen reporters as important conduits for information delivery, but remained concerned about the lack of objectivity in citizen-generated news:

> In the future, more of the New Near You could come from people who do not report the news for a living. As the protests in Iran continue to demonstrate, citizens are able to provide much of the spot video from breaking news, event, though they many lack the objectivity of professionals (Now on YouTube, local news, The *New York Times*, 2009, August 3).

(3) Destruction of news value and quality

Especially in the *Useless* frames, news value and news quality were often discussed as problems plaguing citizen journalism. Discussion of these problems supported mainstream media assertions about why citizen journalism has not been regarded legitimate journalistic behavior. By focusing on the above issues, professional journalists justify the quality of professional work and dismiss the effect of citizen-generated news.

A news article (Savage, 2010, August 23) from the *Los Angeles Times* explicitly presented the problem of "irresponsible, malicious and harmful" news content generated by ordinary people, which led to the proliferation of less qualified content in society.

Legitimacy themes in a positive tone

In news articles with either negative tonality or the *Dangerous/ Useless* frames, legitimacy themes of professional journalism seemed to be explicitly presented. While emphasizing harmful outcomes and dangerous side effect of the citizen journalism phenomenon, professional journalists simultaneously justified why citizen journalism is inferior to professional journalism and why professional journalism is still necessary in society.

Interestingly, however, some legitimacy themes were found in news articles having a positive tonality. Although professional journalists focused on positive aspects of citizen journalism in news coverage, they also emphasized the limited abilities and complicated outcomes of citizen journalism. By taking this approach, professional journalists implicitly revealed reasons why citizen journalism had limited roles, which led them to a successful justification of why professional journalism still holds a significant status.

(1) It is all about technological innovation

A large amount of news articles included in the *Valuable* frame emphasized that advent of citizen journalism was a valuable outcome of technological innovation. From

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the perspective of technological development, mainstream news coverage defined citizen

journalism as successful in reforming news platforms and the relationship between news

producers and consumers in the journalistic field. In the coverage studied, the advent of

citizen journalism was considered only as a consequence of technology innovation since

these innovations have allowed people to participate in all stages of news production and

delivery. Without mentioning the potential for creation of a new journalistic structure and

or an expansion of civic-minded citizen participation in the public sphere, news coverage

introduced new tools and formats of news production and digital mechanism of news

delivery as the reasons behind the rise of citizen journalism.

News coverage, therefore, often labeled a citizen news participant "anyone" who

uses technology. News articles emphasized citizen journalists' untrained and

unprofessional performance and asserted that self-generated news could only be provided

because of developments in digital technology. For example, a news article (Kurtz, 2004,

September 20) from the *Washington Post* identified the blogosphere as "a vast, free-

floating, often quirky club open to anyone with a modem– has been growing in influence,

with some one-man operations boasting followings larger than those of small

newspapers." Another news article (Winter, 2011, April 16) from the *Denver Post* also

stressed technological aspects of amateur news-gathering's impact on the traditional

media industry:

> Technology has also revolutionized the newsgathering business itself. Today,
> anyone with an Internet connection and a cellphone can be in the news business.
> These citizen journalists –untrained, unpaid writers, bloggers, reporters and
> videographers – gather information on the street, or share their thoughts in a blog,

and disseminate it around the world (Embracing the new journalism, *Denver Post*, 2011, April 16).

A news article titled "Regular folks, shooting history" (Sullivan, 2006, December 18) from *The Washington Post* discussed the impact of digital technology on the rise of citizen journalism in a similar way:

> The rapid rise of digital technology, which enables ordinary people almost anywhere to record images and post them quickly on the Internet, is changing the way the world witness history, not to mention the dependable misbehavior of celebrities. The trend is driven by the proliferation of camera-equipped cellphone (Regular folks, shooting history, The *Washington Post*, 2006, December 18).

In the above articles, the advent of citizen journalism was regarded as an inevitable outcome of technological innovations such as the camera phone rather than a shift in the civic-mindedness of citizens or the desire of individuals to deliver information in new ways.

In particular, news coverage on disasters emphasized citizen news provided by witnesses equipped with technology such as the Internet, mobile phone, or video uploading sites. A news article covering Hurricane Katrina titled "Katrina's aftermath: Web proves its capacity to help in time of need" (Gaither & Gold, 2005, September 10) from the *Los Angeles Times* mentioned the impact of high-speed Internet connections on spreading news.

> The number of computers using high-speed Internet connections in the United States grew from less than 3 million in 1999 to nearly 38 million at the end of 2004, making online video and audio available to more people. Simple software has given rise to millions of personal Web pages and blogs (Katrina's aftermath:

Web proves its capacity to help in time of need, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, September 10).

Another news article (Sullivan, 2006, December 18) imagined the possibilities for citizen-generated news if better quality technology had existed during the 9/11 attacks: "Camera-equipped cellphones were not common in the United States at the time of the Sept. 11 2001 attacks. The historical record of events would have been richer if people in the twin towers or on the hijacked planes had been able to send out photos and video of their ordeal." Additionally, a news article covering London Bombing titled "The bombings in London; Cellphones changes the view of disaster" (Gold, 2005, July 8) from the *Los Angeles Times* also indicated the effect of cell phones on capturing the disaster:

> The number of cell phones in the U.S. with camera or video capability was expected to grow significantly in the next year as developing technology allowed for higher-quality images and wireless carriers expanded their broadband networks. It potentially makes everybody a pod-casting journalist (The bombings in London; Cellphones changes the view of disaster, *Los Angeles Times*, 2005, July 8).

In news coverage about social protests such as the Occupy Wall, technological innovations like social media and micro-blogging—as opposed to a sense of community or political consciousness—were regarded as the main motivation of the protests (Marher, 2012, January 8). A news article titled "Occupy Wall Street, brought to you by social media" (Boudreau, 2011, November 2) from the *San Jose Mercury News* noted that "Occupy Wall Street has around the country at Internet speed as participants tap into Twitter, Facebook and microblogging site Tumblr to call Americans to the streets to protest what they see as a broken global financial system." In this article, new

communication technology was considered a more influential factor than others for

mobilizing citizen journalists during a social uprising. This article continues:

> Silicon Valley Futurist Paul Saffo said. "Your have the exponential growth of the
> World Wide Web and social media and velocity of the Internet as things move
> much more quickly." Indeed, while there have been some anti-corporate slogans
> by a number of Occupy protesters, the iPhone- and iPad-toting members of the
> groups depend on the technology created by giant tech corporations to sustain
> their movement and spread their message. These Internet platforms also allow
> participants to act as citizen journalists, uploading their own reports and video to
> social networking platforms, sites such as YouTube and Livestream, and media
> like MercuryNews.com and OaklandTribune.com. "If it were not for Facebook,
> Twitter, YouTube, email, this would have been squashed on Wall Street," said
> Eugene "Roy" Sherrill, a member of the tech committee of Occupy San Jose."
> Without the open public media, this movement wouldn't have gone national and
> global. It can't be showed by big corporate media." (Occupy Wall Street, brought
> to you by social media, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2011, November 2).

In the news article titled "Blog Shack: At New Media Tent, Words and Beer Flow

Freely" (Ostrom & Vorderbrueggen, 2008, August 26) from the *San Jose Mercury News*,

the author also highlighted the impact of technology on citizen journalists. As in other

articles, this article considered the Internet, YouTube, and smart phone as significant

factors that changed the role of news audiences and raised the tide of citizen journalism.

