Through the ears of the audience: emerging definitions of news from community radio audiences

Jacqui Ewart, Michael Meadows, Susan Forde and Kerrie Foxwell
School of Arts, Media and Culture
Griffith University

Abstract:

In traditional forms of journalism the news value of conflict is typically preferred over other values. Public and civic journalism have tried to address some of the problems associated with this by reinvigorating the media's democratic and public debate functions. However, few forms of journalism have been able to systematically challenge and redefine widely-accepted notions of news values. We argue in this paper that traditional definitions of news and information are being challenged at the everyday level of production in the community broadcasting sector. In part, this is implicit in the sectors' mandate to provide access and participation at the level of "community" for those groups otherwise denied access to media. We suggest that a challenge to traditional news values (and to definitions of journalism) is evident in the type of news and information and the ways in which it is being collected and produced by community media workers.

Introduction

> Conflict, antagonism and tension are the stuff of human drama, and
> human drama is the stuff of news. It is also the stuff of feature stories,
> and it is given fuller rein in features. Conflict referred to cryptically in
> basic news stories can be mined in depth in a feature… Sometimes
> conflict is presented in a two-dimensional way … (Ricketson, 2004,
> 11).

News values are a key factor in the type of news selected and produced by
mainstream news media. News values help to determine the way mainstream
journalists approach their work with conflict typically identified as a key element. As
the dominant news value for journalists, it has become the most recognised for news
media audiences and publics (Ricketson, 2004, Meadows and Ewart, 2001; McNair,
1998). While mainstream news media is preoccupied with conflict, community media do
not appear to rely as heavily on this as a guiding framework for identifying what is
news. Much has been revealed about the way community media operate, particularly
the level and extent of access they provide for minority voices (Downey and Fenton,
2003; Rodriguez, 2001). Less is known about the types of news values used by
community media in news selection and production and more work is needed to
determine how community media producers and audiences define news. Forde's work
(1997, 1998, 1999) with the independent press in Australia is the only major local study
to explore the ways in which journalists working in alternative, community-based print
media define news and news values. She has found that journalism practices in the
independent press sector in Australia extend contemporary ideas of the public sphere
and democracy. Her studies revealed a dominant proportion of media workers in the
independent sector fulfilling functions similar to independent press sectors in Germany,
the United States and South Africa (1997: 128):

> …alternative press journalists and editors identify giving context to the news,
> motivating readers to take political action and/or to engage in political
> discussion, and providing a forum for minority groups and other 'voiceless'
> members of society as their major functions. They perceive that these three
> functions remain unfulfilled by the mainstream media.

In an earlier study of community radio in Australia, Forde, Meadows and Foxwell
(2002a) established that the community radio sector did not consider the delivery of
news and information to be one of its primary goals. The study found that the current
affairs format—which relies less on timeliness and immediacy—is favoured, largely
because it enables more in-depth analysis, comment and background research. This is
consistent with attitudes in the independent press sector where workers are more
interested in 'filling the gaps' left by the mainstream news than in providing a news
service competing with traditional mainstream news formats (Forde, 1997, 1998, 1999).
Most community radio news workers interviewed believed that 'championing
particular values and ideas' was an important part of their role. Similarly, most felt that

'uncovering and publicising problems' was an important aspect of their work, suggesting a commitment among community radio news workers to the ideals of 'public' journalism, similar to that identified in the independent press (Forde, Meadows & Foxwell 2002a; Forde, 1997, 1998, 1999).

In this paper, we draw on examples from recent research to suggest that Australian community broadcasters are contesting traditional definitions of news and information. We argue that this contestation of news and news values is implicit in the sector's mandate to provide access and participation to those groups otherwise denied access to media at the level of 'community'. In the past year, we have been interviewing groups who use community radio and television and conducting focus group discussions with representatives of community broadcasting audiences. Evidence is emerging from the data we have collected that the sector is providing a space in which traditional news values and concepts of news are being contested and redefined, suggesting a parallel with the independent press sector. This paper looks at the ways in which some Australian community broadcasters and audiences are challenging traditional news values and in the process, renegotiating existing and somewhat narrow definitions of these values and more broadly, journalism itself.

