

QUALITY JOURNALISM AND OTHER CHALLENGES

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Abstract: The challenges faced by qualitative journalism are numerous, and the effects are clearly obvious at society level, when information consumption from various sources is increasing; however, we find that only some of the users are qualified to undertake and analyze data and journalistic content. There are numerous pressures registered by professional journalism, equally as much as creating journalistic content regarding the rules of the trade can be a difficult task for the non-professional author. One of the first forms of such pressure was generated by the economic crisis in 2008, imposing a restructuring of media organizations. Another valence of pressure consists in the inability and slowness of active journalists to adapt to the rigors of digital media. A main focus and of major importance is the re-tabloidization phenomenon in Romanian and international media, on every branch: written press, radio, television, and online platforms. The technological revolution has been a favourable breeding ground for commercial television channels, less inclined to the rigors of deontology. A further development is the *citizen journalism*, varied in representation and extremely active. This study aims for the complicated mass media – *citizen journalism* relation, as well as the challenges of qualitative journalism.

Keywords: online newsroom, re-tabloidization, informative journalism, citizen journalism, intermedia, newsgathering

1. Painful constraints and other confused diversifications

What does quality journalism actually mean? Expressed in a few words, we are able to mention informative journalistic products, with carefully selected content, regarding context interpreted facts, presented in well-written journalistic products, coherent, equidistant, useful and interesting for their target community. They are presented in printed form, television and other media platforms. In this environment, they can be accompanied by opinion material or entertainment pieces. Technically speaking, there are no differences between quality journalism and professional journalism. The first term covers the manner in which the users (audience) appreciates and validates journalistic products; the second refers to the imposed exigency over qualified practitioners of the field.

The pressure applied on quality journalism has various and numerous origins. One of the biggest challenges is the financial one. The 2007 financial crisis has led to reduced financial flows in many companies and institutions, including media organizationsⁱ. Demand has fallen, incomes have diminished, thus classical media organizations were forced to restructure. Fewer copies have been sold, incomes resulting from journalistic material published were considerably smaller because the sector has also faced a major crisis, financial in essence. The existing funds have been funneled towards the alternative areas, represented by websites and later by social media. Professional journalists were slow to adapt to the on line medium, regarding it as being insufficiently mature and non-representative, even unreliable. One

of the immediate results was giving up previously regarded rigors of quality journalism and turning towards presenting much more alert journalistic products, with an evident inclination towards sensationalism or personal life stories with a strong direct emotional charge. Enormous pressures are also issued by public relations specialists. They have begun to present their own communication products in a more journalistic fashion, content taken over with few or no changes and found in printed or on line publications, on the radio or television. Given all that, a prolonged confusion was generated, demonstrating devastating implications over quality journalism, on the basis of lacking classical, obvious demarcations between communication products categories and fields, referring to journalistic, advertisement or public relations products. Another form of pressure is represented by citizen journalism. Communication products resulting from very insistent non-professionals are being published by media platforms without a trace of corroboration or fact checking, often accompanied by edit errors from the original source.

2. Market demands and professional exigencies

There is a difference between a piece of news, in the wide sense – informative material in accordance with trade rules, and journalistic interventions, even informative ones, by citizen journalism representatives. Under this occurrence and pressure, we find the press adapting its style to survive and remain on the market. There are voices commenting upon this type of evolution as representing regress, referring to undertaking liberal and permissive practices of information editing and collecting, but at the same time the deficiencies we highlighted above. We sometimes find journalists who retire from rigors, adopting citizen media procedures in established publications, but more frequently in new fields, blogs or website opinion comment boxes. There is also a category of journalists that manage to follow and maintain, to some extent, professional rigors in media organizations they collaborate or have contact with, but express themselves more freely and in some cases more vehemently on personal outlets like personal blogsⁱ. This is one aspect that needs further examination, because, in time, strict rigors of informative journalism have evidently restricted the freedom of press to express opinions. It is evidently clear that these opinions have always existed, but were repressed and censored. Out of this past we find one principal gain of citizen media: offering effective possibilities for personal expression for a large scale number of interested persons.