> Blogs are only "growing, growing, growing." Said Moulitas. "The bottom line is
> that people no longer want to be spectators. Technology allows us to essentially
> become participants." […] "Four years ago there was no YouTube," said Steve
> Grove, news and politics director of YouTube. This is time we have delegates
> uploading videos from the convention center. Anyone with a phone could turn
> themselves into a citizen journalist (Blog shack: At new media tent, words and
> beer flow freely, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2008, August 26).

An article (Hicks, 2011, March 3) from the *San Jose Mercury News*, compared

the use of new media technologies in citizen journalism with George Holliday's video of

Rodney King claiming that:

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Twenty years ago, most of us couldn't afford a video camera, and certainly wouldn't be carrying one around with us all day every day, just in case something extraordinary happened in front of us. Twenty years ago there was no YouTube. No one heard of the Internet. The overwhelming majority of telephones were still connected by a wire into someone's wall. The hot new communication device was something called a pager (20 Years Later, Look What The Rodney King Video Has Wrought, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2011, March 3).

This article also voiced appreciation for current technological advances such as smart phone and the Internet, and discussed their impact on "delivering news and making ours a potentially much better informed society."

(2) In the right place at the right time

Some news articles included in the *Valuable* frame emphasized geographical and time-oriented benefits of citizen journalism to the process of news production and delivery. Good timing and the right location allowed citizen to deliver news to the world even if the quality is not perfect in terms of professional standards. According to content analysis, citizen news participants were described as eyewitnesses, spectators, or bystanders of special events and incidents in 12.3% of framings. Unlike trained professional journalists, for the ordinary individual, "any sense of journalism is likely to be far from their mind, should they find themselves unexpectedly caught-up in disturbing events rapidly unfolding around them" (Allan, 2013, p.1). Thus, professional journalists deemed being in "the right place at the right time" the impetus behind quality citizen journalism instead of pointing to professional senses or resources.

By considering citizen-generated news as an "accidental happening," news coverage emphasized that citizen participation was not planned and citizen journalists were not trained in reporting techniques. As illustrated by the quote "if we would have

cellphone camera at 9/11, we would have better images," (Sullivan, 2006, December 18) citizen journalism's contribution was regarded as what accidently happened by witness, bystanders, or media users (Tilley & Cokley, 2008). Mainstream news coverage only acknowledged that citizen participants could overcome the news industry's long-standing limitations on physical, timeliness, and labor issues. A news article titled "On local sites, everyone's a journalist" (Walker, 2004, December 9) from The *Washington Post* mentioned the advantage of local news provided by community residents: "When fire destroyed a historic building in Brattleboro, Vt., in the wee hours of Saturday, the local daily newspaper had already been put to bed. But by dawn, local residents had posted photos and their own stories about the blaze on *iBrattleboro.com*, a local Web site where anyone can write the news."

Some media coverage about protests or activists also attributed the causes of nationwide political protests to accidental incidents rather than to the activists' spirit. A news article (Woodall, 2011, November 6) from the *San Jose Mercury News* (2011, November 6) focused directly on technology's role in facilitating social activism in Oakland:

> But tens of thousands of online viewers around the world would recognize his online alias, OakFoSho. Nearly 60,000 have tuned into his video stream of the violence that erupted after Wednesday's Occupy Oakland general strike. Spencer Mills said he considers himself a supporter of the Occupy movement whose role is to document it as a citizen journalist. "I was in the right place at the right time with the only live stream," Mills said. But what makes his video stand out in a video-saturated environment is the commentary delivered with the instant images. At one point, he begins to identify aloud police agencies one by one – Oakland, San Francisco, Richmond, South San Francisco, Colma and Belmont. …. Mills recognizes technology's role in allowing him to instantly bring images of the protests to a watching world. "It's basically a computer in your hand," he said,

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looking down at his Droid X. But that smartphone is showing its limitations: Friends and Twitter followers have suggested raising money to get him a better camera (An accidental social media phenomenon emerges from the Occupy Oakland general strike, *San Jose Mercury News*, 2011, November 6).

A news article from the *San Jose Mercury News* (Hicks, 2011, March 3) also claimed that with the help of technology, "now anyone, in the right place at the right time, can capture something that makes a difference." Such "spontaneous, spur-of-the-moment responses, so often motivated by a desire to connect with others, go to the heart of current debates about citizen journalism," and present one of the most challenging issues confronting the news media today (Allan, 2013, p.1).

(3) Information delivery, anything else?

Theoretically speaking, citizen-generated news could not be considered traditional journalism because it does not meet standards required by professional journalism. However, from a functional perspective, citizen journalism could be regarded as a journalistic activity because it plays a role in information delivery. As illustrated in the previous chapter's content analysis, information delivery was the most frequently mentioned (46%) role of citizen journalism in mainstream news coverage of citizen-generated content.

A large number of news articles considered citizen participants as journalists in terms of their functional role – a new and effective way of information delivery. Even though information delivery is one of the main roles that professional journalism fills within society, mainstream news articles emphasized the fact that information delivery in and of itself is not enough to be professional journalism. Simultaneously, other professional norms and ethics, such as credibility, objectivity, or ethics were mentioned

as elements that journalism/ journalists must obtain. In this way, news coverage legitimized professional journalism's responsibility by emphasizing the field's traditionally accepted values (Farhi, 2012, July 16; Kurtz, 2006, September 18; Penenberg, 2011, January 30).

As a way of legitimizing professional journalism's role, some news coverage frequently distinguished "information" from "news." These articles deemed content created by citizen participants only mere information, but judged what professional journalists wrote to be "news." Citizen participants were not seen as being able to produce news stories because they lacked the professional training necessary to generate a deep analysis of events beyond factual information. In a sense, journalists assumed the production of a critical analysis of events is a significant role that could be considered as professional journalists. For example, some news articles bluntly addressed differences between the products developed by professional and citizen journalists: "A deep analysis of event can be done by professional journalists, not citizen journalists" (Savage, 2007, August 23). By expressing this sentiment, the author obviously draws a line between citizen and professional journalists and sheds light on perceived differences in the performance of professional and citizen journalists.

A 2007 *Los Angeles Times* piece (Rutten, 2007, January 6) acknowledged that citizen media could provide breaking news in an effective way, but also indicated those media could not construct the analysis portion of a story:

> What the redesigned Journal strongly suggests is that newspapers will be of greatest service to their readers by taking a simultaneous and complementary stance in both venues. That means delivering on a daily basis an online newspaper

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that is mostly, but not entirely given over to breaking news and up-to-date factual content freshened on a continuing basis, and a print newspaper that is essentially, but no totally devoted to analysis, context and an exploration of the important back story (Updated journal writes its future, *Los Angeles Times*, 2007, January 6).

This news story articulated a clear line between the role of citizen and mainstream journalists. The article's author assumed that citizen journalists can quickly generate timely news and photos, but only professional journalists can are able to provide deep analyses on news events. In this article, the author reiterated the need for traditional journalism despite acknowledging that both types of news are necessary. The author, Tim Rutten defined the balance between these two different news types of arguing that "we need to accept the challenge of recalibrating the balance between data and information, between knowledge and understanding."

In a similar manner, a 2008 *Denver Post* article (Ostrow, 2008, January 22) emphasized the limited role of citizen journalism and commented that professional journalists do not agree on the capability of citizen journalists.