Re-defining news values

Conflict, impact, relevance, proximity, prominence, timeliness, currency and the unusual are the key measures of newsworthiness and as such determine the value of a story for mainstream media (Ricketson, 2004, 9-12). And of these, conflict has been identified as the most important, with journalists learning such values through exposure to them in the workplace or through training (McNair, 1998, 77). While these values guide journalists' selection of news, they also restrict the types of events and issues that become news because "journalists prefer news which conforms to prevailing conventions of what news is (news values) and which, in an increasingly competitive news market, contains those elements of drama, conflict, pathos, etc, which audiences expect" (McNair, 1998, 154). While journalists need a system for allocating newsworthiness to a story, news values can distort the world in the process, "reflecting and endorsing an elitist, fame and wealth obsessed moral structure" (McNair, 1998, 79). This has a significant impact, as McNair (1998, 79) explains: "If news values can be viewed as an expression of social values, then the news values prevailing in liberal democratic societies refer to a world which is ethnocentric, elite-oriented and focused on 'negative happenings' (good news is no news)." Research has highlighted the mainstream news media's reliance on and orientation towards elite news sources (Ewart and Massey, 2005; Sumpter and Braddock, 2002; Hallin et al, 1993; Brown et al, 1987). While the values of sources are implicit in the information they provide for news workers, journalists' claimed professional priorities of objectivity and detachment do not enable them to refute or invalidate these values.

Community media provides an antidote to both the dominance of mainstream

news media by elites and institutions and the 'good news is no news' problem through its creation of a space and place which can be accessed by marginalised groups and in the creation and facilitation of an alternative public sphere (Forde, Meadows and Foxwell, 2002b; Rodriguez 2001). Alternative sets of news values are preferred by community media most probably because the people who work or volunteer for the sector have unique and multi-faceted ways of seeing the world and telling stories (Harcup, 2003). In particular, their lack of exposure to — and training in — formal journalistic news values (Atton, 1999) allows them to create and prioritise their own sets of guidelines more suited to the content of their programs and their audiences. In many ways, the approach of community media as one that focuses on 'a vaguely defined notion of communal well-being' either precludes or reduces the focus on the news value of conflict (Bareiss, 2001, 220). By using an alternate range of sources and by providing access to groups which are often unable to access mainstream news media, community media challenges both traditional news sourcing practices and traditional definitions of news values (Rodriguez, 2001).

One of the news values prioritised by community media is that of sensitivity to local interests. This is evident in the community broadcasting sector, the independent press sector, and in community owned and operated newspapers (Ewart & Cokley, 2004; Atton, 1999; Forde 1997, 1998). An excellent example of this can be found in the community of Blackall in Central Western Queensland. In 2004, a group of Blackall residents, with the help of a James Cook University lecturer and journalism students, established a community owned and operated newspaper. This was in response to the lack of local media and came two years after the closure of the town's only newspaper, which was commercially owned and operated. The community's priority in establishing the newspaper was the coverage of news that people living in Blackall saw as locally relevant and to that end news values reflected what the locals, not the journalism students, thought was newsworthy (Ewart, Cokley & Capel, 2004). That led to the news value of conflict being given less focus or being removed completely from the news process.

Such examples are not confined to community newspapers as we have discovered in the past year of gathering audience data from the community broadcasting sector. There is strong evidence of the sector's role in redefining the news values prevalent in mainstream media, in particular, that of conflict, and in challenging traditional definitions of journalism. Unlike mainstream media, community broadcasting allows its publics to define what they see as news through participation in production, interaction with — and feedback to — program producers. These are processes that seem to be facilitating a move away from mainstream media's definitions of news and empowering both producers and audiences in the process. A focus group participant explained:

> But you see it depends how you define news, like I think, the news about
> the arts, the news about, I mean, music that's news, arts is news, some
> theatre is news. Like news isn't just, you know, bombs went off in London
> or the football. I mean we don't have to listen to endless shows about

football or cricket. I mean, it is *your* definition of news. There's a lot of news on it [the station] but it's not necessarily the way it can be defined on other stations (3RRR Melbourne focus group participant).

In reinterpreting news and broadening the types of information and news included in programs, community radio provides audiences with a relief from traditional news media's focus on the negative—and possibly even the global. The diminished focus on conflict between opposing sides involved in an issue is a relief for audiences, as one community radio listener reminded us:

> It seems to have found that balance of not getting bogged down in fear and so forth, that a lot of mainstream news services or radio stations might. But at the same time it doesn't necessarily sugar-coat things. It's all sorts of balanced debate or a richer sort of version of what is supposed to be a pubic sphere, I guess (Focus group participant 3RRR Melbourne).