Information journalism needs to professionally cover the process steps. Information becomes news when it is rigorously collected, then checked, delivered in a context and edited in accordance with the rules. Only by fulfilling this process, profession values can reflect the values of the society. In this context, we tend to argue Nick Lemann's opinion „reporting requires reporters”ⁱⁱⁱ, opposing other opinions that maintain a support for the triumphant citizen media march^{iv}. I am not underestimating each and everyone's capacity to supply information that can potentially become news. I do consider important that the information is handled professionally, thus entails and requires the reporter's or media editor's knowledge, ability and experience. Lasorsa, when presenting the manner in which media organizations all over the globe view outsider (non-professional) collaboration, will report that Sweden tolerates and encourages the process, Great Britain is moderate in involvement, and the US is reticent to collaborate in journalistic product actualization^v.

In an early comparison between the two types of journalism, the traditional and the insistent amateur one, Reich identifies some of the citizen journalism attributes, for example the collecting of information from proximal sources, sometimes from the electronic media, underlining a distinct incapacity to interact and negotiate with human sources. In these given terms, „Citizen reporters are quite capable of producing news, but they are hampered by a set of undeniable weaknesses, which invite a wide array of interpretations”^{vi}. Collaborating and negotiating with human sources (as well as the capacity to make careful observations) remains a professional journalist trait. It involves being insistent, having an offensive attitude, the capacity to accomplish an interpersonal relationship, often enough face-to-face, result yielding, as much as experience in such activities. These are conditions defining professional media, and in them we find resources to redefine and activate informational journalism, currently in a state of regress to some extent.

3. Expositions, debates, negotiations and intermedia

All of these convergent and divergent elements in the mass media system and the connections with other activity fields (mainly in social media, public relations, advertising and management) can be identified under the intermedia umbrella term. At a first glance, intermedia means interaction and inter-relating^{vii}. Inside the standard media organization (being it traditional, actual or virtual), citizen journalism can represent an option in intermedia, because of its offered participation and integration elements. Traditional and new techniques are thus combined, offering an ample debate space, stem for the aforementioned reduction of preponderant informative product phenomenon. In actuality, we could argue that it is not necessarily the reduction of the number of news (could respectively be larger!), but the clouding of its importance under the vast opinion offer (comments). Everything is open for debate, something that old media outlets did not allow. Analyzing the Belgian media universe, D’heer and Paulussen conclude a task divide between traditional professionals and the new (quasi) professionals of citizen journalism. The first group will continue to undertake hard news, regarding murder and arson, while the soft sector space (daily life in the community) are produced and supplied by the outer communicators in various local institutions^{viii}. The conclusion arising out of the activity of this local media platform is that, even at this level, citizen media is present and can add to the professional journalist activity. There are a couple of dangers in this situation, that oblige a careful inspection of the outside coming news, when a media institution decides to include journalistic products from external communicators, because, as mentioned by D’heer and Paulussen, these sources are not very rigorous nor reliable in fact checking and mentioning.

Developing the capacity to observe and interact face-to-face is what sets the media professional from the eager amateur and professional from non-respected communication apart. It is easy to add a comment under or on the sidebar of a published content or to assume a position when faced with events. There are citizen attitudes that have the potential to become remarkable, but important news, impactful information is not often easily accessible. Here, we are discussing those aspects best kept hidden in the opinion of the involved parties: corruption, immorality, blackmail, favors and abuse. These can be revealed only if proven and backed up by evidence, thus in a professional produced communication. A face-to-face discussion with a

person we are communicating with is much more relevant than a phone, e-mail or social media conversation. Age-old face-to-face communication is losing ground in front of the media based communication. From the aforementioned points we can observe that successful media content is amplified by the professionalism it benefits when communication is direct with the interlocutor or the information supplier. Specification of main characteristics is needed: „Collocation; synchronicity of communication flow; and the capacity to express and perceive facial expressions, body language, and speech”^{ix}.

4. Storytelling elements and tabloidization

Storytelling or life story, to give it the Romanian equivalent, is journalistically widely promoted as info-entertainment, protean field, with journalistic products that interblend informative genre sobriety with opinion pieces; add entertainment contents but also mass-media specific educational function. Life stories can have a central role in the magazine type of journalism, but can also be successfully represented in electronic platforms of quality press. The abuse that these areas suffer, apparent not only in Romanian mass-media, that tends to cast a shadow over journalistic products with informative content or mask the lack off or reduced number. In addition, being an extremely persuasive type, storytelling articles, often employ argumentation and persuasion methods that exceed quality press rigors.