> The role of so-called citizen journalists is evolving rapidly. Anyone who owns a cellphone that takes pictures may fancy him- or herself a citizen journalist, but those of us in the business maintain there's a bit more to it. The folks taking photos at the scene of breaking news events are deliverers of information, but they are not analyzing, putting in context and generally making sense of the info-bytes. Steele, of the Poynter Institute, observed that there are professional standards and oversight involved in the journalist's job description. 'I won't have a root canal by a citizen dentist,' Steele said (Public Radio panel eyes the media, and it isn't pretty, *Denver Post*, 2008, January 22).

While accepting that citizen journalism makes certain kinds of contributions to the larger field, mainstream news coverage continually highlighted the distinguishable merits of the professional media industry and justified why traditional media industry still

excel and are relevant in the current changing media environment. A news article (Rutten, 2007, January 6) from the *Los Angeles Times* compared news stories with videos and images of Saddam Hussein's execution provided by ordinary people on the Web and news stories of President Ford's death in print media to examine how those two types of news stories might differ. This news article deemed newspapers as a representative of traditional journalism that provided "the kind of thoughtful and reflective presentation" and included "what the situation required, demanded nuanced blends of recollection, analysis and appraisal." The article went on to emphasize how traditional journalism has recalibrated "the balance between data and information, and between knowledge and understanding", which provided a chance to "define the notion of journalistic service to the common good".

DISCUSSION

As stated in the last chapter, the results of the content analysis indicate that the majority of news articles have covered citizen journalism and citizen journalists in a positive tonality. Moreover, citizen journalism has been framed as a valuable phenomenon more often than a dangerous and useless one. Additionally, professional journalists have depicted citizen news participants as either journalists or collaborators related to journalistic behaviors. The results of this study show that mainstream journalists equitably acknowledged the positive value of citizen journalism and appreciate synergy between professional journalists and citizen news participants within the journalism industry. Though professional journalists see the value of contributions

from citizen journalists, they often only recognize specific functions of citizen media participants. Professional journalists then define and emphasize their own legitimacy as a professional group based on perceived deficiencies of citizen journalism. Since professional journalists are responsible for the informed citizenry as the only legitimate information deliverers (Jones & Himelboim, 2010), they have a duty to provide a balanced perspective on the emerging issue.

However, the results of qualitative analysis revealed that mainstream news articles implicitly and/or explicitly tended to legitimize their professional authority and sought maintain their occupational status. In order to protect their position as a legitimate information deliverer, mainstream news coverage prioritized their values in comparison to the performance of citizen news participants and citizen-generated news. Therefore, this chapter presented the ways in which mainstream newspapers legitimized professional journalism by identifying citizen news participants and discussing the roles of citizen journalism within the larger journalistic field.

Mainstream news coverage identified citizen news participants as non-journalists, collaborators, or journalists. When portraying citizen news participants as non-journalists, mainstream news articles reinforced the reasons citizens could not be considered representatives of journalistic performance and emphasized non-professional features of citizen news participants. By depicting citizen participants as amateurs, ordinary people, eyewitnesses, or media users, mainstream news coverage reaffirmed that only professionally trained journalists working for legacy media organizations could be awarded the title of "journalists."

In identifying citizen participants as collaborators, professional journalists implicitly advanced negative connotations of citizen news participants. Mainstream news articles acknowledged the role of citizen news participants in journalism industry; however, professional journalists did not regard citizen participants as main players in news production. Professional journalists only accepted a limited contribution from citizen participants, namely, seeking news items and submitting photos and videos as news sources.

Even in news articles portraying citizen news participants as "journalists," I found that mainstream news coverage did not totally support the status of citizen news participants. A close reading disclosed that subjects using the words – "journalists" to citizens were not professional journalists or employees of legacy media institutions, but citizen news participants themselves. Professional journalists regarded the term – "journalist" as self-proclaimed also could use self-identifying when using it in news articles—whether it was combined with "citizen" or "professional." Thus, the term – "journalist" was quoted directly or indirectly from the voices of citizen participants or media experts who are supportive of citizen journalism.

In discussing the roles of citizen journalism, qualitative textual analysis helped the author locate legitimacy themes and examine how professional journalists legitimized themselves in comparison to citizen journalism. In news articles with negative tonality, legitimacy themes of professional journalism seemed to be explicitly presented. By indicating harmful outcomes and dangerous side effects of citizen journalism, professional journalists justified why citizen journalism is inferior to its professional

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counterpart thus reinforcing why professional journalism is still necessary in society. An unprotected work environment, interruption of professional norms and values, and destruction of news value and quality were primary themes expressed by professional journalists in news articles with a negative tonality.

Interestingly, however, some legitimacy themes were also found in news articles having a positive tonality. Although professional journalists focused on positive aspects of citizen journalism in news coverage, they simultaneously emphasized the limited abilities and complicated outcomes of citizen journalism. In this process, professional journalists implicitly revealed reasons why citizen journalism had limited roles, which led them to a successful justification of why professional journalism still has a significant status. Specifically, in news coverage, citizen journalism's contribution resulted from technological innovation and time/ geographical benefits. The role of citizen journalism was confined to information delivery.

Emphasizing professional norms and values has significant implications in the literature of professionalism. Although journalism is regarded as an information profession, it is a "very permeable occupation" (Abbott, 1988, p.225). Despite the existence of schools that train professional journalists and professional societies that codify professional ethics and rules, there is no exam or license that defines who is considered a professional journalist. This means "there is no exclusion of those who lack of them" (Abbott, 1998, p.225). Also, technological innovation has allowed non-professions to obtain special skills and resources previously only accessible to

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professionals. For professional journalists, it is becoming harder to defend their exclusivity and legitimacy.

Therefore, professional journalists emphasized exclusive professional norms and ethics when discussing ideological aspects of their field. Unlike professional skills including collecting data and distributing messages, or functional roles like information delivery, professional ethics and normative values cannot be simply acquired or trained by citizen news participants. Because a large amount of the news coverage studied undermined the value of citizen journalism and legitimized the value of professional journalism professional norms and ethics were continuously highlighted throughout mainstream news coverage. Additionally, the tendency of professional journalists to make a clear distinction between citizen journalism and professional journalism, served to reinforce the boundaries of professional journalism within the changing media environment.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

In his book *The World is Flat*[1], American journalist, Thomas Friedman, (2006) asserts that in a world where new communication technologies have flattened the playing field, almost anyone can create content that is reachable by millions of people worldwide. He refers to the ability to share all kinds of information, videos, software codes, and pictures via the Internet as "uploading," which inherently builds participatory culture in society (Jenkins, 2006). However, Friedman warns that despite allowing increased participation, this new flat playing field introduces a threat to the creation of global knowledge and information. Since no one is in charge and quality control is not perfect, volunteers could pass off inaccurate or false information as true, misleading millions of people. Hence, Friedman argues that of all the forces flattening the world, "uploading" has the potential to be the most disruptive flattener.

Indeed, as this dissertation illustrates, Friedman's concerns matches the worry that professional journalists have expressed in their reactions to the technological leveling of the playing field of news. Dual forces of technological change and increased audience participation in media culture (Jenkins, 2006) have transformed the dynamic between news professionals and people "formerly known as the audience" (Rosen, 2006). Innovative digital tools such as smartphones have enabled ordinary people to collect, produce, and distribute news content without any intervention from legacy media.