Another listener believed community radio treated conflict in a different way than mainstream media.

> As you're probably aware, the mainstream media doesn't reflect the true facts particularly if it's Indigenous affairs around domestic violence or around on Palm [Island], for instance, the loss of life that happened here last year. The mainstream media, I believe, are monopolised so they can sell as much papers or bad news stories…I think the only tool the community has to use is using places like 4K1G to make sure that what was being brought out of the Palm community as a whole was projected in the right manner, not in a negative manner. That's only one part of the importance of Murri media or Indigenous media. It provides places like Palm, Woorabinda, the Cape and other Indigenous communities, particularly the Indigenous population in the mainstream, with a voice, a balance, projecting our stories, our culture, our language the way we want to hear it but giving it to the wider audience too, people who live in the mainstream, people who don't often come in contact with Indigenous people (4K1G listener).

Because many community broadcasting audience members are involved in producing content and can access producers to provide instant feedback on programs, they feel they are involved in the determination of what makes news and preferred news values, as another listener explained:

> I mean I don't want to listen every hour that somebody has been charged with murder or somebody has been raped or you know the London things. I mean that's what I am trying to get away from, I'm sorry. So if we define that as news, I'm glad it's not on Triple R (Focus group participant Triple R Melbourne).

Redefining news

In focusing on different kinds of news and emphasising news values different to those that dominate the mainstream, community broadcasting is suggesting new interpretations of journalism which are fluid and continually negotiated between program producers and audiences. A key influence on the news and information content of community broadcasting programs is its mandate to provide access and participation to those groups otherwise denied access to media at the level of 'community'. Rodriguez (2001) has shown how community media facilitates participation in the public sphere for many of the people, groups and issues marginalised or ignored by mainstream media. The 'community public sphere' created by community radio enables this kind of activity (Forde, Foxwell & Meadows, 2003). Harcup (2003, 371) points out that the journalism of community and alternative media differs from the mainstream because it provides access for the powerless and allows them to present their perspectives. It also provides a venue through which the 'unspoken' can be said.

The Australian community broadcasting sector shares this mandate because it emerged from local grassroots, social and political movements as an alternative to mainstream media (Forde, Meadows & Foxwell, 2002a). For some audiences, community media can be complementary to mainstream media services, adding to or building on what is offered by mainstream media (Carpenter, Lie & Servaes, 2003). For others, it offers a real alternative to mainstream news sources and for a growing number of listeners, a first level of service (McNair Ingenuity, 2004). In fulfilling these roles, community broadcasting implicitly challenges widely accepted forms of journalism, providing alternative approaches to the production and packaging of news and information. Rodriguez (2001) provides several examples of community media enabling challenges to the perceptions of who can legitimately make news. This is achieved through community media's provision of opportunities for access and participation and through the act of producing non-traditional forms of news and information. She suggests (Rodriguez 2001, 153) that the act of producing media for many marginalised groups results in them in creating their own definitions of "what a media text can be". In other words, the involvement of marginalised groups in the production of news and programs enables them to define news in their own ways. An important outcome is the way in which community media programs made by marginalised groups are legitimated within the communities in which they are produced (Rodriguez 2001). Traquina (2004, 100) offers another perspective on community broadcasting, revealing that while it reports events, it often delves into the issues behind those events, whereas mainstream news is much more event-oriented (Traquina, 2004, 100).

The evidence from our research to date indicates that those producing, using and listening to community radio are empowered because they can determine meanings of 'journalism' in their own ways. Not only can they perform journalistic tasks, but also