The tabloidization we are currently experiencing in world media, thus also Romanian, is part of a wave (forth of fifth, in media history) manifesting since the end of the 20th century. We identify various causes that contributed: technical ease and convenience (communication satellite system); internet explosion; digitalizing and developing computer offers; more permissive legislation regarding the launching and functioning of radio and television stations; privatization of certain television stations (in Europe); the need to offer more accessible media products, mass products. From a technical perspective, tabloidization does not bring anything bad, we are concerned with shorter texts and more and larger images in small format newspapers, precisely to make them easier to read. There is nevertheless a darker side to the tabloidization process, reference point for lighter subjects, magazine oriented, for pictures and images (photographs and films) less adapted to the subject being considered or shocking content, not detouring sensationalism^x. The biggest problem is represented by the poor quality of information, being substituted or masked with journalistic products of rather fictitious content than factual one. Esser will highlight these mutations, as much in the US as in Europe^{xi}. In this context, Gaber speaks about public communication crisis, not only in journalism, his analysis data being contemporary^{xii}.

Intermedia benefits from the evolution of citizen journalism, not only because of new emerging elements that this type of journalism proposes in new (digital) media, but also by participating in actualizing journalistic products that can be framed in high use frequency journalistic types. In this category we also find media products akin to traditional media or offering a development model of traditional media. This is a challenge known under the name of digital storytelling^{xiii}. The Romanian meaning of the idiom is of a story depicted in digital media, in the digital communication space. When we establish correspondence, it is important to keep into account that in the media register, the English term *story*, primarily means narration linked to history, relating a

fact, a life event, and not necessarily an extraordinary or fictitious, fairy-tale like event description. Storytelling tends to gain the autonomy of a journalistic genre. It belongs to the informative genre, but it also presents the audience with elements of high emotional impact. This is an elaborate relation, closer to a report bearing the name feature in Anglo-Saxon journalism.

Returning to the discussion about citizen journalism perceived as being correlation between citizens and power, as right and freedom infringement or against certain negative effects on the media, it is important that we convey attention to the fact that new technology and new media can be represented as a blend, which means: 1) action integrated instruments and platforms; 2) an expression field, where contradictory positions are stated. Environmental organization websites contain, for the most part, media products, aiming at favorable information and opinion. These websites are engineered by the organization members or are a takeover from different sources, if the sources stand for the same cause and position, reinforcing it as well. Their objectivity can represent a major problem^{xiv}. Civic platforms encourage debate and even opinion and argument confrontation. In the opinion of some authors, new media, in this context, concerning media technology and content, becomes a battle field, and the arsenal is an array of weapons. This valence and the multiple manifestations of this nature in citizen journalism territory induce the danger of deficient reception of the organization's daily activities^{xv}. The confrontation can devalue and mask important activities, worthy of less-militant citizen consideration.

5. A new... new journalism

As a genre, storytelling could develop as a direct result of television expansion, but also under the new journalism pressure, fuelled by literary procedures, in the second half of the 20th century. By means of selected subjects, content and presentation forms, storytelling is more akin to entertainment. It is allowed to bring upon a smile, but it is important that the communication impresses, not only informs. Lambert describes the genre of story as: „The kind of everyday storytelling that occurs around the dinner table, the bar, or the campfire“^{xvi}. The link to citizen journalism is bridged by the fact that, although this kind of genre is oftentimes promoted by non-professionals and visits sensitive community issues, with clear knowledge that it attracts attention, even exerting pressures, its activity is diverse. Digital storytelling has thus become a genre practiced by journalist alongside amateurs, the latter group accomplishing to collect vast numbers of such events. They are depicted in simple language or more elaborated, ever literary. It also represents a mode sophisticated way to socialize. In these non-professional circles, storytelling loses its media institution rigors (lax by nature and description).

Kaare shows that the genre to be in progress. The basis remains: a community-significant story captured in a three-four minute film. The narration first person narrative, the body of work is completed by a small number of participants, often a single individual. The noticed evolution is geared towards the highlighting of different community problems, molding reality and its elements^{xvii}. Here can also find positions of protest, affecting and reconfiguring the image of an institution. Something worthy of mention is the complex structure of digital storytelling. We can accept: 1) the journalistic genre; 2) the investigation and practical actuation technique of the media product. The final product can be even more complex, combining diverse artistic

components, cinema and design, although they handle more mundane interest subjects: „Digital Stories are not quite as any previous form of broadcast material – yes, they look a bit like films even though they are not ‘movies’ since, for the most part, they are made of still pictures. Yes, they are radio-with-pictures like but – with production values that come from the scrapbook rather than the studio – they certainly do not look like television”^{xviii}. These aspects were also noticed by Pavlik, who underlined the interactive character, proposing the term interactive storytelling (Pavlik, 2001: 1). However, Higgins will show that storytelling registers an important development in cyber media. We will step out of the family sphere events, the mundane, and we will enter a field of wide social implication, even political^{xix}. Audience numbers will increase, favored by the same digital expansion.