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[1] In this book, Friedman identifies a set of developments responsible for enhancing the process of globalization in the past decade and seven forces that flatten the world: Outsourcing, insourcing, offshoring, supply-chaining, uploading, informing, and steroids.

Furthermore, user-participatory news sites and photo/video sharing sites, including blogs, social media, a variety of wiki-sites, and YouTube, have facilitated new, direct avenues for user-generated contributions to influence the news production process. These innovations have enabled the general public to become active players in the creation and dissemination of news anywhere (Anthony & Thomas, 2006).

However, as my analysis demonstrates, professional journalists see the widespread generation of user-participatory as a challenge to the social status of professional journalism as the only legitimate provider of news to the informed-citizenry. Non-trained reporters have also invaded their territory: normative values and journalistic ethics, which previously provided professional authority for established journalists, have been leapfrogged by technological advances that erase boundaries between audience and producers.

Additionally, due to the economic crisis in the news media industry, professional journalists have concerns about their job security and face the potential of replacement by citizen news participants. According to a survey conducted by Pew Research Center, newspaper jobs are still far from secure: full-time professional newsroom employment declined another 6.4% in 2012 with more losses expected for 2013 (*The State of News Media*, 2012). Therefore, the rise of citizen journalism seemed to be a threat to traditional journalism, particularly respect to available paid positions.

Although citizen journalism threatens the livelihood of professionals, professional journalists are bound by reporting ethics and values to try to assess the rise of citizen journalism objectively, taking up a neutral perspective. Professional journalists feel they

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have a professional duty to provide balanced and credible information to public; therefore, journalists are required to represent this new phenomenon in an objective way, regardless of its potential dangerous impact on their field. Additionally, since traditional journalism is tasked with providing the public with the information needed to sustain democracy, journalists must embrace the public's participation in news production as a healthy virtue of the democratic process and as a facet of journalism's role as a watchdog.

For established journalists, citizen participation in their news production process is a complex issue. It is hard to negotiate between the *professional duty* to protect their authority from non-journalists, and the *professional responsibility* to deliver objective news about the issue of citizen journalism. This study, therefore, focused on evaluating how professional journalists negotiated this tension between loyalty to the profession and duties to the public. The main purpose of this study was to explore how mainstream journalism has represented the advent of citizen journalism and citizen news participants in its news coverage. Accordingly, this dissertation examined how mainstream news coverage has constructed the value, topical perspectives, narratives, and position of this new breed of journalism. This study also investigated how established journalism identifies the role and legitimacy of professional in their coverage of the emergence of citizen journalism.

Based on the goals of research mentioned above, in the following sections, I briefly summarize findings from two different methodological approaches – quantitative content analysis and qualitative textual analysis. I also discuss these results within relevant theoretical frameworks and revisit the implications of this research on the current

literature. Both theoretical and methodological contributions and limitations of this research will be discussed. Lastly, I suggest future directions this research could take to advance the field of mass communication and journalism.

FINDINGS

The results of the content analysis show that across the entire period studied, mainstream news articles have represented citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon and a comparatively new phenomenon. The data also clearly unveiled that mainstream news coverage included discussions of citizen journalism from a variety of topical perspectives. However, citizen journalism has been mentioned in relation to the media industry, professional journalism, and journalism ethics more often than natural disasters and social events.

Citizen news participants were portrayed as journalists-related performers – either "journalists" or "collaborators" – in a half of news articles analyzed. Specifically, one-fourth of news coverage described them as "journalists" in general. Professional journalists also portrayed citizen news participants as collaborators who could not be regarded as journalism professionals, only as individuals working in tandem with mainstream professionals. This means professional journalists tended to distinguish the roles of professional journalists and non-professional collaborators in their news coverage. One in five news articles described citizen news participants as ordinary people; however, when the categories of "eyewitness" and "media users" were combined with "ordinary people," approximately 37% of citizen news participants were described

as lay people—meaning that on the whole, citizen news participants were described as "ordinary people" more often than they were described as journalists.

Since citizen journalism is a technology-sensitive phenomenon, it is also significant to know whether news coverage characterized citizen journalism as a "new" phenomenon or a "common" phenomenon. As other scholars have shown blogs and Twitter have been presented as "new" only during their formative periods. After the formative period, news coverage acknowledges these platforms as a "common" phenomenon because they are a form of media platform or communication technology. Citizen journalism differs because it is not in and of itself a "platform"; it is "user-generated content" embedded in a variety of media platforms and its characteristics and features have changed over time. Perhaps because of this, citizen journalism has been regarded as a "new" phenomenon over all periods studied and its characterization in media content does not shift to a "common" framing.

Additionally, and more importantly, citizen journalism has been covered as a valuable phenomenon rather than dangerous or useless phenomenon. Over the past 14 years, with the exception of the earliest period studied, nearly 60 % of news frames represented citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon. Even though the *Valuable* frame has been a leading frame across time, the percentages of *Dangerous* and *Useless* framings have increased since 2008. The *Valuable* frame was associated with the topics of journalistic role of citizen journalism, individual gratification, democracy and diversity; the *Dangerous* frame was related to unsafe and risky work conditions, dangerous effects

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on the audience and professional journalism; and, the *Useless* frame included problems of content quality and news value.

The value frame results also share traits with the argumentative tonality in news coverage. Across time, the majority of news articles covered citizen journalism in a positive tonality, either entirely or partially. Additionally, the information delivery function (46.2%) was the most frequently mentioned journalistic characteristic in descriptions comparing the activity of citizen journalism to professional journalism.

Based on the quantitative analysis results alone, it appears that professional journalists approved of the positive value of citizen journalism in society and journalism field, and recognized the synergy between traditional journalists and citizen news participants. However, the qualitative textual analysis revealed that mainstream news articles routinely placed citizen journalism and citizen journalists outside the boundaries of professional journalism. In lieu of recognizing citizen journalists as equals, mainstream reporters attempted to implicitly or explicitly legitimize traditional professional authority and maintain their existing occupational status. In doing so, mainstream journalists either limited what contributions of citizen news participants could be considered legitimate journalism, or undermined the impact of citizen journalism phenomenon on the news system. This study found that, generally, citizen news participants were depicted as either journalists, collaborators, or non-journalists. When portraying citizen participants as non-journalists, news professionals often articulated specific reasons why citizen participants were clearly working outside the boundaries of professional journalism. By choosing language that identified citizen

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participants as amateurs, volunteers, ordinary people, and media users, instead of journalists, mainstream news coverage explicitly emphasized non-professional features of citizen news participants.

Even if citizen news participants were portrayed as "journalists" in mainstream news articles, professional journalists were not supportive of these participants' position as "professionals." In fact, professional journalists insisted that mainstream news references to citizen media participants as "journalists" were largely self-proclaimed, not generated or approved of by professional journalists or legacy media outlets. Thus, qualitatively analyzing discussions of citizen media participants in mainstream news coverage did not support quantitative suggestions that traditional journalists recognized any professional distinction for user-generated content. Instead, news articles depicting citizen news participants as journalists downgraded their performance or interpreted their contributions limited in scope.