they can develop those tasks in ways that they and their audiences value. Our research so far suggests that community broadcasting audiences show a marked preference for information that helps them with their daily lives. A community radio listener (4K1G Townsville) described the station as "the bush telegraph" – a place to hear the local news, which for her, included birthday announcements and information about community activities and events. Participants in a community radio focus group of Katherine FM audience members also highlighted the importance of community radio's role as a provider of local level news and information. In 1998, a massive flood inundated and isolated the town. Focus group participants explained that the lack of media, which focused on local issues, meant there was a high level of reliance on the community radio station for practical information such as how quickly the river was rising. One of the station announcers provided regular updates about river levels by running down to the bridge to check the water level between playing songs on air. Focus group participants said this was a vital service because no other media was supplying that information. That service continued until the station's studios were flooded by the rising water. Three days later, the station resumed broadcasting in temporary accommodation and was again able to provide the kind of news and information that locals needed at the time. Participants emphasised the importance of the station in giving out basic survival tips such as where residents could get food and water, how they could wash their clothes, where they could apply for emergency housing and how to get medical assistance. One participant explained that during the flood, non-local news media representatives, who were camped beyond the flooded area of the town, were interested only in reporting the presence of crocodiles in the main street. The focus group participant recalled that that kind of information was of no use or interest to residents because they were unable to go into the main street as it remained flooded for sometime. A similar role for community radio was identified by supporters of Bay FM in Byron Bay when a flood early in 2005 was the focus of local radio station activity (Virago, 2005).

It is evident that community radio stations in Australia with their unique ability to tap into local community processes presents a challenge to rigidly defined news values found in mainstream news media. In critiquing those values, it allows both those producing programs and those listening to form their own definitions of news. And community groups describe community radio as providing an important focus on stories and themes other than those covered by the mainstream news media.

Community radio will allow you to talk, you know, will be interested, not only just when there are bad news stories, but also when there are good news stories. But it's only when the [mainstream] media is interested in it, like if there is a particular controversy, or something that's happening at that particular time… but if there's not a crisis or something happening right at that moment that they deem to be media worthy, it's much harder to get them to pick up and run a story (Friends of the Earth, Melbourne).

A 4K1G listener observed that community radio provided important news for the Indigenous community in Townsville through the provision of funeral announcements. This service is not provided by other radio stations in the area. Another 4K1G listener explained the importance of local news content on the station:

> I love the talk back. It is very interesting because it includes affairs that apply to our people and I'm glad that they're making aware of our problems and what's going on—and good things too, that are happening around the place like our Debutante's Ball that's coming up.

This view was repeated in many of the focus groups that we have facilitated in the past year, as with this comment from a listener in Yeppoon:

> The local news component on Radio Nag comes through the programs, because most programs have news and information in them and they tell you what is happening locally. It is about local stuff that is happening here that you hear in each of the programs. It is in-depth information and a wide source of information about the community (Radio NAG Yeppoon focus group participant).

In challenging dominant interpretations of news, community radio has enabled non-elite sources to have a say. One focus group participant explained that it was essential that a variety of views and voices be heard and that community radio was able to provide this in a wider climate of limited media ownership. She concluded (Radio NAG Yeppoon focus group participant): "Community radio is a good way of righting the balance." This closely parallels Forde's findings in her study of the independent press sector in Australia (1997, 1998, 1999). Community broadcasting's role in producing programs that facilitate discussion and debate on issues is an example of where it is challenging the traditional forms of news. A 4K1G listener explained how the station managed this process in its coverage of riots — identified as 'resistance' by locals — on Palm Island in November 2004:

> The talkback program that 4K1G runs each morning, and goes around the country, gave the community the opportunity to have their say to counteract the mainstream media whose stories were running from the powers that be. 4K1G provided our mob with a balance by getting what we wanted to say on national talkback radio through the Indigenous network. That's why black radio and black media needs to stay around as long as it can because it's the only tool we've got here. It's our vehicle to tell our stories and what's important to us.

The in-depth nature of community radio programs is also important to community groups using programs to get information out to audiences.

> The mainstream media is extremely sensationalist in coverage of issues

such as homelessness. There is a dichotomy between sensationalism and ridiculous stories vilifying people on the streets and the focus is on individuals rather than societal issues. Most of what mainstream media does is too simplistic and community radio gives us the opportunity to explain things in more detail. Community radio lets you get more of the message across because you have more time and more control as well. You are more likely to do live stuff on community radio than on commercial media and that means less chance of your stuff being edited. It can be more real with community radio (*The Big Issue* Brisbane).

The environmental group, Friends of the Earth, regularly uses community radio in Melbourne to get coverage of issues in ways that it could not achieve with mainstream media. Those issues are often unattractive to mainstream journalists because they deal with topics such as environmental justice work, toxic waste, Indigenous issues and complex stories that did not fit mainstream news criteria or expectations.