6. Dissipated audience, involved users

The audience (and audiences!) show an increased interest, even if often fragmented over the genres, equally for emotional and interesting histories, as for the own interest sphere information. A distinction that Umberto Eco would theorize from the beginnings of television. He will identify participation and segmentation, television, most notably through its live broadcasts, redefining media communication. Those deep past changes in the reception mechanism ease the understanding of fakery of today: “And on we discussed the very special communication relation between television and audience, renewed by the displaying receptors in an ambiance, gathered in different entities, from a numeric and qualitative point, from those of the spectators of other spectacles (meant to permit each one the maximum isolation capacity and to demote to second place the “collectivity” factor)”^{xx}. Audience segmentation is evident in the given example, the broadcasting of a soccer match. The stadium spectators constitute a different type of audience, different from the one watching at home in front of the small screen.

Sport is a vast and rigorous field that is attracting a vast number of interested views. The subject area is anchored in reports about competitions and competitors, but also anything else that interacts with it. Diversity in the base characteristic, actualized in journalistic products covering all directions: information, reports and features full of life and entertainment. The sport area is a dynamic and well individualized sector of the media industry, functioning by its own rules, as will be shown by Frandsen^{xxi}. The rules shall allow a stronger distinguishing of the subjective (emotional) aspects when presenting competitions and races. Commentators shall function as both media analysts and experts, profiting from being able to express their opinions in a live medium, without it infringing deontology. Controversy shall also be present in debates and discussions, oftentimes heated in nature. In the last years, this approach model shall see expansion, overtaking the borders of professional journalism, involving positions, inter-relations and posts on non-professional managed platforms. Reporting on sports events represents an important activity for the entirety of the mass-media categories. Specialty websites covering this vast field were between the first to assert them in cyberspace. At the same time, the excitement and fever of live broadcasting, in real time, represented and still does a major preoccupation. Support was given by technology, there is an evident pressure of the media industry for convergence in this field, to allow fast presenting (often also live online) of information (in various journalistic products) regarding major sport events.

7. Copying and informing

Online journalism challenges were already vast, halfway through the first decade of the third millennium. One of the solutions will be synthesizing information stemmed from other media sources, besides own ones^{xxii}. This is a work manner enforced by intermedia. In the first phase, the new behavior of the audience was noticed, inclined to consult various and diverse sources for news. Switching channels by pushing buttons in front of the television was only the beginning. The number of television channels on offer was soon doubled by the number of electronic publications. In this context, media institution employees have started synthesizing information taken over from other market competitors, including direct competition, and using them in own journalistic products. The intention is to capture and maintain a motionless audience, focused only on the particular news station (possibly also a news site, not necessarily television station). Because the audience is still switching stations, other methods will be discovered to customize it for the spectator, to make it score as high as possible in the preference charts.

A news outlet remains one of the favorites if it supplies as many high-interest features as possible and if it combines it with a specific delivery manner. Rare are the cases where media stations offering summaries or synthesis of the market products that have lasted in time. The most sought after stations will be the ones capable of offering own products, actualized in maximum accuracy conditions. The phenomenon of getting information off the internet is a natural process to a point, but media organizations cannot collect their fact off of it. It is clear that big publications, news agencies, radios or television stations, taking each one of them as a separate case, cannot always claim exclusivity for all their important news covering the globe. A large number of own news, collected through own sources and broadcast in exclusivity, insures stability for the respective media station, being perceived as a trustworthy station by its audience. Trustworthiness is constructed out of various elements, but the following two, the capacity to offer own exclusivity news and present a panorama of important daily news, are among the most important. From this starting point we contour two important digital media elements: 1) impactful information, newly posted is almost instantaneously appropriated by other media channels, their penetration rate being increased. There is a possibility that the audience of the first supplier will not to increase too much, if the subsequent distributors do not mention the original source (instance that happens quite often in actuality!); 2) appropriating information from other sites and using it in new contexts. This forms an interesting procedure of mixing data, the resulted journalistic product may be, in cases, an impactful piece of news. For instance, discovering pictures of a senator at a certain gas station, on a low-impact site, can, for a news writer, form the evidence that the aforementioned senator has had a meeting in the respective town with a controversial character. This framework was also underlined by Rosentiel (2005): „The result is that more and more journalism involves synthesizing that competitive material into one's own account and then adding something new or special to it or trying to account for all that information into one interpretive or analytical frame”^{xxiii}.