Additionally, mainstream news coverage studied described citizen news participants not as journalists, but only as "collaborators" with professional journalists. The term "collaborators" is a complicated title because collaborators are not professionals, but do cooperate with professional journalists either within the legacy media system or independently. Despite acknowledging temporary partnerships, the news articles emphasized a huge gap between the roles and powers of professional journalists and citizen media producers, and those in the mainstream continued to clearly distinguish themselves from citizens. Therefore, regardless of how citizen news participants were identified, professional journalists distinguished themselves from citizen journalists,

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effectively helping mainstream reporters to reinforce and legitimize their professional status in society.

More instances of journalists trying to legitimize their professional status were found. Since news articles with negative tonality largely considered citizen journalism as a dangerous or useless phenomenon, mainstream journalists explicitly legitimized their professional status in news coverage. In news articles with a negative tonality, unprotected work environment, interruption of professional norms and values, and destruction of news value and quality were the main themes professional journalists used to describe citizen media participants. By emphasizing harmful outcomes and dangerous side effects of citizen journalism, professional journalists found ways to justify why citizen journalism remains inferior to professional journalism and why professional journalism is still significant in society.

Even in news articles with positive tonality, journalists attempted to legitimate their status in other ways. Although mainstream journalists focused on positive aspects of citizen journalism in this group of news articles, they continued efforts to legitimize their professional position while downplaying the status of citizen journalism. Specifically, mainstream journalists claimed that valuable citizen contributions were merely a result of access to technological innovations, favorable geographic proximity to events, and unconstrained time schedules; the values of democracy and civic mindedness were not explicitly mentioned as motivations of citizen journalism. Professional journalists also implicitly limited the role of citizen journalism to "information delivery," which, as in the

above examples, served to successfully justify professional journalists' status and authority.

DISCUSSION: REVISIT PROFESSIONALISM AND BOUNDARY WORK

Both the content and textual analysis found that mainstream news content impartially explained the conflicting duties facing professional journalists dealing with the emergence of citizen journalism. Because professional journalists bear the social responsibility of serving as a primary conduit of credible news coverage, journalistic norms dictate that the field must treat all new social and cultural phenomenon in an objective way. Therefore, mainstream news coverage of citizen journalism explicitly articulated both the benefits and threats of user-generated content, and also discussed the citizen journalism phenomenon in a variety of ways.

Despite this seemingly objective treatment, findings from the close readings suggested that professional journalists continuously retained "a central position in contemporary news ecologies, despite recent changes in production, circulation, and consumption of news" (Waisbord, 2013, p.19). Mainstream news coverage tended to routinely emphasize professional norms and values lacked by citizen news participants and also portrayed the contributions of citizen media participants as being helpful to the news system in only a very limited capacity. By taking this approach, professional journalists again distinguished the role of citizen news participants from the function of professional journalists. This analysis suggests that journalists—like any other

professionals—are invested in "permanently protect[ing] and defend[ing] turf from potential competitors" (Waisbord, 2013, p.19).

In order to protect and defend professional boundaries, mainstream coverage legitimized professional journalism in the ways previously described: attributing the value of citizen journalism to technological innovation and fortunate proximity to events; portraying citizen news participants as ordinary people, media users, eyewitnesses rather than "professionals"; designating professional journalists as the only legitimate, responsible avenue for objective information delivery; and limiting acceptable contributions of citizen news participants to collaboration and the sharing of user-generated photos and videos. In doing so, mainstream news coverage explicitly voiced that citizen journalism could not replace traditional journalism.

Because this study's results show that professional journalists largely considered citizen journalism a new or novel phenomenon for all periods studied, this study's conclusions differ from those of technology innovation studies. This may be due to the fact that citizen journalism is not, in and of itself, a specific technology or newly dominant media platform such as Twitter or Facebook. Rather, citizen journalism is quickly embedded into brand-new media platforms or new technologies, and situated within different circumstances. Thus, the role and impacts of citizen journalism could continually maintain a novel image. However, since labels such as "new," "fresh," "novel," and "innovative" also imply meanings such as "unusual," "non-mainstream," "minor," "non-traditional" (Meeks, 2012). Thus, characterizing citizen journalism as "new" could be one of the ways that professional journalists have undermined the value

of citizen journalism. In line with this argument, the majority of news coverage framing citizen journalism as a "new" phenomenon did not approve of citizen news participants and citizen news being seen as within the boundaries of professional journalism.

This study's results coincide with those of other literature that suggests journalists use the parameters of norms, values, and ethics to define their profession and defend its boundaries from challenges and criticism (Roberts, 2013). Although journalism schools, degree programs, and a number of professional societies dedicated to upholding journalistic traditions exist, unlike other professions—namely law and medicine—one does not have to obtain a license or pass an exam to be considered a professional journalist (Lewis, 2012). In this way, journalism is a "permeable occupation" (Abbott, 1985, p.225) and has difficulty determining and maintaining professional exclusivity and legitimacy. In recent years, technological development awarding non-professionals specialty and the ability to reach a wide audience has further complicated journalism's professional boundaries (Chang et al., 2010b).

Coverage studied in this research showed that professional journalists emphasized normative values and ethics in order to preserve their position as an important source of public information and maintain their professional exclusivity. These professional norms and values (objectivity, accuracy, ethics, etc.) were frequently mentioned for two reasons: 1) to justify why non-journalists who lack of professional norms and values could not be on par with professional journalists; 2) to legitimate the position of professional journalists—who are equipped normative values and a commitment to ethics—as the primary information professionals in society. In other words, emphasizing professional

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norms and values both undermined the function of citizen journalism and justified

professional privilege and social status of professional journalism.

Even if professional journalists constructed the role of citizen journalism and

citizen news participants positively in news coverage, only the functional roles

(information delivery) and technical skills (news production system) of citizen journalism

were approved of mainstream news content. From a philosophical perspective, however,

traditional journalists wholly disapproved of the role of citizen journalism within the

news production system. Therefore, news coverage analyzed in this study frequently

highlighted instances where citizen news participants violated professional norms and

ethics, painting them as threats to professional journalism.

To the challenge by digital platforms, professional journalists have been

"conservative" and seek to "incorporate changes and challenges" (Waisbord, 2013, p.19).

Legacy media have adopted tools and features of citizen participatory news based on

Web architecture and search dynamics; however, professional journalists simultaneously

reinforce the dominant position of professional journalism (Waisbord, 2013) and protect

professional privileges from others who take part in "quasi-journalistic" (Coddington,

2010) activities. Therefore, professional journalism's response to multiple forms of

citizen journalism also demonstrated "the strength of professionalism as the demarcation

and reinforcement of occupational boundaries" (Waisbord, 2013, p.15).

The findings of this study could also link to the concept – "active recipient"

(Hermida et al., 2011). Drawing from Walter Lippmann and John Dewey on the role of

media and its relationship to the public, Hermida and his colleagues examined how

professional journalists view participatory journalism and suggested that "journalists see audiences as what we call 'active recipient' of news – somewhere between passive receivers and active creators of content" (2011, p.17). On the one hand, it means that "journalists resist the notion of relinquishing control over the process of making decisions about what is news and how that news should be reported, issues that arise at earlier stages of story production" (Hermida et al., 2011, p.17). In other words, journalists tended to preserve their professional status as a main actor in the process of making news. On the other hand, journalists do not view audiences as passive recipients of media. Often, journalists have conflicting views between apprehension and support for audience engagement in the process of making news. Hermida and his colleagues concluded "such ambivalence is understandable at a time when journalists are negotiating their standing in a shared media environment" (2011, p.17).