Because of that, our stories are better suited to [community] media like 3CR, where you get to provide the information in context and within a historical framework. This gives us the ability to build on stories because we are on 3CR regularly and tend to have a constant audience. But with community radio, we take a more strategic approach than to mainstream media. As we get an increase in media monopoly in the mainstream press, community media is more and more important rather than less (Friends of the Earth, Melbourne).

And it is not just "alternative" groups who are using community radio in this way. It provides similar opportunities for mainstream organisations to get their messages across, as a representative from the Bendigo Football League explained: "[Other media] they do cover, you know results and things like that but they don't give the same opportunity [as community radio] to have talkback and discussion on it and that type of thing." For some groups, community radio is the only way of getting news and information to specific communities of interest.

The coverage of the issue [of Hepatitis C] by mainstream media is abysmal. There is hardly any real talk about Hep C. It is seen as a junkies' disease and the little media we do get is sensationalised. If community radio was not there we would have a tougher time trying to publicise our issues. Without it we would have to develop different media strategies (Hepatitis C Council representative Melbourne).

In some communities, audiences are using community radio in innovative ways. One 4K1G listener explained that she used the community station to send a message to her husband to come home and that had sparked off a chain reaction, with other women doing the same thing. Women had used the station to successfully send various messages to their partners or children. The importance of community radio as

a communication tool and as a way of encouraging participation in community events was emphasised by another listener, speaking about the development of a new community station on Palm Island:

> I think it's going to be a great channel for communicating people's needs on the island, just a great bit of equipment for communicating, talking to one another, getting people involved in the community and telling them about meetings they're supposed to go to; telling them about what's happening in their community. I think it would be a good glue for getting the community together to have their voice, to have their say. We've got that grass roots radio happening, talking to people, just that grass-roots stuff, none of that high, intellectual stuff, just the Murri way of talking and communicating, that's what I see as really important in that way so that people understand what you're talking about—you're from the same place, the same area, the same place and you know what you're talking about. We should just do it like that (4K1G listener).

Community broadcasting in Australia is providing community groups and audiences with a place where the focus on traditional news values such as conflict is diminished. The emphasis is on news and information that is useful at the everyday local level. In this way, community broadcasting is providing many groups with alternative ways of communicating with their publics and in the process, empowering both groups and their audiences to produce the kind of news and information they need and want.

Conclusions

The growth in Australia's community media sector, particularly in the broadcast area, presents a challenge for journalism educators. While some journalism academics are already incorporating into university curricula the values and approaches found in the community media sector, the reinterpretation of traditional news values may present enormous challenges to others. In pushing the boundaries of definitions of "What is journalism?" whether implicitly or explicitly, community radio —like the independent press sector — is broadening the definitions of news from the perspectives both of those involved in producing programs, and of those listening and actively interpreting the news and information content of programs. The data emerging from our research suggests that community radio, in responding to the demands of its listeners, is helping to facilitate a redefinition of news. That redefinition means focusing on information that is either essential or important to the daily lives of their communities of interest. The information and news contained within local radio programs seems to play an important role in influencing the "every day" processes in which listeners are engaged—important public sphere activity. This type of news and information is most often found in community radio programs and community

announcements, rather than in formally structured news bulletins or current affairs' programs. This is possibly as much a result of the nature of radio programming itself, which offers myriad spaces for information relevant to specialist audiences. And while the means may be different, the outcomes — presenting alternative ideas and assumptions about the world — are similar to those identified in the independent press sector (Forde, 1997, 1998, 1999).

In expanding what can be legitimately classified as news, community media offers a challenge to mainstream media through the potential for a reassessment of traditional definitions of news. The unique approach to story-telling that community broadcasting allows creates a different set of expectations in relation to the types of news values used to judge what is newsworthy. While many community radio stations present news in different ways than traditional media, audiences value these formats as much, if not more, than traditional news bulletins. The formats being used by community radio stations in Australia appear to be highly valued by their audiences and community groups whose needs have not been met by mainstream news media. By focusing on content and the incorporation of news and information in programs and by decreasing reliance on traditional news presentation structures, community radio seems to offer a more appropriate means of access to various types of factual information for diverse audiences. Such user-friendly formats may help community radio listeners to gain and act on information and news in more appropriate ways than traditional news formats allow.