8. Rule appropriation and limit enforcing

Society (societies, people) cannot function without a value driven balance. Balance is actuated by accepting rules. Deviations are legally sanctioned; the sanctions are enforced by the state's coerciveness. In a massively complex field, as the communication field, there is the preference to choose the auto-regulation route, functioning under the rule empire...auto-imposed and appropriated. The fascinating evolution of the postmodern world has further eroded the trust degree in communication means. Journalism history can also be viewed as a history of deviation from professional norms. Online and social media diversification has strongly affected the capacity of main stream media to maintain its presence on the market, but the migration towards online journalistic products was actuated to a certain extent. A vast number of the users have definitely given up media, in spite of the fact that social media has seen an explosive development. The online medium registers more and more active individuals but the opposite is true when discussing the interest for professional online publications. It is a space dedicated to confusion and diversity, which required taking measures to stop the decline of the main stream media and to demarcate the online medium. Quandt underlines the fact that there is a major interest in being active in digital media, but also to massively study the field, with a far less reduced interest for traditional media^{xxiv}. Surprising for some, the mutations registered in traditional media (printed publications, radio or television) are spectacular. They highlight the preoccupation to overcome predicament, by adapting to the new media order, but also by maintaining former values. An all-encompassing image of the contemporary media phenomenon can be achieved by investigating the specific of old and new media, in comparison to the elements that lead or do not lead to convergence between diverse presentation and activity forms in the media field.

There are attempts to redefine professional journalism in new and digital media, expressed through a found again ethic with up-to-date provisions, possibly defined under the term new ethics media. Ginny Whitehouse shows that the old controversies and dilemmas of the 20th century second half will amplify in the digital age, prompting traditional publications to make their own ethic codes public^{xxv}. Presenting the user with the working "manual" is an attempt for a threefold aim: 1) an act of sincerity' 2) the pursuit to capture audience trust and interest; 3) a proof of professionalism, by showing to have a set of work rules, the audience has the power to verify if the code is upheld or not. It is an attempt to define and demarcate a composite and postmodern universe of social and multimedia. Preoccupations in this direction will also be undertaken by the new professional journalist associations which are active in the digital medium.

Referring back to the individuals that post online comments under diverse journalistic products, we notice they are very motivated. Balanced, analytical or critical messages expressed in civilized terms are a rarity, and a vast number of honest commentators avoid engaging with passionate users, on the basis of the potential insulting attacks they can be victim to. There are electronic publications which favor and stimulate anger and tussle between the users. The targets of these verbal aggressors are: article authors, individuals referred to in the media product and any other comment poster. We also notice there are differences in appreciation of certain publications. If we judge from the angle of the comments, we conclude that the entirety of media is extremely deficient, because the comments are vastly negative. When we analyze the degree of trust placed in the media, generally, and particularly for every

media institution, in case these evaluations exist, we conclude that the positions are much more balanced; trust in information media is at about 50%, with variations from country to another. Differences are also apparent when we compare the negative comment percentage aimed at personalities from different fields and the degree of trust as results of opinion polls undertaken in quality control conditions. There is no solution to diminish this wave in lack of respect and civil behavior in intermedia. Maybe only intense and prolonged efforts in educating respect on a societal level.

In this given context, we can observe that the degradation of journalistic practices has different origins. One of the first categories includes field professional actions and non-actions, less preoccupied with information collection on the spot, avoiding face-to-face contact, preferring to interact by means of telephone or the (pseudo) communication through e-mail or social media platform. One of the other introduced practices is the taking over of journalistic content supplied by outsiders, public relation specialists or amateurs, often without modification or additional fact checking. Moreover, the quality of the journalistic act can also be affected by the convergence of media, when journalistic products are subject to user added comments, attachments and attacks, through interaction and interactivity. There are numerous provocations that a professional journalist faces. They can exit this confused state by fact checking and following truly interesting events, worthy of being published, establishing event to context adequacy, giving everybody involved the opportunity to have their say and relate their side of the story, editing balanced journalistic content, that is clear and impartial. These are actually the original values of quality journalism.

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