The findings of this research also demonstrated the core idea of framing theory. News coverage on citizen journalism is socially constructed (Tuchman, 1978) and news frames on this phenomenon reflect "the central idea or story line that provides meanings to an unfolding strip of the events" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p.43). As Tankard (1997) mentioned, news frames stems from a process of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration by journalists or news organization. In this research, certain aspects of citizen journalism and citizen journalists were emphasized, which explicitly or implicitly put a particular news angle or spin on news frames. For instance, in order to construct the *Dangerous* frame, lack of professional norms and values have been emphasized and exaggerated in the news coverage.

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According to the framing theory, different factors influence how journalists frame a certain issue, including social norms and organizational pressure (Gitlin, 1980). In particular, journalists in the process of news making always consider embedded and taken-for-granted values, ideologies, and assumption. This research demonstrated that mainstream journalists have framed citizen journalism in terms of their professional duties and normative values. The conflict duties of mainstream journalists, therefore, provided a balanced perspective on citizen journalism phenomenon while protected their professional status from this amateur counterpart.

CONTRIBUTION

The purpose of this research was not only to discern whether news frames portrayed citizen journalism as valuable or dangerous, but to examine whether the press imagined a new kind of relationship with the citizen journalism over time and whether citizen journalism was grouped with professional journalism in terms of journalistic norms and democratic values. Therefore, this research can help scholars understand how professional journalists have responded to the rise of citizen journalism. Specifically, this dissertation can illustrate how mainstream journalists have described, assessed, embraced, or excluded the impact of this new phenomenon in order to reinforce their professional authority and exclusive social status in society. In particular, qualitative analysis of news coverage provided the natures of virtue and vice of citizen journalism that mainstream newspaper have perceived and framed.

Unlike other studies, this study did not focus on particular communication technologies or media platforms; it considered the phenomenon of citizen journalism

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broadly, in a way that incorporated more abstract ideas like citizen participatory news and citizen-based journalistic practices. By discussing this conceptual term "citizen journalism," instead of specific media technologies used for delivering the news, this analysis placed greater emphasis on the various roles and functions of citizen journalism. Consequently, it better captured a specific social phenomenon, particularly in relation to the innovation of multiple communication technologies.

Methodologically, this study's mixed method approach resulted in a complementary analysis of news coverage. The quantitative content analysis provided numerical comparisons for the frequency of certain coded categories, such as news frames. Based on those numerical results, news articles were also analyzed qualitatively to explore latent meanings. Consequently, combining quantitative and qualitative analysis increased the strengths and decreased the limitations of both methods. Qualitative textual analysis allowed author to interpret underlying and contextual meanings in pre-defined codes, meanings that might otherwise be missed in a solely quantitative analysis. At the same time, presenting comparisons for the frequency of codes from quantitative analysis provided a tangible backdrop to support deeper meanings. For example, according to the content analysis results, a large percentage of news articles considered citizen journalism as a valuable phenomenon. However, a close reading of those articles allowed author to unveil that the technological and functional aspects of citizen journalism were most often emphasized as valuable in nature.

In addition, including a longitudinal analysis of news articles helped the author to observe change and movement in news frames and narratives about citizen journalism

across different time periods. News coverage analysis on a certain phenomenon usually considers news publications within a limited time period (e.g. the formation period of new media; see Jones & Himelboim's study and Arcendeux's study). In this research, news articles were searched and gathered for fourteen years, allowing inclusion of the first public appearance of the term "citizen journalism" as well as multiple events and incidents relevant to the citizen journalism phenomenon. This expanded time period presented a chronological view of conceptions of citizen journalism allowing observation of the rise and demise of specific communication technologies with respect to their roles as citizen journalism.

In regard to the larger field of journalism and mass communication research, this dissertation helps further discussions surrounding the on-going crisis and transformation of journalism. Specifically, this study sheds light on how and in what ways treatments of citizen journalism in mainstream publications reflect a crisis in legitimacy for the journalism profession. Analyzing the time period addressed in this dissertation assists scholars and professional journalists in identifying and tracking changes in the field during a time of particularly acute transition and throughout a moment when journalists had to respond to a potential threat from citizen journalism.

To a large extent, this study could be part of a global clash between "experts" and "non-experts" similar to how folks are challenging the authority of other professions partly using Internet technology to their advantage to gain knowledge that was in the past not accessible to people outside the expert's field.

LIMITATIONS

In spite of the effectiveness of research methods used and implications of the results for the field, this study inevitably had some limitations. First, this research only analyzed newspaper articles in text form to understand established journalists' representation of citizen journalism. However, other types of traditional media could have been considered sources for this analysis. In particular, if this study considered more blended media like TV where news and SNS are being incorporated very actively, it may lead to comprehensive discussion about recent trend of citizen journalism phenomenon. Additionally, online news sites were not included in this study even though some representative online news sites for which professional journalists and columnists produce news content do exist. Considering citizen participation has been closely related to audio, photo, and video formats of news content as well as digital platforms, representative online news sites could be potentially fruitful resource for capturing professional journalists' perspective on citizen journalism.

Second, in the procedure of data collection, this research only searched news articles that included a few search-terms related to the citizen journalism phenomenon, such as citizen journalists, citizen media, participatory journalism, citizen reporters, during the time frame. However, since the emergence of citizen journalism is very closely related to the advent of media technologies, including blogs, social media, or micro-blogging, those terms have been used interchangeably in news articles. Therefore, some news articles containing terms such as Twitter or blogs, instead of the exact search term "citizen journalism," were not included in the sample. Recently, journalists are also

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starting to use social media as a part of their routine, which is blurring lines between professional journalists and para-journalists (Hermida, 2010). Therefore, without depending on the term "citizen journalism," this study should have embraced more discussion of this phenomenon in news coverage.

Additionally, this study' time period did not include news articles from the most recent years—2013 and 2014—which saw the occurrence of significant milestones of citizen news participation in crisis events such as the Syrian Civil War, protests in Turkey, Afghanistan's election among others.

Third, another limitation of this study laid in some of the inter-coder reliability values. Although the agreement percentages were overall medium to high (from .81 to .90) and average percentage of the agreement was 85.2%, values for Scott's π test were overall medium to low. Particularly, the Scott's π value of the *Useless* frame was .38. It could be because of the dichotomous nature of the coding. For many of the frames (e.g. the *Dangerous*, *Useless*, and *Common* frames), there were many zeros expected. Also, since Scott's π test is a conservative and stricter calculation of inter-coder reliability in comparison to other statistics such as Cohen's Kappa (Krippendorff, 2004), the value of Scott's π could be lower than expected. However, these values should be considered valid because the agreement percentages were workable and content analysis was not used for further statistics. In the future, I may consider a 20% inter-coder sample for the estimation of reliability or use different reliability tests for more valid values.

FUTURE RESEARCH

Whether framing citizen journalism as *Valuable, Dangerous*, or *Useless*, this new breed of journalism matters for news professionals in legacy media. New communication technologies continuously allow ordinary people to seize more opportunities for producing and sharing news content without any special skills or intense labor. A variety of information types never considered traditional news are easily collected, generated, and delivered by citizens, advancing public discussion in all realms of society. Therefore, when citizen journalism produces its own take on the roles and routines of established journalism, it consistently draws professional journalists' attention.