The program formats provided by community radio are much more congenial to community groups building on news and information over time, rather than providing disjointed individual pieces of information that are mediated through the lens of traditional journalistic news values. While mainstream media's emphasis on events rather than issues is due in part to the routine nature of mainstream news production (Tuchman 1978), it may be that the tempo of community media production means it can, in some instances, break out of these strictures. The daily routines that can limit journalism and journalists are not always part of community media production processes. Local program producers on radio, for example, have different pressures and different priorities, which alone, may be enabling active audience engagement with the processes of the broader public sphere.

References

Atton, C. (2003). What is 'alternative' journalism? *Journalism*, 4(3), 267-272.

Atton, C. (1999). A Re-assessment of the Alternative Press. *Media, Culture and Society*, 21(1), 51-76.

Bareiss, W. (2001). Alternative radio and television in south Dakota: A place study of public service electronic media in the US. In M. Bromely (ed). *No News is Bad News: Radio, television and the public*. Harlow: Longman.

Brown, J. D., Bybee, C.R., Wearden, S.T., and Straughan, D.M. (1987). Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64 (spring), 45-54.

Carpenter, N., Lie, R., and Servaes, J. (2003). Community media: Muting the democratic media discourse? *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 17(1), 51-68.

Downey, J. & Fenton, N. (2003). New media, counter publicity and the public sphere. *New Media & Society*, 15(2), pp. 185-202.
Ewart J., Cokley, J., & Coates, P. (2004). Sourcing the news: Teaching journalism students a different approach to sourcing practices. *Asia Pacific Media Educator*, 15, 33-46.

Ewart , J.& Cokley, J. (2004). On the outer Barcoo: Sources of Independence. *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 13, 95-112.

Ewart, J., and Massey, B.L. (2005). Local (people) mean the world to us: Australian's regional newspapers and the 'closer to readers' assumption. *Media International Australia*, 115, May, 94-108.

Ewart, J., & Cokley, J. (2004). On the outer Barcoo: Sources of Independence. *Australian Studies in Journalism*, 13, 95-112.

Forde, S. (1997) 'A descriptive look at the public role of Australian independent alternative press', *AsiaPacific MediaEducator* 3, 118-130.

Forde, S. (1998) 'The development of the alternative press in Australia', *Media International Australia* 87, 114-133.

Forde, S. (1999). "Journalistic practices and newsroom organisation in the independent and alternative press", *Australian Journalism Review*, 21(4): 60-79.

Forde, S., Meadows, M. & and Foxwell, K. (2002a). *Culture, commitment, community: The Australian community radio sector*. Griffith University, Brisbane.

Forde, S., Meadows, M. & and Foxwell, K. (2002b). Creating a community public sphere: community radio as a cultural resource, *Media International Australia*, 103, 56-67.

Forde, S., Foxwell, K., and Meadows, M. (2003) 'Through the lens of the local: public arena journalism in the Australian community broadcasting sector', *Journalism*, 4(3), 317-342.

Hallin, D.C., Manoff, R.K., and Weddle, J.K. (1993). Sourcing Patterns of National Security Reporters. *Journalism Quarterly*, 70 (winter), 753-766.

Harcup, T. (2003). 'The unspoken – said': The journalism of alternative media. *Journalism*, 4(3), 356-376.

Meadows, M., and Ewart, J. (2001). More than Skin-Deep: Australia's indigenous heritage. In S. Tapsall and C. Varley, *Journalism Theory in Practice*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

McNair, B. (1998). *The Sociology of Journalism*. London: Arnold.

McNair Ingenuity (2004) Audience research data, http://www.cbonline.org.au/index.cfm?pageId=44,133,2,0 <viewed 5 April 2005>

Ricketson , M. (2004). *Writing Feature Stories*. Crows Nest, Australia: Allen and Unwin.

Rodriguez, C. (2001). *Fissures in the mediascape: An international study of citizens media*. Cresskill, CJ: Hampton Press.

Sumpter, R.S., and Braddock, M.A. (2002). Source use in a "news disaster' account: A content analysis of voter news service stories. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(3), 539-558.

Traquina, N. (2004). Theory consolidation in the study of journalism: A comparative analysis of the news coverage of the HIV/AIDS issue in four countries. *Journalism*, 5(1), 97-116.

Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality*. New York: The Free Press.

Virago, Z. (2005) Interview at Byron Bay, 29 August.