When a new media platform appears or disappears, citizen journalism evolves and transforms to adapt that new means for sharing information. In recent years, user-generated content, anchored in blogs and citizen media, has moved onto network-based media platforms, such as social networking sites and micro-blogs, leading to revitalization of citizen journalism. According to the Pew Research Center's *State of the News Media* (2014), news has a place in social media: half of Facebook and Twitter users get their news from those sites. Moreover, half of social network users share or repost news stories, images or videos while nearly as many (46%) discuss news issues or events on social network sites. Not only are social network users reposting and sharing existing news stories, but particularly with the growth of mobile devices, a certain portion is contributing to reporting by taking photos (14%) and videos (12%). In fact, with this broader adoption of mobile technology, citizens are playing important eyewitness roles around news events such as the Boston bombing and the Ukrainian uprising in 2013.

Therefore, the pressing question of whether to embrace the challenge of citizen

journalism on account of its democratic value and functional advantage or detach this

new actor from the professional values and social status of professional journalists

remains highly relevant. This question is significant in discussing not only how

professional journalists respond to the contributions of citizens, but also how professional

journalists' roles and values are identified and compared to those of non-professionals.

Hence, the current research topic could be explored and discussed as an on-going project

in the future. The current project could be expanded in a variety of different ways.

Several paths could be taken when considering approaches to future research.

First, as I mentioned in the limitations section, non-textual materials such as audio and

video clips[2] could be added to an expanded data set. Particularly, narration and camera

angles on news clips could represent activities of citizen journalism while accounting for

the impact of citizen journalism in certain social events. News scenes in which citizen

journalists are delivering information could directly illustrate the role of citizen news

participants. Also, articles from trade publications in journalistic field (e.g. *Columbia*

Journalism Review) could be analyzed. Trade publications' primary purpose is to

generate and share information for professionals within a certain field. Since trade

publication articles in the journalistic field also reflect news professionals' opinions and

interests, they could be a useful resource for understanding how journalists identify

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[2] Online news video is considered as one area of expansion in recent years. Not only video-sharing sites – YouTube, social media like Facebook already account for a hefty portion of video watching, but also the Huffington Post celebrated the one year anniversary of HuffPost Live and Texas Tribune held a successful Kickstarter campaign to raise funds for the purchase of equipment to stream live video coverage of the 2014 Texas governor's race.

threats and challenges from a professional perspective. It could be also valuable to compare news frames and themes between trade publications and press outlets focused on delivering news to the public.

In addition, an alternative research design could be considered. Since news frame analysis does not provide a clear linkage between journalists' perceptions and media representations of the issue, combining news analysis with other types of methods, such as in-depth interviews or focus groups could help researchers understand professional journalists' response to citizen journalism. A participatory observation in media companies could provide similar insight into how professional journalists deal with citizen-generated news content and what standards of news are considered in this procedure.

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APPENDIX A

CODEBOOK

As of May-09-2013

❖ Please write down the serial number at the first column. Serial number is written at the top of news articles and has the format as like "NYT2012-1" or "USA2011-3."

SECTION A: Basic information

A-1.   Publication Name:

A-2.   Publication year:

A-3.   Word count:

A-4.   Publication (News Industry) type (1-3):
      1=National newspapers
      2=Regional/ Local newspapers
      3=Trade publication

A-5.   Type of article (1-5):
      1=Op-ed or Column/ Commentary
      2=Masthead Editorial (unsigned, main editorial)
      3=Hard news article
      4=Long-form feature
      5=Other (e.g. weblog)

A-6.   News section (1-6):
      1=Politics
      2=Economics/ Finance/ Business
      3=Culture/ Entertainment/ Technology/ Media/ Life
      4=Foreign/ International/ World
      5=Domestic/ Local/ Community
      6=Other, including Magazine

A-7.   Relevant major incidents, if mentioned (e.g. Occupy wall, Libya protest, Gulf war, BP oil, etc. or None):

A-8.   Geographical context of incidents (1-3):

       1=Foreign

       2=Domestic/ National

       3=Domestic/ Local

A-9.   Brands of citizen journalism, if mentioned (e.g. OhmyNews, OffTheBus, I-Report):

A-10. Platforms of citizen journalism (1-9):

       1=Blog

       2=Independent citizen media

       3=Hyper-local community news sites

       4=Big media's citizen participation sites (e.g. I-Report)

         4(2)=Online media's citizen participation sites (e.g. Huffington Post' OffTheBus)

       5=Social media (e.g. Facebook, Google+)

       6=Micro-blogging (e.g. Twitter)

       7=Photo/ video sharing sites (e.g. Flickr, YouTube, Picasa)

       8=Mobile device

       9=Mainstream media (newspaper, TV/ radio broadcasting)

       10=Others

SECTION B: Topic

Mark "1" if news stories relate implicitly or explicitly to at least one of the following topic perspectives. (Yes = "1", No= "0"). Mostly, each article can be coded by one topic, but you can code two or more topics if needed.

B-1. CODE: Technology

Citizen journalism phenomenon is represented in the perspective of technology development. Code remarks and descriptions that suggest communication technology, digital technology, the rise of the Internet, mobile technology, etc.

B-2. CODE: Journalism

Citizen journalism phenomenon is represented in the perspective of media industry, journalism industry, journalistic practices, role, and ethics, and freedom of press.

B-3. CODE: Politics

International and domestic politics/ political scandal (e.g. Presidential campaign)

B-4. CODE: Activism
Social protest, social demonstration, activists (e.g. Syrian uprising)

B-5. CODE: Disasters/ Tragedy
Natural disaster, accident, crime (e.g. Tsunami)

B-6. CODE: Warfare
War, social disruption, armed conflict (e.g. Iraq war)

B-7. CODE: Community
Local community, local affairs and news

B-8. CODE: Entertainment
Personal entertaining, amusement, hobby

❖ From Section C to Section G, please mark the code once you read through the article.

SECTION C: New/ Common

Mark "1" if news stories is associated with the following narratives. (Yes = "1", No= "0"). Only one code is allowed.

C-1. CODE: **The *New* frame**
Citizen journalism is presented as a brand-new phenomenon or a little-known phenomenon. Code remarks or descriptions that suggest the following words and phrases, such as new, fresh, trend, emerging, first-hand, recent, current, hot, latest, innovative, pioneering, novice, brand-new, newly started.
> Example: "*Citizen journalism is a completely new phenomenon. Strongly criticized by mainstream media and professional journalists and carefully accepted by the people.*"

C-2. CODE: **The *Common* frame**
Citizen journalism is presented as a common phenomenon or well-known phenomenon. Code remarks or descriptions that suggest the following words and phrases, such as old, long-standing, general, prevalent, dominant, pervasive, widespread, enduring, established, conventional, unadventurous, experienced.

Example: "*Today, citizen journalists are highly involved in daily reporting, many became heroes over the night and number of prizes were awarded to anonymous and known brave citizen journalists.*"

SECTION D: Portrayal of citizen news participants

Mark "1" if citizen news participants in news stories is associated with the following actors (Yes = "1", No= "0"). Multi-codes are allowed.

D-1. CODE: Journalists
Citizen news participants are associated with any journalistic practices or if citizen news participants are named any kind of journalists, storytellers, journal writers, history drafters, meaning-makers, or opinion leaders.

Example: "*Citizen journalists have gained popular acceptance through the years as part of the journalistic profession.*"

D-2. CODE: Collaborators
Citizen news participants are portrayed as potential collaborators, news sources, or partners of mainstream media.

Example: "*Traditional media outlets should embrace the trend: Citizen journalism "may not replace the traditional journalism we're used to," but it could "bring additional benefits that mainstream journalism doesn't provide," says Mathew Ingram at GigaOm.*"

D-3. CODE: Eyewitnesses
Citizen news participants are portrayed as eyewitnesses, spectators, or bystanders of incidents. It is distinguished from "D-4. Code: ordinary people" because eyewitnesses have to exist in specific incidents or crime sites.

D-4. CODE: Ordinary People
Citizen news participants are portrayed as regular people, ordinary people, lay people, or citizens.

Example: "*Some have impressive background in journalism and mass communications but many of the budding citizen journalists have only their keyboards to hit and their minds to speak up.*"

D-5. CODE: Activists

Citizen news participants are portrayed as social and political activists, demonstrators, or protesters.

D-6. CODE: Media Users
Citizen news participants are associated with any media consumption or if they are named any kind of media users, recipient, audience, and etc. (e.g. technology savvy)

D-7: CODE: Others
If you coded "D-7: Others", please write down specific words at the bottom of the column (e.g. expert, volunteer, watchdog).

SECTION E: Journalistic characteristics, if identified.

News articles may identify characteristics of journalism while reporting citizen journalism phenomenon, such as norms, roles, responsibilities, and values. Mark "1" if a news article mentions any of the following codes. (Yes = "1", No= "0")

E-1. CODE: Objectivity

E-2. CODE: Accuracy

E-3. CODE: Public service

E-4. CODE: Autonomy

E-5. CODE: Ethics

E-6. CODE: Watchdog

E-7: CODE: Gatekeeper

E-8. CODE: Democracy

E-9. CODE: Information delivery

SECTION F: Value of citizen journalism

News stories will be analyzed if they refer valuable, dangerous, useless phenomenon. Once you read the explanation of the Valuable, Dangerous, Useless codes and their sub-codes, mark "1" if news stories is associated with each code. Firstly, you should mark "1" on one of the Valuable, Dangerous, Useless frames (Multi-codes are not allowed). Second, you may also mark "1" on one of sub-codes under each frame if possible.

F-1. CODE: **The *Valuable***
CODE F-1 represents the ***Valuable*** frame, which is associated with any valuable outcome from citizen journalism in an individual, community, society level or valuable gain in economic, journalistic, or political areas. Mark "1" if news stories is associated with each code. (Yes = "1", No= "0")

F-1-1. CODE: Individual satisfaction
Citizen participants are satisfied with joining news production process. By participating news production, citizen participants can raise significant issues, deliver information to others, and provide breaking news, which establishes a satisfaction and gratification to citizens.
Example: "*The main driving force of citizen journalism is instant fame or instant recognition of the news content or news reporters.*"

F-1-2. CODE: Innovative journalism
Citizen journalism solves problems traditional journalism has and upgrades current journalism practices.
Example: "*In recent years, citizen journalism has evolved in so many ways. It has empowered non-journalists to express their views on almost all issues that matter to society based on facts or perceptions.*"

F-1-3. CODE: Contribution to community
Citizen journalism plays a role of contributor to local community. It allows local citizen to participate community news and affairs and establish local networks.
Example: "*Bedford was chosen to be one of the 12 Portas Pilot towns earlier this year, a project which will provide funding and support to breathe life back into the town centre. With so many of us carrying around video equipment in our smart phones and the easy availability of social media, there has never been a better time for Bedford residents to tell their stories.*"

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F-1-4. CODE: Democratic participation
By taking diverse voice of citizens, citizen journalism allows people to participate democratic activism.
Example: "*It's not just a "nice to have" – it can really enrich our journalism and provide our audiences with a wider diversity of voices than we otherwise deliver.*"

F-1-5. CODE: Others

F-2. CODE: **The *Dangerous***
CODE F-2 represents the ***Dangerous*** frame which is associated with any harmful outcome and problems in an individual, community, or society level, or loss in economic, journalistic, or political areas. Mark "1" if citizen journalism phenomenon in news stories is associated with the code.

F-2-1. CODE: Risk-taking job
News reporting from ordinary people who are non-professional and not affiliated with news industry may be risky, in particular in war and conflict areas. Code remarks and descriptions that link news stories about injured, dead, or kidnapped citizen journalists.
Example: "For novice journalists, rising risks in conflict zones."

F-2-2 CODE: Misinformation
Inaccurate and faked news stories produced by citizen journalism may be dangerous to news audiences and mainstream news industry. Identity fraud, overloaded information, and unethical news reporting are also included in this code.
Example: "During Hurricane Sandy, citizen journalism provided dangerous misinformation and fueled damaging rumors because it wasn't appropriately checked and researched."

F-2-3. CODE: Fragmentation
Diverse voices that citizen journalism allows may fragment and polarize public opinion, which threatens an ideal public sphere.
Example: "*She believes social media has made sharing political information more efficient than ever before, giving young voters a quick way to learn of political news. However, she said it can also harm presidential candidates' campaigns. Rather than diversity of citizen voices, extremely polarized opinion was released.*"

F-2-4. CODE: Media industry deconstruction
Citizen journalism may influence media industry deconstruction in a negative way.
Example: "*Potentially and gradually, citizen journalism will take over the news industry.*"

F-2-5. CODE: Others

F-3. CODE: **The *Useless***
CODE F-3 represents the ***Useless*** frame which is associated with impracticable and insignificant work. Mark "1" if citizen journalism phenomenon in news stories is associated with the code.

F-3-1. CODE: No news value
News content that citizen journalism provides is useless and trivial. It is not newsworthy, private, and boring.
Example: "*It is called 'see, snap, post' reporting, or simply a 'public status update', because essentially it's when anyone with a phone sees something, tweets it or takes a picture of it, and posts it. That's basically a status update that we are now calling news.*"

F-3-2. CODE: Low quality
Citizen participate news does not meet journalistic standards. The quality of news stories, photos, and video is poor. Information source that citizen-generated news use is limited.
Example: "*They are written at a 3rd grade level. The facts are specious or sparse. The majority of them just refer back to mainstream media coverage.*"

F-3-3. CODE: Others

SECTION G: Argumentative Tone to Citizen Journalism

Argumentative tone of news articles will be analyzed if the news story expresses positive tone or negative tone. Referring to codes from Section D and E, mark only ONE option among five. "More positive than negative" and "more negative than positive" are middle categories, and they require the coder's judgment. If a news story expresses

simultaneously multiple items and argumentative positions, the coder should judge whether the total tone of the news story is more positive than negative or more negative than positive.

G-1. CODE: Only positive

A news article expresses only positive tone. Code remarks or descriptions that include relevant words, such as potential, possibility, prospect, opportunity, hope, valuable, worth, optimistic, confident, important, significant, good, sound, etc.

G-2. CODE: More positive than negative

A news article expresses more positive tone than negative tone.

G-3. CODE: More negative than positive

A news article expresses more negative tone than positive tone.

G-4. CODE: Negative

A news article expresses only negative tone. Code remarks or descriptions that include relevant words, such as pessimistic, cynical, doubtful, distrustful, bad, adverse, undesirable, deleterious, harmful, damaging, dangerous, skeptical, sarcastic, satirical, suspicious, uncertain, ambiguous, etc.

G-5. CODE: Can't tell/ Hard to discern